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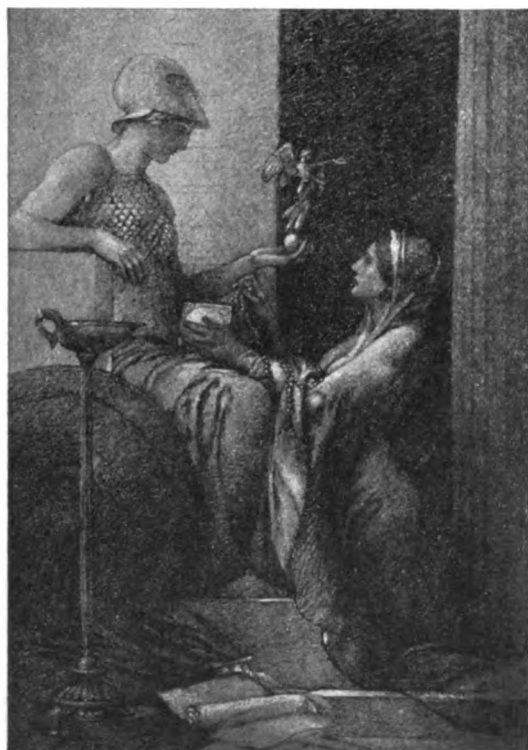


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OCTOBER, 1921

DANTE.

ONE who would write in Dante's honour will scarce avoid the commonplace, that nothing now remains to be written. Six hundred years, no great tale of centuries when compared with the longer reputations of Homer and Virgil, have sufficed to produce a vast mass of commentary, and to exhaust, one might suppose, every topic discoverable by learned curiosity in the cantos of the *Divina Commedia*. The winding history and strange vicissitudes of Dante criticism are themselves one of the curiosities of history, only less remarkable than the record of Virgil in the Middle Ages, unfolded for us some years ago in Comparetti's fascinating book. And now, on the very stroke of the sexcentenary, when the scholars of all nations are gathered in solemn assembly before the tomb at Ravenna, Signor Croce has flung out his challenge, requiring one and all to exhibit their cards of invitation before they presume to lay a wreath on the shrine. There is nothing new, perhaps, in *La Poesia di Dante*; nothing, at least, that we should not have expected from its author, no fundamental question of principle that he has not raised before. Yet the name and authority of Croce are a fair excuse for reconsidering, with special reference to the character of this JOURNAL, the simple and innocent proposition that Dante's business was poetry, not dogmatic theology, nor historical innuendo, nor even the general edification of mankind. The proposition is true enough, and has often been forgotten. It is not the less true because Dante himself was a man of notable erudition, or because he dreamed of a single, united Italy, and then implored a German to come and unite it. The partisan, the patriot, the imperialist, the scholar,

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the critic of poetry, the interpreter of Aquinas—all these characters might have been blended in one human being, yet out of the rich complexity not one line of genuine poetry might have flowed. Even so, perhaps, the commentators would have been hardly less busy. They could still have perplexed themselves and others as they wandered to and fro within the mazes of Dante's mind, and still would have found in the *Divina Commedia* an unrivalled document and revelation of the Middle Ages. Nor does Croce himself protest against the existence of *interpretazione allotria*, as he calls it, so long as it is not confused with that other interpretation, at once historical and aesthetic, which alone can reveal the poet as he is.

But does the Italian philosopher, author of the one and only aesthetic, get quite to the root of the matter? Were it only to warn us against superfluous erudition and solemn futility that his book had been composed, we might cheerfully have accepted the admonition, and have learned to look more critically on our expositions of Dante. But is not Croce himself in some danger of inventing a new scholasticism for the better confounding of the old? Pedantry creeps as easily into the rebuking of pedants as snobbery into the denunciation of snobs. As Croce will have none of the traditional distinctions, no various *kinds* of poetry, such as the epic and the dramatic, but finds the essence of all alike in the personal expression of the poet; so is the *Divina Commedia* to him neither tragedy, nor comedy, nor *sacro poema* to which both heaven and earth have lent a hand, but just a lyric, a great craftsman's realization of himself in his chosen material of verse. Vain, then, is the *siati raccomandato il mio Tesoro* of the laborious student, vain all this prying into chronicle and folio, this translation of narrative into allegory and transformation of signs into things. All is vanity but to drink of the fountain, caring nothing that the Naiad might 'spout oceans if she could'. Now all this is very fine and sweeping; as a remedy for cobwebs it has at least the merits of a broom. But when we would get beyond the truth, or truism, that the authentic poet sets down only what he feels, and in whatever style he feels it, in what direction are we to advance? Croce knows well enough, and freely admits, that to dabble in the *Divina Commedia* without due preparation is barely to find a means of whiling away an

idle hour. What he does not tell us, nor even begin to consider, is where precisely the line is to be drawn. How much is it well to know, or how little? Upon this point there is, we believe, something more to be said than will be found in *La Poesia di Dante*.

To the lover of Dante the reason for steeping himself in the atmosphere of the Middle Ages is not appetite for superfluous learning, nor belief that a poet is best honoured by conversion of him into a theologian or a moralist; it is that, without considerable knowledge of many matters, some of them rather abstruse for modern readers, the *beauty* of the *Divina Commedia* can never be fully revealed. One who refuses to undergo the preliminary labour will never catch the shifting hues and shadows that flit over the varied landscape. All the rare and subtle flavours will escape his palate; deaf to the inner harmonies, the deep *bordone alle sue rime*, he will gape like a rustic at the noise of a symphony, and grin when he hears a pretty tune. There is much in the *Divina Commedia* to repel the casual reader; there is also (let it be freely admitted) not a little that, even to the best trained ear, will always lack the true ring of poetry. The *materia sorda* has been sometimes too obstinate, or has dulled, perhaps, the artist's perception of form. Yet no one who declines to study the material, and gauge its possibilities, will ever know where the poet has succeeded, and where in some measure he has failed. The erudition, the pedantry, the allegorizing, of Dante will never assume their just proportions except for those to whom they are obstacles no longer but familiar commonplaces of a vanished age. Talking once, some years ago, to Francis Paget about Milan Cathedral, I made a disparaging comment on the painted interior roof, with its fretted and fretful parody of marble. In reply the bishop quoted with approval a remark once made to him in the cathedral itself: 'Yes, it's a vile imitation, *but how much worse it would have been had it been genuine.*' What stone or marble can do for the artist, what any material can express without damage to its genius, must be deeply considered by the critic before his judgement on vault or effigy can be sure. So it must be with the criticism of Dante. Whether in this or that canto he achieves poetry, or sinks into rhyming prose, is not to be determined by dilettanti in velveteen jackets,

who stroll through the majestic galleries and find them a trifle cold.

Moreover, it is not only, or chiefly, for the more difficult passages, the learned interludes and recondite discourses, that the instruments of knowledge are required. Rather is it the simple lines, the common phrases and images, that decline to yield the secret of their beauty to those who will not dip below the surface. Open the *Divina Commedia* at random, and on any page you will find examples such as,

 e la sua volontate è nostra pace,
or
 nè creator, nè creatura mai,
 cominciò ei, figliuol, fu senza amore
 o natural, o d'animo ; e tu il sai,

or
 l'amor che move il sole e l'altre stelle ;

still and pleasant waters for every holiday excursionist, who yet knows not how deep they run. Nor is it necessary to lay particular emphasis on the background of philosophical thought in Dante. Where does *interpretazione allotria* begin and end in relation to his conception of history or his poetical inheritance? How thin and poor must the *Inferno* be to one who has never visited antiquity, to whom Virgil himself is but a name, and the *quattro grand'ombre* no more than shadows indeed. The wealth of literary allusion in the *Divina Commedia*, and the delicate art of transformation through which the author proclaims his own originality, are not the least among the treasures to be discovered by the judicious eye.

 Come d'autunno si levan le foglie,
 l'una appresso dell'altra, infin che il ramo
 vede alla terra tutte le sue spoglie.

Beautiful lines, no doubt, to the least equipped of Dante's readers ; but how much more beautiful to those who are also readers of Virgil. Or again, without some sense of history, of mythology, of legend, there are hundreds of lines that a man may read and find little more in them but a sonorous jingle of names.

 Galeotto fu il libro e chi lo scrisse
would be no bad description of the *Divina Commedia* and its

author for one to whom Galeotto signified nothing whatever. Even when we cast aside theology, philosophy, history, ancient literature, and a dozen other branches of learning, there remains the language itself. Without some considerable scholarship, Italians themselves, to say nothing of foreigners, will find in the reading of Dante an exercise in unprepared translation rather than the enjoyment of poetry. In the last resort, we might be driven by Croce's argument to maintain that poetry need have no meaning at all, that it is superfluous to learn Italian for the appreciation of Dante, since the rhythm and the delightful sounds will always be there. Now Croce, it need scarcely be said, is not really advocating this extravagant indifference to all that smacks of erudition. He does, however, appear to forget sometimes the extent of his own knowledge and the degree to which his own appreciation of Dante depends upon it. Not how much we swallow, but how much we can digest, is the cardinal question. Much learning, like much riches, may be fatal to the possessor; but the cure is not ignorance or neglect of the necessary knowledge. It will be unfortunate, therefore, if Croce, by the weight of his name, should seem to encourage the indolent, and to persuade lackadaisical triflers that, without *lungo studio* and *grand' amore*, they can pick up their Dante and walk straight into the innermost sanctuary of that ardent and passionate soul.

All poetry records, after its own manner, some kind of experience. Without some taste of the same experience, or without, at least, the higher gift of imaginative sympathy which, in some measure, can take the place of experience, no one can hope to accompany one of the greater poets very far on his flight. To declare that all poetry is lyrical, merely because it is all an expression of the poet, is surely to make the mistake of supposing the resemblances between things to be as important as their differences. Horace wrote odes, and so did Keats. It would be a sorry criticism, no doubt, that would therefore attach the same label to both and dismiss them to a common pigeon-hole. But is it not a sorrier still that forbids us to find a significance in the various modes of expression discovered and chosen by the genius of different poets? That one writes an epic, another a play, a third a sonnet, a fourth a 'dramatic lyric'; that

one who tries many forms fails in most of them, but succeeds, perhaps, to admiration in one; or again, that in one age the *Agamemnon*, in another the Book of Job, in another the polished jewellery of Pope, was best suited to the taste of the few or the many; these, after all, are the various revelations of the human spirit which it is the business and the privilege of criticism to disclose. 'With this same key Shakespeare unlocked his heart?' Yes, but the man who unlocks his heart in *Lear* or *Macbeth*, in the *Aeneid* or the *Divina Commedia*, is far enough removed in kind from a Horace, a Leopardi, a Blake, or a Tennyson, to make it worth while to meditate a little on the causes and nature of the difference. The mental and spiritual experience which Dante translated into poetry has no parallel in the lives, the traditions, the education of any other poet among those very few who can take their places *tra cotanto senno*. In the *Vita Nuova*—all the more interesting for its obvious points of contact with the prevalent artificiality in the treatment of love—we cannot fail to discern that rare and hazardous quality of passion known to Plato, to Michael Angelo, perhaps (like all things) to Shakespeare, but to how few others who have left their stamp on the history of poetry and the arts. Many poets, again, have been learned, but there is nothing to set side by side with Dante's meditation on the bards and sages of antiquity, or on the great systems of his own age, in which was mirrored the history of a thousand years and more. On this food he nourished his creative energy; with these old colours, recom-pounded and glorified, he filled his stupendous canvas, betraying his supreme individuality in the fresh handling of elements grimed over with dust and ignorance.

Beyond all else this 'lyric' of the Middle Ages depends upon acquaintance with the deep waters of the spirit, upon profound immersion in that greatest of all tragedies and triumphs which Croce describes, a little airily, as the 'theological romance'. The women who pointed at Dante (so the old story goes) as the man whose visage was dark and sombre because he had gone down into hell, were far better critics of poetry than the young exquisites, innocent of good and evil alike, who lounge about repeating the chatter of studios and muttering vaguely the names of French authors, whose works, it is more than likely,

they have omitted to read. Without descending into the *selva oscura*, without tasting the salt of penitence, without ecstasy and vision, Dante could no more have written the *Divina Commedia* than Mr Hardy could have created his Dorsetshire peasants by sitting in Bloomsbury and staring at ordnance maps of Wessex. A man can express no more than he feels, can describe only that which he has seen. The inferior artist exposes his own emptiness just because he would fain escape from this law. The more he learns the tricks of the craft, the vocabulary, the phrases, the devices, the more damaging and complete is the exposure. Wise, indeed, is he who, like Browning's Andrea del Sarto, can at least discover and confess the truth—

But all the play, the insight and the stretch,
Out of me, out of me!

The gift of the poet or the painter, it is true, is not granted to a tithe of those who would gladly ease the burdens of their griefs and passions in the imperishable placidity of the highest art. Let us beware, however, of confounding this truth with the trivial fiction that the 'objectivity' of the artist keeps him for ever outside the storms of experience—

Bold Lover, never, never canst thou kiss,
Though winning near the goal—yet, do not grieve;
She cannot fade, though thou hast not thy bliss,
For ever wilt thou love, and she be fair!

There, in the perfect lines of a perfect poet, we have the enduring monument of art, but not, as Keats knew very well, the history of the artist. And so, when we come to study and commemorate a greater than Keats, if we brush aside the 'theological romance', not only do we reject the poet's own testimony, but we hide from ourselves not the least among the secrets of his craft.

No one desires now to judge Dante as a theologian. No one reports him to the Inquisition; no one cares much if he fixed a few Popes upside down in hell and tickled with flames the soles of their writhing feet. No great pains need be spent in vindicating his orthodoxy, nor yet in searching for originality in his religious teaching. This, indeed, is a kind of *interpretazione allovera* which need not detain us very long. Why it is worth

while to spend some time and trouble in studying Dante's handling of theology is because we find here a clue to his whole vision of human history, and at the same time one of the finest examples of his art. What a dull work the *Inferno* might have been! How frigid, how lifeless and didactic the utterances of Virgil! What converts a possible sermon into an actual masterpiece of poetry is Dante's great and triumphant attempt to see the spiritual world as Virgil might have seen it, not wholly indeed

al tempo degli Dei falsi e bugiardi,
yet with the eyes of those who, by no fault of their own,
non adorar debitamente Dio,

but who now, long before Dante's fateful journey *dentro alle segrete cose*, have learned, as it were from beyond the border, the tale of the wondrous mystery, and have witnessed the coming of

un possente
con segno di vittoria incoronato,

Whose Name they may not mention, Whose Triumph they cannot share. To Dante all this was clear and vivid; first, because he had long walked with Virgil through that other *Inferno* of *Aeneid* VI; and secondly, because he devoutly believed his own feet to be already on the stairway,

u' senza risalir nessun discende.

Love and compassion, knowledge and deep consciousness of ignorance, combined to make it possible for him to rescue the great Roman poet, not indeed from his eternal exile, but from the slough of despond in which illiterate superstition had long plunged him, almost as deep as Filippo Argenti in the *sucide onde* of the marsh. Among the many devices employed by Dante to impart reality to the figure of Virgil none is of greater magnitude, and none more successful, than the virtual exclusion of all Christian theology from the *Inferno*. The Christianity of hell, as Dante paints it, is wellnigh confined to the fact of its existence. On the gateway is written the audacious legend,

fecemi la divina potestate,
la somma Sapienza e il primo Amore.

Virgil himself and the companions of his greatness, the heroes

and poets of antiquity, bear witness to the incomprehensible, inexorable law of redemption, which bars the way to heaven against all whose lot it was to be born too soon. We might think, therefore, that only in Limbo would the ancient poet have been perfectly at home. But this is not Dante's policy. By a bolder stroke, impossible, perhaps, had he been less versed in the tradition of Christian thought represented so conspicuously by Aquinas, he moulds all the circles of hell (with one doubtful exception) in accordance with the morality of the ancients, the *lex naturalis*, imprinted, as was believed within the Church, upon the heart of every rational being, but not specially revealed like the *lex nova* of the Gospel. Now Virgil, as Dante conceived and pictured him, was, above all men in the ancient world (not even excluding Aristotle), qualified to expound the nature of this moral law, and to approve the penalties of transgressing it. As he says to Dante,

ben so il cammino, però ti fa sicuro.

He knew the road because it was the sinister road that he and all righteous Pagans had avoided. To follow it was, for Christians, to put themselves beyond the reach of grace and to seek a common level with the heathen. Thus to Virgil Limbo is a mystery, but Hell is not. By another ingenious stroke Dante elicits from him the fact that once already,

congiurato da quella Eriton cruda,

he had descended to the lowest circle, and thus is added another touch of verisimilitude to Virgil's knowledge of the way; but even without that cunning device Dante succeeds in creating the atmosphere of artistic probability as a background to the figure of his guide, and succeeds just precisely because he at least understood how solid erudition can be converted to the uses of art.

Dante's architectural treatment of theology by no means ends with the *Inferno*; architectural we may call it without confusion of poetry with another art, because the framework or substructure of the entire *Commedia* had to be theological, and the skill of the architect had therefore to be exercised in avoiding monotonous repetition and, at the same time, in preserving the unity of the whole. To distinguish the general style and ornament of the

Paradiso from the other storeys of the edifice was, perhaps, not difficult; but much careful design was required to prevent the *Purgatorio* from merely duplicating the *Inferno*, with no change but the substitution of sunshine for darkness. From this difficulty Dante was again relieved, in the first place, by his knowledge. By his evident familiarity with the theoretical aspect of sin, he knew that it was unnecessary and even wrong to make the terraces of the purgatorial mount a mere reproduction of the circles of hell. He knew also that it was easy enough, according to the prevalent philosophy of the schools, to give three or four versions of the same moral doctrine without altering its substance. Above all he remembered that the beloved Virgil was still to serve as his guide until the proper moment for the appearance of Beatrice. The result is that one may assert of the *Purgatorio*, only less confidently than of the *Inferno*, that it is free from the technicalities of Christian theology, at least until the entrance to the Earthly Paradise, where Virgil, by his own admission, reaches the limits of his knowledge, and where he bids Dante

non aspettar mio dir più, nè mio cenno.
 Libero, dritto e sano è tuo arbitrio,
 e fallo fora non fare a suo senno;
 perch'io te sopra te corono e mitrio.

At the same time Dante again betrays his skill in avoiding repetition by the subtle difference in Virgil's position in the *secondo regno*, as compared with the more definitely Pagan region of hell. The inhabitants of Purgatory, or rather, the travellers who must pass through it on their way to eternal joy, are essentially Christians. Yet Cato is allowed, by singular privilege, to hold office and authority at the foot of the mountain, and Virgil's recognition of him eases his entrance to the region of the spirit where, alas! he is not at home. By a still bolder device Dante even allows Virgil to display a certain strangeness of feeling, a minute lack of moral perception in the new atmosphere, so that twice he is corrected or reproved by Cato:—

O dignitosa coscienza e netta,
 come t'è picciol fallo amaro morso!

Any careful reader will observe, too, that, after the episode of

Cato, Virgil enters into familiar conversation with only two of all the spirits encountered in the journey through purgatory. The first of these is Sordello, who is linked to Virgil by his Mantuan origin and by their common services to poetry. Dante allows himself here to forget that Sordello had committed the crime (so strongly denounced in the *Convivio*) of writing verses not in his mother tongue. To permit him to address Virgil in the words,

O gloria de' Latin' (disse), per cui
mostrò ciò che potea la lingua nostra,

is a concession to artistic necessity which may almost provoke a smile; unless indeed, in a moment of broader charity, Dante is remembering that the *lingua di sì* is not the sole representative of *la lingua nostra*. After Sordello comes Statius, not only a poet, but an ancient poet, the story of whose salvation (if we are not misinformed on the point) Dante invents to suit the occasion. Were anything found to justify the invention, we could find it in that glorious ἀναισθησία, surpassed, surely, by no Greek tragedian,

già sì chinava ad abbracciar li piedi
al mio Dottor; ma egli disse: 'Frate,
non far, chè tu se' ombra, ed ombra vedi.'

This is followed by the not less wonderful tribute of Statius to Virgil,

facesti come quei che va di notte,
che porta il lume retro, e sè non giova,
ma dopo sè fa le persone dotte,

where Dante uses the famous legend of Virgil's prophetic Eclogue, yet uses it with an artistic detachment, a freedom from superstition, which none can fully appreciate but those who know to what depths the caricaturing of Virgil had sunk in the preceding centuries. Statius, whose time of purgation is but now completed, accompanies the two poets on their way, and here again Dante skilfully avails himself of this new means of gradually suspending Virgil from his office, so that the final termination may not seem too abrupt. Even in the Earthly Paradise, which Virgil is allowed to enter, though he speaks no more, an allusion to Parnassus and the Golden Age is contrived to suit the understanding of the two ancient poets, and at the

last moment before the entry of Beatrice, when Virgil has silently vanished, Dante pays his final and most audacious tribute to his master in the two lines,

manibus o date lilia plenis,

and

conosco i segni dell' antica fiamma.

Thus does Dante, from first to last, lavish all his skill and knowledge in fashioning a Virgil who (if we may venture on the alteration) shall be *non ombra ma uomo certo*. He effects his purpose by nothing so much as by his learned suppression of Christian knowledge. Only by a good deal of what, perhaps, Croce would condemn as *interpretazione allotria* can these facts be recognized, and without recognition of them, though one may read the *Divina Commedia*, he is in some danger of reading it, as Stevenson would say, 'with the eyes of a fish and the heart of a sheep'.

The *Paradiso* is the severest of all tests to the reader of Dante. It has often been said, somewhat arrogantly, that only those who rank it above the other parts of the poem are fully qualified to praise the *Divina Commedia*. In such a view of the matter there is, undoubtedly, some risk of the substitution of a false for a true criterion. The sense of intellectual mastery may be mistaken for appreciation of poetry, and the student may slip inadvertently into the character of those rather tiresome travellers who will hear nothing in praise of Rome, or Venice, or any of the more famous cities, but assure you that the one priceless gem is some little town which they alone have visited. The *Paradiso* is by no means a little town, but it is a stronghold more difficult of access, perhaps, than any other in literature :—

vassi in Sanleo, e discendesi in Noli :
montasi su Bismantova in cacume
con esso i piè; ma qui convien ch' uom voli.

The flight was hazardous for Dante himself, if only because here for the first time he had to sever himself almost completely from poetical tradition. Hell was already ancient in literature, and Purgatory was not new, save in the clearer definition of an idea long familiar to poetry and to human experience. But for depicting in thirty-three cantos the state of final, immutable bliss

in a diaphanous world of light, with no shadow and little colour to variegate the landscape, and no pain or passion to temper the uniformity of spiritual existence, there was no real precedent in Virgil or in any other master; nor, indeed, has there been any successor to Dante in so great a venture. For Milton does not seriously attempt it, and a Miltonic paradise, even with a matchless style to adorn it, would be a little ponderous when set over against the *eterna margarita* of Dante's moon, or any of his more dazzling heavens. Should one turn aside from poetry and seek a parallel in the other arts, there is little to help, unless it be the music of Palestrina or that strange, ethereal whiteness that Fra Angelico sometimes achieves in his frescoes. With these slender, perhaps fanciful, aids to comprehension we have to follow Dante into the world where, at last, he is driven to use openly the materials of Christian theology:—

l'acqua ch'io prendo giammai non si corse:
Minerva spira, e conducemi Apollo.

But the breath of Minerva cannot waft him far, and the lyre of Apollo will soon fall silent in this new world:—

li si cantò non Bacco, non Peana,
ma tre Persone in divina natura,
ed in una persona essa e l'umana.

On these topics gods and poets of antiquity alike are dumb. What helped Dante and saved him from even greater perplexities was the cunning reticence of the *Inferno* and the *Purgatorio* upon the greater part of Christian doctrine. At least he had not to repeat himself; Beatrice, if one may so express it, had a fresh pulpit, from which the memory of Virgil's eloquence had not to be effaced. Whether she does not occupy it over long at times, or even get near to thumping it, opinions will always differ. But here, more than anywhere else, it is only some measure of learning, some real familiarity with the material, that can enable one to form a judgement upon the poetical worth of the product. Dante is still full of devices, and of that dramatic instinct which covers so much more than the composition of plays. The various speakers preserve their character, as Dante knew it from legend or from study of their writings. Dominic and Francis and, most

conspicuously perhaps, Aquinas are clothed in their proper vestments and cast for their proper parts. In a cantolike *Paradiso XIII* much that might otherwise seem intolerable, even lines like

non per saper lo numero in che enno
li motor di quassù, o se *necesse*
con contingente mai *necesse* fenno ;
non *si est dare primum motum esse*,
o se del mezzo cerchio far si puote
triangol sì ch'un retto non avesse,

become appropriate, and almost amusing, when we reflect that they are spoken by *la gloriosa vita di Tommaso*. The whole discourse on the wisdom of Solomon is an affectionate reminiscence of the *Summa*, not very far removed from the tone of a parody. Whether Dante does sometimes smile at his own ingenuity is a not uninteresting question. Beatrice condescends at times to be amused, so does Virgil, and why not Dante? In Oxford, at least, we must permit ourselves to laugh a little when Dante sits down before his three examiners and prepares for his 'viva voce'—

sì come il baccellier s'arma, e non parla
fin che il maestro la question propone;

and when we rejoice that he not only passes but receives the congratulations of the examiners, we shall do well to remember that, had he not qualified himself by long and arduous study, he never could have bequeathed to us the 'lyric' that happens also to be the *Divina Commedia*. It is not the orthodoxy of the theologian, but the triumph of the artist that we celebrate; the skill, the power, the imagination, that could take these vast and rough materials and shape them into a palace so marvellous and unique. We celebrate also, with thanks to Croce for the phrase, the romance of theology. For Dante has vindicated for ever the poetry of what some mistake for prose. Let theology, then, with many other sciences, take heart of grace, and boldly advance to lay her wreath on the immortal poet's somewhat ignoble tomb.

W. H. V. READE.

NOTES AND STUDIES

THE LIVES OF ST CUNGAR AND ST GILDAS.

THE fragment of the Life of St Cungar published in this JOURNAL in January 1919 (xx 97) contains the first half of the *Vita* as edited by Horstman in the *Nova Legenda Angliae* (i 248-254). The two texts are substantially the same, but that of the *Nova Legenda* has undergone a stylistic revision which almost obliterates certain characteristic features of the original document. When these are recovered in their completeness—and this is now only possible for the first half of the Life—they suggest that the author is no other than Caradoc of Llancarvan to whom Geoffrey of Monmouth refers as his contemporary, and who is also the author of the Life of St Gildas ‘the historiographer of the Britons’. The suggestion does not depend on points of style alone: it is confirmed by parallels of a material kind in the incidents recorded of the two saints. Further confirmation is afforded by the more elaborate Lives of St Cadoc and St Iltyd, in the composition of each of which the two earlier Lives have been drawn upon in such a way as to shew that they lay together before the later writer or writers. So much remains to be done in the criticism of the Latin records of British saints that I venture to offer to those whose concern it may be the reasons which have led me to the conclusions thus briefly stated.

I. I first call attention to the frequent repetition of the same word, or the same root, in various formations. This goes far beyond the mere alliteration which unfortunately led Horstman to decide that the Life of St Cungar (of which we now have at Wells a twelfth-century fragment) was a late fourteenth-century production.¹

VITA SANCTA CUNGARI.

W. 99, 21. Dum quidam Constantinopolitanus *imperator* ab *imperatrice*, Luciria nominata, sperabat *generare* prolem, nullam *generabat*.

25. invocare quatinus omnium *donorum* *donator* *donaret* eis filium.

28. *acceptabilia* et *accepta* dona elemosinarum.

31. *felicitate* *concepit* et post *conceptionem* *felicitus* generavit.

35. quia exaudierat petitionem postulandam, et insuper *perfecerat* ad *perfectionem impletam* ac *implendam* [H. i 248, 14: quia exaudierat

¹ I cite the Wells fragment as ‘W’, with the page and line of J. T. S. (*ut supra*), and the *Nova Legenda* as ‘H’, with page and line of Horstman’s edition. For the Life of St Gildas I have used Mommsen’s edition (‘M’) in *M. G. H. Auct. Antiquiss.* XIII i 107 ff.

petitionem postulatam, et insuper perduxerat ad perfectionem et impletam et implendam].

40. crevit ad *puericiam*, et gradatim *puer* bonae indolis florebat.

100, 13. donec . . . de iuvenis religione *ammirabili* (admirabantur) [H. 248, 33: ita ut . . . de iuvenis religione admirarentur. W has no verb: a later hand has supplied 'gaudebant', but no doubt wrongly].

18. si possent inventum *occupare*, *occupatum* caperent [H *omits* occupatum].

32. *Elegerant* sui parentes et cives ipsum futurum imperatorem: sed maluit ipse tendere ad celestem *electionem*. *Electus* itaque dei famulus Cungarus *elegit* nativam terram deserere.

35. evangelicum preceptum quod *audistis* et estis *audituri* [H *omits* et estis audituri].

101, 10. *nominabant* et *nominant* [H *omits* nominabant et].

17. omnia que *dabantur* illi a regibus et divitibus, *data* continuo erogabat pauperibus [H *omits* data].

24. ex improvviso *vidit* aprum . . . ac *visum* *perterrui*: *terrutus* et fugitivus aper cursu solito recessit [H *has* preterivit *for* perterrui].

102, 8. *Macies* tenuaverat corpus *macrum* [H. 250, 11: *Macies* tenuerat corpus eius pertenuae].

28. *affixit in terram*, et *in terra defixum* deseruit nec retrahere potuit [H *omits* et in terra defixum deseruit].

36. Ini rex Anglorum *largissimus largitus* est . . .

103, 4. noluit visitare locum *honorandum*, nec faceret *honorabili* Cungaro . . . impedimentum [H *recasts*].

10. Multi itaque *reges* ut *viderent* locum a *regibus* non *videndum* . . . [H. 251, 1: Multi itaque reges eundem locum improbe videntes . . .].

14. videt quod nolebat *respicere*: post *respectum* doluit . . . [H. 251, 5: locum incaute intuitus est: quem postea cum vidisset . . . condoluit].

After this our fragment deserts us: but it will have been seen how the reviser gets more and more impatient of this annoying trick of style. In his revision of the remainder of the Life scarcely a single example of it has been allowed to survive.

VITA SANCTI GILDAE.

M. 107, 4. *Studuit studiosus* assidue . . . donec pervenit ad *iuventutem*, dum *iuvenis* factus . . .

8. audita *fama famosissimi* advenae.

9. audierunt ab eo vii *disciplinarum* scientiam subtilissime, unde ex *discipulis magistri* effecti sunt sub *magistrali* honore.

12. nec par ei *inveniebatur* nec poterat *inveniri*.

21. *vestitus* solummodo una *veste*: manducabat sine *saturitate satiatus*: tantum metando *praemium caeleste*, *caelestia praemia* erant ei in desiderio.

24. *reges timebant timendum*.

27. dum inciperet *praedicare*, retenta est vox *praedicationis* in *praedicante*, unde plebs *ammirata* est valde pro *ammirabili retentione*.

108, 2. praecepit illi *exire*, et postquam *exiverat* *vocavit* plebem; quae *vocata* venit.

12. Arturi regis . . . quem *diligendum dtligebat*.

19. audiens magnanimum *iuvnem* talia *fecisse* et aequalia *facere*, persecutus est victoriosissimum *iuvnem* et optimum . . . in *persecutione* autem hostili . . . *interfecit iuvnem* praedatorem: post illam *intersectionem* . . .

32. *monstravit* illi laudabilem campanam; *monstratam accepit*, *acceptam* emere voluit.

37. veniam postulanti *osculum* dedit, et *benignissimo* animo *benedixit osculanti*.

109, 8. rogavit Gildam doctorem ut regeret studium scholarum . . . et *rogatus rexit* . . .

22. *frigescens* nimium: *frigus* erat ei dulce . . .

26. quae *cadebant* super saxa, et quae retinebantur *cadentia*, fecit rivum *effluere* de rupe alta, qui *effluxit* et *effluit* et manebit sine defectione aliqua.

33. *susceptus* vir *suscipiendus* a Glastoniense abbati docuit . . . *seminans semen seminandum* caelestis doctrinae.

43. ut *redderet* raptam: *reddita* ergo fuit quae *reddenda* fuerat.

110, 8. *visitabant* sancti viri illum *visitandum*.

18. cuius anima *requievit* et *requiescit* ac *requiescet* in caelesti *requie*.

20. Ynisgutrin *nominata* fuit antiquitus Glastonia et adhuc *nominatur* a Britannis indigenis.

I think it will hardly be doubted by any one who will carefully compare the items of these two lists that we have here either the work of one and the same writer, or else the most slavish copying of a peculiarly odious idiosyncrasy. I have not found among the biographers of the British saints any parallels which would suggest that this was a feature of their literature: such instances as I have met with occur in writings which on other grounds must be regarded as influenced by these two Lives.

Arguments from style alone are apt to be fallacious, and a wider range of knowledge may possibly produce parallels which have escaped my somewhat perfunctory search. I pass on therefore to offer examples of common subject-matter, which is occasionally clothed in similar phraseology.

First let us compare the austerities of the two saints. Of St Cungar we read:

W. 102, 2. Perseveravit in hoc loco sibi placito indutus cilicio, ducens vitam inreprehensibilem in ieiuniis et crebris orationibus sine impedimento. Omni hora matutina intrabat in frigidam aquam, ibi permanens quandiu diceretur ab eo tribus vicibus dominica oratio; (et) revertebatur ad ecclesiam vigilans et exorans summi creatoris omnipotentiam. Nona hora autem utebatur ordeaceo pane, nunquam fungens ferculis nec saturitate. Macies tenuaverat corpus macrum: talem videntes dicebant illum esse languidum aut febricitatum. Vita heremitalis erat sibi dulcissima, secundum Pauli primi heremite et Antonii vestigia.

Of St Gildas the account is remarkably similar :

M. 107, 17. Macies apparebat in facie ; quasi quidam febricitans videbatur gravissime. Fluvialem aquam intrare solebat media nocte, ubi manebat stabilitus donec diceretur ab ipso ter oratio dominica : his peractis repetebat suum oratorium ; ibi exorabat genuflectendo divinam maiestatem usque diem clarum.

A little before this we read :

M. 107, 13. Ieiunabat ut heremita Antonius : orabat vir religiosissimus cilicio indutus : quicquid dabatur ei continuo impendebat pauperibus.¹

It can scarcely be questioned that the same artist has drawn the two pictures, and his stock of ideas is as limited as his box of colours. We may add that each saint builds in two different places a church or oratory in honour of the Blessed Trinity, and each makes a pilgrimage to Rome.

When St Cungar was in search of a place of settlement, 'direxit suum iter *ad estivam* quam sic incole nominabant et nominant *regionem*' (W. 101, 10). The reviser has rewritten this passage thus : 'direxit iter suum ad partem quandam Britanniarum que vocatur *Somerset*, quam sic incole nominant *regionem*' (H. 249, 23). Now when St Gildas comes to Glastonbury, he finds King Melvas reigning in *aestiva regione* (M. 109, 32). I have not met with this latinization of Somerset elsewhere : but it seems to underlie the Welsh phrase in the Gwentian Brut y Tywysogion, where the year 683 we are told that Ivor and the Britons put the Saxons to flight, and 'acquired Cornwall, the Summer Country, and Devonshire completely. And then Ivor erected the great monastery in Ynys Avallen, in thanksgiving to God for His assistance against the Saxons.' I owe this reference to Freeman's article on 'King Ine' in the *Proceedings of the Somerset Archaeological Society* for 1872 (XVIII ii 37) : he is there illustrating the strange confusion by which the deeds of the Saxon Ina have been transferred to a Welsh prince Ivor. It is certainly curious from the point of view of the present enquiry that this Gwentian Chronicle is attributed to Caradoc of Llancarvan, the writer of the Life of St Gildas : I must leave it to others to say whether the coincidence has any real significance.

There is one other point which I would notice. The writer of the Life of St Cungar introduces a couple of hexameters, sometimes more, at various parts of his narrative. This feature does not occur in the Life of St Gildas : but at the end of that Life we have a couple of hexameters which presumably come from the pen of its writer :

Nancarbanensis dictamina sunt Caratoci :
qui legat, emendet : placet illi compositor.

¹ Cf. W. 101, 17 cited above.

II. We have now to consider the use made of these two Lives in the Lives of St Cadoc and St Iltyd preserved in the Cottonian MS, Vesp. A xiv, which is said to have been written c. 1200. First we note the parallels between the Life of St Cadoc and that of St Cungar.¹

1. St Cungar on reaching Britain 'inquirebat et interrogabat diligenter in itinere loca congrua heremitae'. Guided by an angel he comes to a spot 'aquis et arundinetis ambitum'. Then in a dream the angel tells him that on the morrow he will see a boar, and there he is to build a dwelling-place and found an oratory. So on the next day 'ex improviso vidit aprum iacentem in arundineo loco, ac visum perterritum; territus et fugitivus aper cursu solito recedit'. He builds an oratory 'in honore sanctae trinitatis'.

Similarly St Cadoc seeks a place of retirement: 'locum aptum ad dei servitium diligenter quesivit' (p. 31). He comes to a valley where 'nil aridi extitit, sed purulenta palus, nichil preter arundinetum', &c. An angel tells him in a dream that he will find a place to build his oratory where he sees a great white boar: 'setosum grandævumque aprum candidum, gressuum tuorum strepitu perterritum, exilire perspicies; ibique fundamentum templi tui in nomine sanctae trinitatis iacias'.

2. Prince Pebian, who tried to rob St Cungar, 'ad modum cere ad ignis ardorem liquescentis, in conspectu omnium qui aderant liquescendo adnichilatus est' (H. 253, 21).

A violator of St Cadoc's shrine 'conspectu totius exercitus liquefactus est, prout cera ante faciem ignis' (p. 77).

3. St Cungar settled twelve canons at Congresbury, and twelve at his church in Wales, 'qui regulariter viventes deo servirent' (H. 253, 4).

St Cadoc settled thirty-six canons at Llancarvan, 'qui assidue et regulariter servirent ecclesie Nantcarbanensi' (p. 82).

4. Among phrases in common we find 'fluenta doctrinae', which comes so oddly in St Cungar's Life—'doctrinae suae fluenta seminabat per patriam' (W. 101, 14): but in St Cadoc's Life we have it in the more reasonable combination 'fluenta doctrinae flagrantius sitiens' (p. 36).

5. The occasional hexameters are also a common feature; and at the end of St Cadoc's Life there is a group of four, the last two of which give the writer's name:

Det veniam Christus, terrarum conditor orbis,
cui scripsit vitam culparum, nomine Lifris.

We may next note parallels with the Life of St Gildas.

¹ The page-references for St Cadoc and St Iltyd are to W. J. Rees *Cambro-British Saints* (1853).

1. St Gildas brought back from Ireland a remarkable bell, which he determined to present to the *Apostolicus* of Rome. Lodging for a night at Llancarvan, he shewed the bell to St Cadoc, who desired to purchase it. St. Gildas refused to part with it, and proceeded to Rome, where he offered it to the Pope. But the Pope could not make it ring, and enquired whether anything had happened on the way. When told of St Cadoc's desire to buy it, the Pope said: 'I know the venerable abbot Cadoc, who has been here seven times, and thrice to Jerusalem. Go back and give it to him.' When St Cadoc received the bell, it gave forth a marvellous sound: 'unde remansit portantibus per Gualiam pro refugio' (M. 108, 28 ff).

In the Life of St Cadoc this story is greatly elaborated. The Pope is said to be Alexander—a chronological impossibility. He blesses the bell and makes it 'refugium totius Britannie firmum'. It seems practically certain that the later writer had the earlier form of the story before him, and dealt with it in a free and rhetorical fashion.

2. St Gildas taught school for St Cadoc at Llancarvan for the space of a year, and afterwards the two saints retired to two neighbouring islands in the Severn sea, 'scilicet Ronech et Echin' (M. 109, 15). These islands are now called Flatholme and Steepholme. The biographer of St Cadoc gives the explanatory note, 'insula Echni, que modo Holma vocatur' (p. 63). When St Gildas was on Echni 'missalem librum scripsit illumque sancto Cadoco obtulit . . . ideoque codex illi evangelium Gildae vocatur' (p. 66). In the Life of St Gildas this Gospel Book appears, but it is said to have been written during the year spent at Llancarvan.

3. The two incidents in the Life of St Gildas regarding K. Arthur have perhaps suggested the introduction of two Arthur stories in the Life of St Cadoc.

We conclude, therefore, that the writer of the Life of St Cadoc of Llancarvan had before him the Life of St Cungar, and probably also the Life of St Gildas—both of which Lives seem to have been composed by Caradoc of Llancarvan.

Lastly we come to the Life of St Iltyd, a composition which extends over some twenty-five pages, whereas St Cadoc is made to fill twenty-six. St Iltyd is the son of a king of Brittany. He early acquires learning as well as military skill: 'nullus eloquentior per totam Galliam Iltuto milite recitante philosophicam eloquentiam' (p. 159). He comes to Britain to visit the court of K. Arthur his kinsman. Then he takes service as 'magister militum' under K. Poulentus (who figures conspicuously in the Life of St Cungar). Presently he goes to St Cadoc, who recommends to him the eremitical life.

Among his austerities is the following :

Nocte media ante matutinas abluebat se aqua frigida, sic sustinens quamdiu posset ter dici oratio dominica ; deinde visitat ecclesiam, genuflectens atque orans summi conditoris omnipotentiam [cf. *supra*, p. 17].

The following sentences are also to be compared with passages cited above from the Life of St Cungar :

p. 167. largiter dabat quicquid dabatur in manibus [cf. W. 101, 17].

p. 172. cotidie <nona> hora in pane ordiceo et aqua solvebat ieiunium, fercula respuebat . . . macies quoque tenuaverat faciei superficiem [cf. W. 102, 7 ff].

The king's provost Cyblim having offended against St Iltyd,

p. 731. Deus summus ultor fecit illum quasi mollitam et liquefactam ceram ardore igneo liqueescere [cf. H. 253, 21].

When we have said that there is a reference to 'Paulus et Antonius, primi heremite', and that the writer breaks out into occasional hexameters, we need not further labour the proof that he has had before him the Life of St Cungar.

In the Life of St Gildas the most attractive episode is the story of the bell. Here we find it in another shape. St. Iltyd, persecuted by K. Meirchiaunus, hides in a cave, and not even his friends can discover him (p. 174). A messenger of St Gildas chanced by that way, bearing a bell which the 'historiographer' was sending as a present to St David. As he passed the cave, the bell rang of itself. Its sweet sound drew forth the hidden saint, who rang it thrice and asked what was its destination. When the messenger had delivered it to St David, that holy bishop failed to make it ring, and hearing what had happened in the way sent it back as a gift to St Iltyd, whose hiding-place was thus made known.

In later days this bell was fatal to K. Edgar : for it was stolen without his knowledge when he was on an expedition against Glamorgan. Although he made amends to the utmost of his power, he died on the ninth day afterwards. This reminds us of K. Edgar's involuntary intrusion on the domain of St Cungar which was forbidden to kings : that offence, although atoned for, was punished by the king's death nine days later.

Thus we have found that in both these Lives the Life of St Cungar has been freely drawn upon, alike for incidents and for phraseology. The Life of St Gildas seems to have suggested incidents which reappear in a modified form. The later biographies are long and laboured, full of crude fancies and miracles. It may seem hardly worth while to spend time upon them. But the students of the Arthurian legend have found

it necessary to turn to them,¹ and for this reason, if for no other, it is desirable to place them in their true setting and to mark them off from the earlier Lives of which they are partly imitations.

Caradoc of Llancarvan was, as we have said, a contemporary of Geoffrey of Monmouth, whose *Historia Regum Britanniae* was written c. 1136.² The Durham MS of the Life of St Gildas was written in 1166; and of the Life of St Cungar we have a twelfth-century fragment. These two Lives may have been written at any time between 1120 and 1150. The two later Lives were probably composed towards the end of the twelfth century. They give no evidence of acquaintance with the work of Geoffrey of Monmouth, and the Arthurian material which they contain testifies to Welsh tradition before or soon after his time. Our enquiry therefore may be thought to have a certain literary value apart from its hagiographical interest. I must ask pardon for trespassing in these fields, and daring to write, as Nennius would say, 'quasi garrula avis vel quasi quidam invalidus arbiter': and I gladly repeat the last words of his *Apologia*: 'Cedo illi qui plus noverit in ista peritia satis quam ego.'

J. ARMITAGE ROBINSON.

IS ECCLESIASTES A TRANSLATION?

THE title of this Note is phrased as a query, because the matter is not clear to my mind. But I have had for some time a feeling that the style of Ecclesiastes is, in certain respects, unsatisfactory and disconcerting, and the answer which to me raises the least difficulty and satisfies most of the data is that what we have is not an original but a translation. I cannot offer a demonstration of this, but I venture to hope that my remarks will not be out of place as a suggestion.

The Book called Ecclesiastes, itself a rendering of the extraordinary Hebrew title *Kohéleth*, is a most original work. Especially is this the case if we think of originality as a quality displayed rather in getting to grips with the essentials of a problem than in saying brilliant things about the surface of it. The author, considering the ancient problem of the unequal distribution of what are generally supposed to be the desirable things of life, passes on to consider the nature of real happiness, real success. He comes to the conclusion that a good deal of what passes for success is in itself worthless, and that the only positive good

¹ See especially the admirable work of R. H. Fletcher in his *Arthurian Material in the Chronicles* (1906) pp. 105 ff.

² *Ibid.* p. 45.

is having a job and liking it (v 17, 18)—as distinct from the evil of having a job which you don't like, in order at some future time and place to have the means to enjoy what you now think you will like when you get it.

But the clear thinking of Ecclesiastes is expressed in a singularly bald style. The baldness is perceptible in the English Version, but it is far worse in the Hebrew. There is no literary charm in the book due to the use of language¹: the undoubted impressiveness of many passages is due to the underlying thought.

Is there any real parallel to this in literature? The strange Greek of the Apocalypse of John is very far from baldness. It has a charm of its own: it is only the schoolmaster who is repelled. Mark is written not 'in order', in an unliterary, unconventional style, but it is full of striking words and phrases. The Fourth Gospel might possibly be described as bald in style, but it is quite correct.

This brings me to the linguistic character of Ecclesiastes. Can the style of Ecclesiastes be described as correct or natural? It seems to me neither. It seems to me to have the awkward stiffness of a translation. If it be a translation, it is naturally a translation from the Aramaic. The object of this Note is to ask whether the view that Ecclesiastes is a translation from the Aramaic does not solve many of the linguistic problems offered by the book.

The Aramaic influence in Ecclesiastes is of course evident, but usually it is explained to be due to 'an author who *thought* in Aramaic, and translated the Aramaic idiom, part by part, into unidiomatic Hebrew' (Driver *Lit. O. T.*, ed. 1894, p. 445 note 2). But if Aramaic be the language of the writer, why should he express his thoughts in Hebrew at all, except on the hypothesis that he aimed at canonicity? Or, at least, that he aimed at writing something in the general style of ancient Hebrew literature. This surely is not the case. He does not make any claim to 'inspiration'. Joel seems to be an imitation of the old, pre-exilic prophetic style; many of the Psalms are no doubt quite late, so is Esther, so is Chronicles. But these books, though their lateness is evident to an attentive student, are not altogether incongruous with the older books. Daniel is the nearest parallel to Ecclesiastes, and part of Daniel is extant only in Aramaic, while the rest is itself possibly a translation. But even if the Hebrew parts of Daniel were originally written in Hebrew, there is an obvious reason, for Daniel professes to be prophecy and revelation, while Ecclesiastes makes no claim at all of that sort. Is it not more likely that the thoughts of the unconventional sceptic were put into form in the language of everyday?

¹ Except the use of *mishpāt* (= 'how') in viii 5, 6: possibly this is a quoted proverb.

I have begun with these general considerations, because they seem to me fundamental. They seem to me to give the reason for declaring the question open. I now come to one or two definite instances, where it seems to me that the Hebrew text as we have it is rather the work of a not always skilful translator than that of 'an author who *thought in* Aramaic' and wrote in something else.

(a) Eccl. vii 14^b (15^b).

'God hath even made the one side by side with the other to the end that man should not find out any thing *that shall be* after him.'

I quote the R.V., but I do not find it convincing, either as a sentiment, or as a strict rendering of the Hebrew, which ends with the words

על דברת שלא ימצא האדם אחריו סאומה

lit. 'for the reason that no man should find after him aught'.

The question arises to whom 'him' refers—to man or to God? The English Version and a good many modern expositors refer it to man, but Symmachus has τοῦ μὴ εὑρεῖν ἄνθρωπον κατ' αὐτοῦ μέμψιν. This is no paraphrase, but a literal translation of what the sentence would mean if we treated it as Syriac. To find a thing *after* so-and-so means in Syriac to find him guilty of or responsible for it. A good example is Lk. xxiii 14 (= οὐθὲν εἶπον ἐν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τούτῳ αἴτιον): translated in SC כִּי לֹא מָצָאתִי אַחֲרָיו חֵטְא (literally: 'Nothing have I found after him'): other instances are Dan. vi 4, John xix 4, Acts xxviii 18 (all syr. vg.), and Lk. xxiii 15 SC.

According to this view, therefore, we should translate 'God has made one thing against the other in such a way that no man should find any occasion of complaint against Him'.

This seems to me quite in accordance with the thought of Ecclesiastes, but I doubt if it be real Hebrew. I think it is an over-literal translation from an Aramaic original made by a translator who referred 'after him' to man.

(b) Eccl. iv 15 f.

'I saw all the living which walk under the sun, that they were with the youth, the second, that stood up in his stead. There was no end to all the people, even of all them over whom he was: yet they that come after shall not rejoice in him.'

This is R.V., which hardly differs from A.V. If the Bible were more read, instead of being talked about, I fancy we should not hear quite so much about 'the noble English of our incomparable Version'. To such a passage as I have transcribed the only appropriate remark appears to me to be the words which immediately follow—'surely this also is Vanity!'

On looking at the passage, however, one sees that it is a general remark about all men, and further that there seems to be some contrast intended between those that come after and their predecessors, a contrast

between some one and the youth who will be his successor. The decisive word is evidently that translated 'the second'. Second to whom? to his elder brother, or to his father?

The Hebrew is השני, which of itself rather suggests a second son, as it does in English. But may it not be a mere rendering of the Aramaic *tinyānā* (Syr. *trayānā*)? This word in Aramaic often implies the notion of 'second in command'. In the *Hymn of the Soul* the Brother of the hero, i.e. the exalted Jesus, is called the *trayānā* of the King of Kings, and in the Targums to Jerem. xvii 15 and Zech. xiii 7 the *tinyā-nayā* are 'persons of the second rank'.

With this clue we can make sense of the passage. 'The living' are the present generation, now in power and activity. 'The youth' is the second in command, destined in due course to supplant the present generation. There is no limit to human numbers, counting all the successive generations, but the latest generation have no cause for satisfaction ('rejoice *thereat*', not 'rejoice *in him*'), for all's a bubble!

'I saw all the living under the sun going along with the youthful generation, now occupying the second place, who will one day supplant their elders. There is no end to all the people, those that were before them; yet let the last comers not rejoice thereat, for that also is Vanity.'

This makes sense, but is it Hebrew? I doubt it, except it be regarded as translation Hebrew.

(c) The transmitted text of Ecclesiastes seems to have suffered here and there, but I venture to ask whether some of the passages which, as they stand, make no sense, do not look rather like the efforts of a translator who does not quite understand what is before him. Examples are iv 14^b (וילד רה), v 6, xii 11^b.¹ I do not include vi 8^b in this list, for it seems to me that the incoherence is due to corruption. The advantage of the wise man over the fool, seeing that their fates (according to our author) are so much alike, should consist in some saving or excepting clause: read, therefore, מה לעני מכלערי, and translate 'What advantage hath the wise man over the fool, except that he knows how to walk (i.e. to behave) before his contemporaries?'

In the difficult passage Eccl. viii 10 also I feel it is impossible to make sense without emendation, and I take this opportunity of suggesting קרבים (or מקרבים) for קברים. If מקרבים be preferred the word will have the technical sense of offering a sacrifice, if קרבים it will have the more general meaning of coming near to God in the Temple: in either case, therefore, it has the connotation of 'going to church'.

¹ In this last verse there is surely some corruption: 'from one shepherd' (מבעד אחד) is nonsense. The context suggests that by means of the lips the mind of one is imparted to others, i.e. the phrase should end with מבעד האחד. מבעד 'mind', 'intelligence' occurs in Eccl. x 20, and is 'given' in 2 Chr. i 10, 12.

With this trifling change, and reading with Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, and practically the 'LXX', וישתכחור for וישתכחור, the sense is: 'And further I have seen wicked men at worship, and they who have done so come in and go off on their ways from the Holy Place and boast of it—this also is Vanity!'

If Ecclesiastes be a translation it is not out of place to suggest that the mysterious ושאף of i 5 was intended by him for ושאף (or should it not be ושאף? See Judges vi 17). In this case put the first הולך of *ver.* 6 into *ver.* 5 and translate

'And the Sun rises and the Sun sets, and to its place where also it rises does it go. To the South and round to the North, round and round goes the Wind. . . .'

As has been pointed out by Siegfried and others, there is elsewhere in O.T. no trace of the idea that the Sun goes on his course with fatigue or effort, so that an unexplained allusion to the Sun 'panting' is really a difficulty.

(d) Finally, all the long lists of Aramaic words and constructions, to be found in Siegfried or any other good Commentary on Ecclesiastes, will on this hypothesis receive their due explanation. No doubt 'Aramaisms' did invade the later Hebrew style, but that was when it was really a dead language. The later we put the 'Maccabaeen' Psalms, the Books of Chronicles, Esther, Ruth, &c., the more that we incline to postulate a Hebrew original for Jubilees or the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs, the harder is it to believe that Ecclesiastes was composed in the crabbed and unnatural lingo in which we read it in our Hebrew Bibles. It is better as Hebrew than some parts of the Greek Bible are as Greek, but I do not think it any better than that. I find it difficult to believe that so acute and careful a thinker would have employed such a vehicle for his thought, and therefore I welcome the evidence here brought forward, which seems to me to suggest that what we have of the Preacher is a translation from a lost Aramaic original.

F. C. BURKITT.

Additional Note on the physical meaning of 'Vanity'.

The word הָבֵל *hēvel*, translated 'vanity' in the English Bible, is a key-word in Ecclesiastes. We are not likely to apprehend fully the thought of the writer in applying the word to human life and effort, until we know the real physical meaning. It is commonly said to mean 'breath' or 'a puff of wind'. When, however, we look for the proof of this statement we find it is an inference from Isaiah lvii 13, where it seems to stand in parallelism to רֶוַח *rūah*. Generally it is used meta-

phorically, as here in Ecclesiastes. The verb הָבַל does not help us, for it is evidently a denominative from the metaphorical use of the noun. What can be gathered from the context of various passages in which the word occurs in the O. T. I will come to later.

If Ecclesiastes be a translation from the Aramaic, it is reasonable to ask whether its use in Aramaic be not more precise. That seems to be the case. It is used for the 'vapour' or 'exhalation' that comes from the living body and is seen on a cold day. Thus Psalm xc 9 'as a tale that is told' (כְּסוֹ הֵנָּה, *lii*, 'as a sigh', or 'a murmur') is rendered in the Targum 'as the breath of the mouth in winter' (הֵיךְ הַבֵּל פּוֹמָא בְּסִתְוָא), where the word for 'breath' is not *rūah* but *hval*. This form of words is quite decisive: הַבֵּל, emph. הַבְּלָא *havlā*, is therefore the visible breath, no doubt thought of as a mere waste product, and quite different in substance from the invisible breath of life, *rūhā*. Levy quotes further Jebam. 80b, B. kama 50b, Shabb. 88b, from which we learn that *havlā* is used of the burning breath of angels, of the exhalation from a pit, and of the atmosphere of a rabbinical school full of hardworking pupils.

Further, there is in vulgar Arabic a word *habbal*, which means 'to poultice', or 'to give a vapour bath to'. This is important, as shewing that the Jewish Aramaic use is not a mere inference from the Bible.

Thus 'exhalation' appears to be the accurate physical meaning of the Aramaic *havlā*, and so (no doubt) of its Hebrew equivalent *hével*. 'Vanity' is an exhalation, which comes into visible existence without force or effort, has no vigour, and rapidly vanishes into nothing.

If we go on farther and ask what literary equivalent we can find for *hével* in Ecclesiastes and the other Old Testament passages, we must study the contexts in which the word is used. Most of them are so purely metaphorical that the Targum is justified in rendering it, as it does so often in Psalms, by לֵאמָה, i. e. 'nothing'. But there are three passages which should govern our choice of a term. In Psalm lxii 9 (10) we read that *hével* is the lightest thing the Psalmist can think of to be weighed in a balance; in Psalm cxi 4 *hével* is as fleeting as a passing shadow; in Isaiah xlix 4 to work for *hével* is like working in mere chaos, in the primaeval disorder.

As I have shewn, 'exhalation' is the most scientific rendering; but some exhalations disperse very slowly. Not only is the word too long, it does not give sufficiently the idea of impermanence. 'Breath' inevitably suggests 'life' and activity: these are not wanted. 'Vapour' is almost as bad as 'exhalation', for the same reasons. Some time ago I used 'bubble' as a poetical equivalent: the object of this note is to confess that it is not a scientific equivalent, but to reiterate my conviction that it is more appropriate as a poetical equivalent than its more scientific competitors. A bubble is very light, very fleeting, yet visible.

Like the breath in winter it also often comes from the human mouth, and a mass of bubbles does depict for us chaos. To say that Life is a Breath is almost tautology, but to say that Life is a Bubble is not very far from the thought of Ecclesiastes.

F. C. B.

ADVERSARIA.

I. THE 'BLESSED PRESBYTERS' WHO CONDEMNED NOETUS.

Noetus the Smyrniot, the original inventor of Patripassianism, was examined and ultimately condemned at a council of 'the blessed presbyters'. The object of this note is to try to give an answer to two questions: the first, Where was the council held? the second and more important, Who were the *μακάριοι πρεσβύτεροι* who composed it?

Our only real authority in the matter is Hippolytus. The account in Epiphanius *Haer.* lviii 1 is, as any one can satisfy himself who compares the two writers,¹ dependent on the account in Hippolytus *contra Noetum* 1 (ap. Lagarde *Hippolyti Romani quae feruntur omnia graece*, 1858, pp. 43, 44). Epiphanius after his manner heightens the effect of the picture by dotting the i's and crossing the t's, as he copies out his source: but there is not the least reason to think that he made use of any other authority. So carelessly and unintelligently does he incorporate into his context the language of his exemplar, that whereas Hippolytus begins by saying that Noetus' place was Smyrna and his date rather recent, *οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ χρόνου γενόμενος*, Epiphanius transfers him to Ephesus, and writing nearly a century and a half later says that he taught *οὐ πρὸ ἐτῶν πλειόνων, ἀλλ' ὡς πρὸ χρόνου τῶν τούτων ἑκατὸν τριάκοντα*, 'not so long ago, that is to say, some hundred and thirty years back!'

No statement therefore made in this connexion by Epiphanius is of any value, unless (a) it is a legitimate deduction from the words of Hippolytus, or (b) we find any special reason to suppose that it rests on some other authority and was not deduced (rightly or wrongly) from Hippolytus.

As to place, Epiphanius knows of no other local connexion than Asia and Ephesus. As to the synod, he calls its members *οἱ μακάριοι πρεσβύτεροι τῆς ἐκκλησίας . . . οἱ αὐτοὶ πρεσβύτεροι*: but he also

¹ Besides the phrases quoted in the text, compare Hippolytus 43. 12 *οἵησει πνεύματος ἀλλοτρίου* with Epiphanius *ἀλλοτρίῳ πνεύματι φερόμενος*: H. 43. 12, 15 *εἰς ἐπηρμένον, ἔπαρμα καρδίας* with E. *ἐπάρμασι μανίας ἐπαρθεῖς*. Comparison of H. 43. 25 *τί οὖν κακὸν ποιῶ δοξάζων τὸν χριστὸν . . . καὶ ἡμεῖς ἕνα θεὸν οἶδαμεν ἀληθῶς, οἶδαμεν χριστὸν* with E. *τί γὰρ κακὸν πεποίηκα; ἕνα θεὸν δοξάζω, ἕνα ἐπίσταμαι* may suggest that something has dropped out of our existing text of Hippolytus.

paraphrases twice with ἐπὶ τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου ἀγόμενος, ἐρωτώμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου, so that it is clear that he interpreted the word 'presbyters' literally. From Epiphanius the statement has become current that a synod of presbyters examined and condemned Noetus, and separated him from the Church, ἐξέωσαν τῆς ἐκκλησίας. It does not appear to have occurred to Epiphanius, or to those who have relied on his authority, to ask the question how it came about that presbyters were able to excommunicate on grounds of heresy without any mention of the bishop. Yet *ex hypothesi* the date and place—the province of Asia, at a time somewhere towards the end of the second century—point us to a well-known centre of episcopacy. Polycrates of Ephesus was writing to Victor of Rome (Eus. *H. E.* v 24) very soon after the time when Noetus' case must have been in question, and the pre-suppositions of his letter (even apart from anything else we know of the organization of the Church at that date) would seem to be absolutely inconsistent with the settlement of a doctrinal issue in an important church of that district without reference to any bishop.¹

We shall do well therefore to scrutinize rather carefully the evidence of Epiphanius on this question of the identification of the πρεσβύτεροι, and especially to test it with reference to his source.

Hippolytus speaks of Noetus in more than one of his writings: in the *contra Noetum*, and at two points in the *Philosophumena* or *Ref. Omn. Haer.*, namely at the beginning of book ix and in the middle of book x. But as Epiphanius appears to be drawing here solely on the *contra Noetum*, we will confine ourselves in the first instance to that writing. And we notice at once (besides the minor mistake of the substitution of Ephesus for Smyrna as the home of Noetus and of his preaching) that Epiphanius has gone beyond the letter of his authority in his references to the *presbyterium*: for while Hippolytus repeatedly speaks of οἱ πρεσβύτεροι—ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ μακάριοι πρεσβύτεροι προσκαλεσάμενοι ἐνώπιον τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐξήταζον . . . πάλιν προσκαλεσάμενοι οἱ μακάριοι πρεσβύτεροι ἤλεγξαν . . . ἀνταποκρίνονται οἱ πρεσβύτεροι . . . ἐλέγξαντες ἐξέωσαν τῆς ἐκκλησίας—he never speaks of τὸ πρεσβυτέριον.

Now if we go on to ask what Hippolytus meant by 'the blessed presbyters', we shall find new light thrown on the problem by the references in the *Philosophumena*. And on the smaller point of the locality of the synod, the evidence of the *Philosophumena* is quite decisive.

The opening chapters of the ninth book are occupied with an exposition of the teaching of Noetus and of its relation to the philosophy of Heraclitus. Not much is told us about his personal history, but the

¹ The hypothesis of a temporary vacancy in the episcopate of the particular community is excluded by the definite mention of two meetings of the πρεσβύτεροι and of an interval, apparently considerable, between them.

little that is said is precise and important. 'There was a certain man called Noetus, by origin a Smyrniot. He was responsible for introducing a heresy constructed out of the doctrines of Heraclitus: and he had for his deacon and disciple a certain Epigonus, who settled at Rome and sowed there the seeds of his godless opinions. Epigonus had a disciple Cleomenes, and Cleomenes it was who developed the Noetian school at Rome with the connivance and ultimately the patronage of pope Zephyrinus and his henchman and successor Callistus.' Hardly anything is added in the references to Noetus in x 26, 27: we are told that a section of the Montanists adopted Noetian views; the information as to the Smyrniot origin of Noetus is repeated, and the succession Noetus—Epigonus—Cleomenes is recapitulated; finally the connexion of Callistus with Noetian and other heretical schools is emphasized.

From these details three things emerge with clearness. (1) The date of Noetus is thrown well back into the second century. His disciple's disciple was contemporary with Zephyrinus and Callistus in the first twenty years of the third century, so that the beginnings of Noetianism in its first home may be placed as early as A. D. 180, and it is not likely that the excommunication of Noetus can be any later than A. D. 190. (2) Any direct connexion of Noetus himself with Rome is excluded. Hippolytus says quite definitely that it was his disciple Epigonus who introduced Noetianism into the capital. There is nothing either in Hippolytus or Epiphanius to suggest that the scene of the transactions in which the 'blessed presbyters' were concerned on one side and Noetus on the other was anywhere else than in Asia Minor: and it is by a quite unaccountable slip that the *Dictionary of Christian Biography* (iv 49) transfers it to Rome. (3) If Epigonus is described as 'deacon of' Noetus, the natural, and indeed I think for the second century inevitable, deduction is that Noetus was a bishop: to Hippolytus' phrase (ix 7. 1) *Νοητὸς . . . οὗ διάκονος καὶ μαθητὴς γίνεται Ἐπίγονος* I know of no early parallel save Hegesippus' phrase (ap. Eus. *H. E.* iv 22. 3) *μέχρις Ἀνικίττου, οὗ διάκονος ἦν Ἐλεύτερος*. But if Noetus was a bishop, the idea that he can have been excommunicated by a synod of presbyters becomes tenfold more difficult than before.

And in fact, however natural it may have been for Epiphanius one hundred and fifty years later to misunderstand the language of Hippolytus, there is not the same excuse for us if we do so now, since the *Philosophumena* provide us with an exact parallel which illustrates what to Hippolytus would be implied in the phrase *οἱ μακάριοι πρεσβύτεροι*. Hippolytus twice refers to St Irenaeus by name (vi 42. 1, 55. 2: Wendland 173. 12, 189. 11), and on both occasions he is called *ὁ μακάριος πρεσβύτερος Εἰρηναῖος*, though Hippolytus knew as well as we do that

Irenaeus was a bishop. I do not doubt that in the same way the *μακάριοι πρεσβύτεροι* of the Asiatic synod were the bishops of the neighbourhood.

That does not exactly mean that to Hippolytus the titles *πρεσβύτερος* and *ἐπίσκοπος* were interchangeable. But just as St Irenaeus could call the Roman bishops of the last generation, from Xystus to Anicetus, *οἱ πρὸ Σωτῆρος πρεσβύτεροι* (ap. Eus. *H. E.* v 24. 14) 'the fathers before Soter', just as *ὁ πρεσβύτερος Ἰωάννης* should in my idea be translated 'Father John', just as Hippolytus himself meant by *ὁ μακάριος πρεσβύτερος Εἰρηναῖος* that Irenaeus was one of the luminaries of the last generation 'the blessed father Irenaeus', so too I conceive that Hippolytus would only have used the phrase *οἱ μακάριοι πρεσβύτεροι* of a synod of bishops, if it had been held sufficiently far back in the past for its members to be numbered among the 'blessed dead'. If the *Philosophumena* were published c. A. D. 225, and the condemnation of Noetus took place c. A. D. 185-190, the interval would be fully adequate for this purpose. Again therefore I should render the phrase 'the blessed fathers'.

This interpretation assumes that the use of the word *μακάριος* suggests, so far as it goes, that the *πρεσβύτεροι* in question were dead. But an examination of the evidence for this technical use of *μακάριος* deserves a note to itself.

II. *Μακάριος* AS A TECHNICAL TERM.¹

I owe to a book which has never in its own sphere been superseded, Routh's *Reliquiae Sacrae* (ed. 2 vol. i pp. 179, 185: on the phrase in the fragments of Dionysius of Corinth *ὁ μακάριος ὑμῶν ἐπίσκοπος Σωτήρ*), the following citation from the Scholiast on the *Plutus* of Aristophanes

τὸ μάκαρ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγίων λέγεται μόνον· τὸ μακάριος καὶ μακαριστός ἐπὶ ζώντων καὶ ἀποθανόντων· μακαρίτης δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀποθανόντων μόνον.

Of *μάκαρ* I have no instance to give from patristic writers. But as the word was (1) specially associated with the Homeric phrase *μάκαρες θεοὶ* (and in prose with the phrase 'Island, or Islands, of the blest'), and therefore (2) definitely pagan in association, it is just what we should expect that it should not be found at all in the earliest Christian literature, and that when it does begin to be found it should be specially appropriated to the saints.

Μακαρίτης with a proper name in the sense of 'the departed', 'the late so-and-so', is classical, but particularly frequent in late authors like Plutarch and Lucian (L. S. s. v.). There was no reason why Christians,

¹ The material of the following note comes in part from the slips contributed by various readers for the Lexicon of Patristic Greek.

who had more reason than others to regard the dead as 'blessed', should not adopt this language: and in fact it is of regular occurrence from the beginning of the Constantinian period. Thus it is common in Athanasius: *Ep. Enycl.* 7 ὑπὸ τοῦ μακαρίτου Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ πρὸ ἐμοῦ ἐπισκόπου (and so the council of Sardica ap. Ath. *Apol. contra Arian.* 46 ὑπὸ τοῦ μακαρίτου Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ γενομένου ἐπισκόπου Ἀλεξανδρείας), *Apol. c. Ar.* 51 Κωνστάντιος . . . γράψας ἰδίᾳ πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἑαυτοῦ τὸν μακαρίτην Κώνσταντα, *ib.* 59 ὁ μὲν μακαρίτης Ἀλέξανδρος, τὸν μακαρίτην Κωνσταντῖνον, *Ep. ad episcopos Aegypti* 18, 19 *passim*, both of Alexander and of Constantine the Great. And so Epiphanius applies the term to Constantine the Great (*de mens. et pond.* 20, *haer.* 30. 4) and to bishop Eusebius of Vercelli (*haer.* 30. 5).

But though most commonly used in this sort of connexion, it must not be supposed that μακαρίτης is limited either to persons like emperors or bishops, or to the recently dead. Athanasius speaks among his own predecessors not only of Peter (*Vita Antonii* 47) as ὁ μακαρίτης ἐπίσκοπος Πέτρος, but of Dionysius (*de sent. Dion.* 1, 4) as τὸν μακαρίτην Διονύσιον τὸν ἐπίσκοπον, and even (as it was clear who was meant) as ὁ μακαρίτης (*de sent. Dion.* 5). Cosmas Indicopleustes (ii 104 A) applies it to his friend Menas ὁ μετ' ἐμοῦ μακαρίτης Μηνᾶς. But it does probably represent a new extension of the term when we find it applied in the *Paschal Chronicle* to Biblical characters like St Peter and St Paul and even as far back as David (p. 249 c): earlier writers, and perhaps non-Alexandrine writers, would, I imagine, have used μακάριος instead.

How far back in Christian times the usage of μακαρίτης extends, I should not like to say: the only ante-Nicene example which I have so far come across is in the Encyclical of the Synod of Antioch, c. A. D. 268, ap. Eus. *H. E.* vii 30. 3, Διονύσιον τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ Φιρμιλιανὸν τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς Καππαδοκίας τοὺς μακαρίτας.

The word may, I dare say, be traced earlier still: I think however that the epithet most usually employed in the earliest Christian times was not μακαρίτης but μακάριος. Μακάριος had no sort of pagan associations: on the contrary it was a specially Christian and favourite word. But since it could be and was used as well of the living as of the dead, the problem before us is to see whether and when a distinct use of it in relation to the departed began to grow up.

Two specific developments may be noticed in passing, where the application is fixed by the context respectively to the dead and to the living. Μακάριος is the adjective most commonly used with μνήμη in Christian inscriptions: μακαρίας μνήμης is the Greek equivalent of the Latin 'bonae memoriae'.¹ Conversely the abstract noun ἡ μακα-

¹ References for Sicily in Gondi *Trattato di epigrafia cristiana latina e greca del mondo romano occidentale* (Rome 1920) p. 172.

μός as a title for bishops 'Your Blessedness' or 'Your Beatitude' implies of course the use of μακάριος for the living. But though this became in time a regular title, I am not sure whether it could be found before the fifth century¹: St Basil, in addressing bishops, used ἡ σὴ (or σου) ἀγάπη, εὐλάβεια, θεοσέβεια, σεμνότης, τιμιότης, σύνεσις, and the like, but I have not noticed μακαριότης. And if it was not used in the fourth century, I think the reason probably was that μακάριος was by that time reserved ordinarily, even if not exclusively, for the dead. Certainly this seems to be the consistent usage of St Basil. In the case of Silvanus of Tarsus we cannot, so far as I know, prove that he was dead when he is first mentioned with the epithet μακάριος (ep. 67 p. 160 E: cf. epp. 223 p. 339 E, and 244 p. 378 D), though there is nothing to shew that he was alive. In all other cases the evidence is clear. Ep. 95 (p. 189 A, c) 'the blessed deacon Theophrastus', μαθόντα τὴν κοίμησιν τοῦ μακαρίου διακόνου: more often of bishops, of Dionysius of Milan ep. 197 (p. 288 B), of St Athanasius epp. 214 (p. 321 c) 258 (p. 394 B), of pope Liberius ep. 263 (p. 406 c), and of Hermogenes, the predecessor of Dianius in the episcopate of Cappadocian Caesarea, epp. 81² (p. 174 B) 263 (p. 406 A). An obscurer reference in a letter written by Basil on behalf of his brother Gregory of Nyssa, ep. 225 (p. 345 B) ῥάδιον γὰρ ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν γραμμάτων τοῦ μακαρίου ἐπισκόπου φανερὰν τὴν ἀλήθειαν ποιῆσαι, must I think mean simply 'from the papers of the late bishop'.

Clearly St Basil uses μακάριος or μακαριώτατος where St Athanasius, as we have seen, would have used μακαρίτης. As between the positive and superlative, the latter seems to be preferred in the case of specially eminent or saintly persons—Athanasius, Dionysius, Liberius, and (on one of two occasions) Hermogenes.³

How far back can St Basil's usage be traced? Does it give us

¹ We have, among the material collected for the Patristic Lexicon, references from John Moschus, from the Emperor Justinian, from Eutychius of Constantinople (sixth century), and, as the rendering of *beatitudo*, from the Greek version of the Council of Carthage of 419. And when the *Definitio fidei* of the Council of Chalcedon speaks of the letter τοῦ μακαριωτάτου καὶ ἀγιατάτου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Λιόντος τὴν γραφεῖσαν πρὸς τὸν ἐν ἀγίοις ἀρχιεπίσκοπον Φλαυιανόν, we see the growth in the fifth century of the process of using these adulatory terms of living prelates.

² A certain presbyter of Caesarea is described as τὸν ἐκγονον τοῦ μακαρίου Ἑρμογένους τοῦ τὴν μεγάλην καὶ ἀρρηκτον (v. l. ἀρρητον) πίστιν γράψαντος ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ συνόδῳ. Does this mean merely that Hermogenes subscribed the Creed at the great Council—but that should be ὑπογράφαντος, and besides Leontius was according to the Nicene lists still bishop at the time of the Council—or how are we to explain the allusion? Was Hermogenes acting as secretary to the Council?

³ Gregory Nazianzen uses the superlative in reference to his own parents, ἐξ ἐντολῶν τῶν μακαριωτάτων γονέων μου.

reasonable warrant to think that when Hippolytus spoke of οἱ μακάριοι πρεσβύτεροι he meant 'the departed fathers'?

There is a passage in Eusebius *contra Marcellum* i 4. 17, where he criticizes the comments of Marcellus of Ancyra on a letter of Asterius, from which some light is thrown upon the question: for it suggests a transitional time in the use of the word when it was sometimes, but not regularly, used as an honorific address to the living. Asterius addressed his letter πρὸς τὸν μακάριον Παυλῖνον, and if this had been a quite ordinary method of addressing bishops Marcellus could hardly have satirized it as he did, μακάριον αὐτὸν διὰ τοῦτο εἰπὼν ὅτι τὴν αὐτὴν εἶχεν Ἀστερίῳ δόξαν: 'he called him "blessed", and I suppose he did so because he was on his own side'. Eusebius' argument seems to imply familiarity with the use of the word for the living, but still more with its use for the dead (Paulinus had died in the interval): τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ἄνθρωπον, τὸν ὡς ἀληθῶς τρισμακάριον, Παυλῖνον . . . μακαρίως μὲν βεβιωκότα μακαρίως δὲ ἀναπεπαυμένον, πάλαι τε κεκοιμημένον καὶ μηδὲν αὐτῷ διανοχλοῦντα. When Eusebius a little later on (i 4. 50) refers to Marcellus' attacks on Paulinus in the words διαβάλλει τὸν μακάριον, I think that he again means to remind his readers that Paulinus was dead.

Dionysius of Alexandria, writing to pope Xystus of Rome, therefore in A. D. 256-257, uses the word of his own immediate predecessor (ap. Eus. *H. E.* vii 9. 2) πρὸ τῆς ἐμῆς χειροτονίας, οἶμαι δὲ καὶ τῆς τοῦ μακαρίου Ἡρακλᾶ καταστάσεως.

Of course the title as applied to Biblical characters and writers means ordinarily no more than just what we mean by 'St': ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος is 'St Paul', and the usage extended to the Old Testament as well as to the New. Yet I am not quite sure that when Clement of Rome recalls the attention of the Corinthians to the epistle τοῦ μακαρίου Παύλου τοῦ ἀποστόλου (§ 47), or when Polycarp wrote similarly to the Philippians (§ 3) of the wisdom τοῦ μακαρίου καὶ ἐνδόξου Παύλου, the blessedness of 'the departed' was wholly absent from their thought: cf. Apoc. xiv 13 μακάριοι οἱ νεκροὶ οἱ ἐν Κυρίῳ ἀποθνήσκοντες ἀπ' ἄρτι. Certainly the references to Polycarp himself in the *Martyrium Polycarpi* do seem to me to connect the use of μακάριος rather definitely with his death and martyrdom: the epithet is nowhere used in the body of the narrative, but four times over in close connexion with the verb μαρτυρέω: § 1 τὰ κατὰ τοὺς μαρτυρήσαντας καὶ τὸν μακάριον Πολύκαρπον, § 19 τὰ κατὰ τὸν μακάριον Πολύκαρπον ὃς . . . μαρτυρήσας, § 21 μαρτυρεῖ ὁ μακάριος Πολύκαρπος, § 22 ἐμαρτύρησεν ὁ μακάριος Πολύκαρπος. Again in the Letter of the churches of Lyons and Vienne μακάριος is the adjective consistently used whether of the martyrs as a body or of individual martyrs like Pothinus and Blandina (ap. Eus. *H. E.* v 1. 4, 19, 27, 29, 47, 55). In both of these documents the technical

sense of 'the blessed dead' appears to come definitely into view¹; and with these passages would go the reference of Irenaeus in the letter to Florinus, ap. Eus. *H. E.* v 20. 6 τὸν τόπον ἐν ᾧ καθεζόμενος διελέγετο ὁ μακάριος Πολύκαρπος. I should similarly interpret the language of Serapion of Antioch (Eus. *H. E.* v 19. 2, 3, Routh *Rel. Sacr.*² i 451, 452, 457) Κλαυδίου Ἀπολιναρίου τοῦ μακαριωτάτου γουμένου ἐν Ἱεραπόλει ἐπισκόπου, Σωτᾶς ὁ μακάριος ὁ ἐν Ἀγχιάλῳ.

Against these references to the dead two are quoted to the living from the documents of the same period: Dionysius of Corinth, writing to the church of Rome when Soter was bishop, speaks of ὁ μακάριος ἐμῶν ἐπίσκοπος Σωτήρ (ap. Eus. *H. E.* iv 23. 10), and Alexander of Jerusalem, writing to the church of Antioch, says that he is sending the letter by the hands of Clement διὰ Κλήμεντος τοῦ μακαρίου πρεσβυτέρου. But in these cases the recipients knew well enough if the 'blessed' bishop or presbyter in question was living, just as the vocative μακάριε is occasionally found, for the more usual ἀγαπητέ, e.g. in the anti-Montanist ap. Eus. *H. E.* v 16. 15²: and no more is contended in this note than that in appropriate contexts the epithet had at least from the early third century begun to acquire a technical meaning in reference to the 'blessed dead'. For a time no doubt the two uses may have gone on side by side: and in Latin the epithet *beatus* and the still more frequent *beatissimus* followed I think a separate line of development, and did not become attached to 'the departed' as μακάριος did.

But I have no sort of doubt that Hippolytus, whether in the μακάριοι πρεσβύτεροι of the *c. Noetum* or in the μακάριος πρεσβύτερος Εἰρηναῖος of the *Philosophumena*, was already using μακάριος in the later technical sense. In his phraseology the μακάριος and the πρεσβύτερος helped one another out, so that there would have been no danger for contemporaries, as there was for Epiphanius, of misunderstanding his meaning.³

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¹ So in the *Apostolic Constitutions* James and Stephen, the martyrs of the Book of Acts, are specially singled out in connexion with the epithet μακάριος, v 8. 1, vi 30. 10, viii 46. 16 (ed. Funk 263. 17, 385. 6, 562. 10).

² I take this reference from Bonwetsch *Geschichte des Montanismus* p. 32 n. 1, who is concerned to minimize any implication of the reference of μακάριος to the departed.

³ There are of course other ways of employing the epithet μακάριος than in the personal reference to which I have here been limiting my enquiry. For instance there is the use of the word in relation to the Godhead, the 'Blessed Trinity'. I have made no special investigation, but I do not suppose that μακάριος is as frequent in this connexion as some other epithets. Eusebius of Caesarea has τὴν ἑγὼ καὶ μακαρίαν Τριάδα *Praep. Ev.* xi 20, and τὴν ἁγίαν καὶ μακαρίαν καὶ μυστικὴν Τριάδα *c. Marcell.* i 1 (3. 24).

IRISH VERSIONS OF THE *TRANSITUS MARIAE*.

I

IN the *Liber Flavus Fergusiorum* vol. ii f. 48 (99), a manuscript in the library of the Royal Irish Academy, occurs an interesting version of the *Transitus Mariae* hitherto unnoticed by students of apocrypha. From the style of the Irish it is said to date from the fourteenth century, but, as will be shewn hereafter, it enshrines much earlier documents. It has never been translated into English, but a fairly full résumé is now given.

As Mary is praying, 'and she had completed forty-nine years on the Ascension of the Saviour to Heaven', Christ appears to her, tells her of her approaching death, and gives her a palm. She fears to take it lest she should arouse the anger of the Jews, but He reassures her by telling her that that palm will afterwards work miracles in Jerusalem. She and Christ go on the Mount of Olives, and as they walk to and fro all the trees bow down to the palm. He reminds her of the incident on the road to Egypt (virtually as in Pseudo-Matthew). Christ goes to Heaven, and Mary returns home: as she nears her house 'a mighty vibration seizes it through the glory and honour of the palm'. She goes into the lower cellar, bathes herself, and puts on all her garments in honour of Christ (who has returned from Heaven) and sits by her bedside. She speaks to Him. Then God sends messages to the holy and upright people who live near her, and they all come to her. She tells them of her approaching death, and bids them lay her out and take a lighted torch in the hand of each of them. Two angels come to meet each soul, she says, the angel of truth and the angel of untruth. She warns them to take heed to themselves, so that the dwelling of the devil may not be in their minds. When the maidens hear this great fear comes on them, and the 'human race' (the maidens, or the bystanders) says: 'Oh Mother if on thee there is fear what path we [you?] shall go, [what shall we do,] for if the shepherd flees before the wolf, what path shall the sheep go escaping him?'

The Apostle John enters. Mary bids him guard her body, lest the Jews should burn it. He thereupon weeps till the ground is wet before him. She then shews him the garments for her burial, and the robes for the two (three?) virgins, also the palm, which she directs him to take and put above her grave. He declines to receive it until the

other Apostles come, lest there should be jealousy at the preference shewn to him. Immediately after, the Apostles come on clouds from the regions where they have been preaching. Peter enters the house first, then Paul. They greet each other. Peter bids Paul pray to God to reveal why He has brought them all together. Paul says he is the last chosen, and that Peter, the senior of all, should do so. Peter accordingly does so. Then John comes and tells them how he was brought from Ephesus on a cloud (apparently with his twenty-nine disciples). They then come and greet Mary, who is overjoyed, and shews them her burial-garments.

On the beginning of the third day Peter bids the Apostles take lighted torches in their hands, so that they may be ready to meet the Saviour. Paul says that he has never seen Christ in the flesh, and desires to know something of the true teaching. Peter replies 'This is the teaching. He who will not fast every day will not attain to the Kingdom of God.' Paul says the people will not receive this on account of its severity, and that they will kill Peter. He then asks John. The latter replies 'He who does not shun every evil practice, he shall not have the Kingdom of Heaven'. This is also too hard. Paul then asks Andrew. He replies 'He who will not leave his father and mother and all his friends for love of Jesus, he will not get the Heavenly Kingdom'. This is also considered too severe. Paul says the teaching should be 'supportable pronouncements, that is, fasting each week on each of them, so that weariness and disgust may not seize them'. Christ, with Michael and the heavenly host, comes into their midst silently; He says that Paul's teaching will be accepted, and promises to reveal to him the Divine mysteries. 'Then Christ went forward in a shining flame, and summoned Paul with him.' Death raises an objection. "Let him come", said the Devil, "till we do battle, and till we find out which of us is the stronger, and if it be he who is the stronger, bring him with you to Heaven, and shew him all the glories and pains in Heaven and Hell." Christ orders Paul to fight the Devil, 'for I have promised that I would not bring any one to Heaven save him who would win [*lit. break*] a battle on the Devil'. He directs Peter to help him. The two Apostles fight and overcome the Devil.

Peter and Paul then return to the house. The brilliancy of Mary is insupportable. After a little conversation the house is filled with mighty noise and fragrance of angels, so that all fall asleep except the virgins and the Apostles. Christ then comes, and takes her soul in His arms. It is in human form, seven times brighter than the sun, and exceeding white. He bids them take the body 'to the left side of the city, for it is there is the grave of Anna her own mother, and put her in

the grave and guard her'. Mary's body speaks to Christ (in an evidently corrupt passage). The Apostles and the three virgins prepare to carry the body. Peter bids John carry the palm before them, but the latter says Peter should. The Jewish people, incited by the Chief Priest, make an attack on the procession, but 'their sight was taken from their eyes, and their strength from their hands, and the power of movement from their feet'. One, however, tries to break the palm which John is carrying, and to overturn the body, but his hands come off, and adhere to the bier. On his repentance and conversion he is cured, and heals the Jews with the palm. The Apostles sit round the grave. Christ comes with Michael and the angels. The body is taken up into the clouds by them, the Apostles accompanying it. When they reach Paradise the body (soul) of Mary is under the tree of life in Paradise, and the one is restored to the other.

Then the Apostles remind Christ that He had promised to shew them (Hell). He replies 'It were worse for you to see it', but says He will shew them Hell if they so desire. At this 'a mighty cloud came towards them, which carried off the Apostles and Michael and Mary along with Christ to the door of Hell, and they were cast down to the ground there'. At His command Hell is opened. The people of Hell cry out to Michael, who falls on his face, and says 'Methinks it is I myself who am bearing those pains'. At this Christ rebukes him, and says 'I have shed my blood, and given my body for them; but you, however, are but for one hour praying to me for them'.

He then bids Michael shew something of the pains of Hell to the Apostles. They see some with fiery darts in their mouths, so that they cannot speak. Peter asks who are these. He is told that they are wise men who did not follow their own teaching. Others have their hands burning, and little infants in flames (hanging) out of their sides (breasts?) sucking at them. 'These are ignorant priests who did not understand the Canon of the Lord, nor how to give penance aright. Others had red-hot fetters on hands and feet, and demons scourging . . . rods (MS illegible). These were rich people who did not give in charity. Unjust judges who perverted the truth for money or gain had red-hot swords through their tongues.

The people of Hell cry out to Mary to intercede with her Son in order that He may give them some respite. He answers them 'I was crucified for your sakes, and my side was pierced, and my head was crowned with thorns, but you refused the ten commandments of the law of God, in spite of my teaching to you, and why should I give you relief?' Mary kneels in supplication to Him, and bares her right breast; and in honour of her and the Apostles three hours respite every Sunday is granted them. Hell is then closed. Mary is taken

to Paradise, and the Apostles go to their several regions to preach the Gospel.

Much might be said on the foregoing, but we shall confine ourselves to as few remarks as possible. The version is curiously composite. In several points it agrees with the Golden Legend, and with that Latin text which Tischendorf in his *Apocalypses Apocryphae* had designated B. Of more importance are the points of connexion with Eastern apocrypha. It will be noticed that it is Christ who announces her death to Mary. In the Greek, Latin, Syriac, and Arabic versions of the story this action is performed either by Gabriel or an unnamed angel. But in three Coptic documents it is done by Christ Himself; in one of these He brings her garments for her shroud, and three branches of palm after her spirit is taken away. The statement that God sent Mary's holy neighbours to her finds a parallel in a Coptic version where a Voice bids the virgins from the Mount of Olives go to her. Again, Mary says that two angels come to meet each soul, the angel of truth and the angel of untruth. This can be paralleled by passages in Irish literature, but it is also found in a Coptic account. 'They say that two powers come after each soul, one of light, another of darkness.'¹

The curious, and apparently defective, passage in which the maidens, or the bystanders, express their fear at what fate may befall them, finds a parallel and an explanation in the Syriac and Arabic, though there the words are put into the mouth of St John. In Enger's Arabic version he says to the Virgin 'Since you have borne Christ why do you fear to depart from the world? What will be the position of those who are lower than you, and who, when they leave the world, do not know what fate will be theirs?' In the longer Syriac version it is more full. 'If thou who art the Mother of God art so grieved because thou art going out of this world, what shall the upright and righteous do when they go out of this transient [world] to the world that passeth not away?''²

But the most interesting point about the Irish version is that a considerable portion of it finds a parallel, and presumably an origin, in a Syriac work entitled *The Obsequies of the Holy Virgin*. As the book in which it is contained is scarce and out of print the passage referred to may be given briefly. The Syriac is fragmentary, and commences in the middle of a judgement of Solomon which Paul is relating. Then Paul desires to know the doctrine of the Apostles in order that he may preach it. Peter replies that no one who will not fast all his days will

¹ Forbes Robinson *Coptic Apocryphal Gospels* pp. 33, 53, 95, 99, III.

² Enger *Iohannis Apostoli de Transitu B. Mariae* p. 514 (French trans. in Migne *Dict. des Apocryphes* ii p. 503); Lewis *Apocrypha Syriaca* p. 27; W. Wright *Contributions to Apocryphal N. T. from Syriac* p. 22.

see God. Paul replies that this is too severe, and that the people would kill Peter if he preaches this. He then turns to John, who replies that he will preach that any one who is not a virgin all his days will not see God. Paul says this is too hard, and questions Andrew. The latter says that no one who does not leave father and mother, &c., and go out after our Lord is able to see God. Paul replies that the words of Peter and John are light compared with his. Then Peter and Andrew ask Paul in what way he desires that they should go and preach. Paul advocates marriage, and fasting on one or two days in the week. The Apostles murmur, and will not receive this. They are sitting round the tomb, and as they discuss Paul's words Christ and Michael come from Heaven. Christ says that Paul's teaching is the one to be received, and then turning to Paul promises to teach him the things that are in Heaven. He then bids Michael bring Mary's body to Paradise. The Apostles are also carried up. The body of Mary goes to the Tree of Life, and her soul is caused to enter into it. Then the Apostles remind Christ that He had promised to shew them dreadful things. Whereupon 'Our Lord made a sign with His eyes, and a cloud snatched away the Apostles and Mary and Michael and Our Lord along with them, and carried them to where the sun sets, and left them there. And Our Lord spake with the angels of the pit, and the earth sprang upward, and the pit was revealed in the midst of the earth.' The Apostles look in. Those in the pit see Michael, and beg him to ask the Lord to grant them a little respite. Mary and the Apostles fall on their faces in terror at the sight. Christ reminds them that He had warned them that they could not bear it. Michael speaks to those in the pit; the angel over the waters draws near, and beseeches God. Here the fragment breaks off.¹

Although a number of incidents are interpolated in the Irish version of what is a continuous narrative in the Syriac, yet there can be no doubt that the former is dependent on the latter, so that we have here an instance of a direct connexion between Irish and Syriac literature.

Though the Irish version belongs to the fourteenth century, as we have said, yet the connexion between the two literatures can be traced back to a much earlier period. In the introductory portion of the *Vision of Adamnan*, which is said to date from the tenth century, there occurs the following passage. 'On the day of Mary's death all the Apostles were brought to look upon the pains and miserable punishments of the unblest; for the Lord commanded the angels of the West to open up the earth before the face of the Apostles, that they might see

¹ W. Wright *Contributions to Apocryphal Literature of the New Testament from the Syriac* pp. 42 ff. In Atkinson *Passions and Homilies from Leabhar Breac* p. 457 there is an allusion to the damned speaking to Michael and his reply.

and consider Hell with all its torments, even as Himself had told them, long time before his Passion.¹

It might be noted that a longer, and somewhat different, account of the dispute of the Apostles about their doctrines is to found in the Ethiopic work, *The Book of the Mysteries of Heaven and Earth*. In it each of the Twelve declares briefly what will form the subject of his preaching in that part of the world to which he goes. Then Paul enunciates his doctrine. Immediately afterwards Christ appears and supports what Paul says, declaring that his words are more acceptable to Him than theirs. Then He turns to the Twelve, and upbraids each one of them for the attitude they have adopted at the time of His Passion. Peter has denied Him; John has rejoiced with the princes of the priests while He hung on the cross; Bartholomew has fled together with his sister's son Rakub; Nathanael has hidden himself in a wood; &c.²

In the description of Hell the most important item is the difficult passage relative to the ignorant priests with little infants in flames (hanging) out of their sides (breasts?) sucking at them. One is at once reminded of passages in the *Apocalypse of Peter*; but whether that apocalypse was known in Ireland, or exerted any influence on Irish literature, is a question not easy to answer. But some light is thrown on the above curious passage by a sentence in the later portion of the *Vision of Adamnan* (which is almost certainly an addition to the original work). 'The children that are tearing the men in orders are they who were committed to them for amendment, but they amended them not, neither reprov'd them.' Both passages seem to be imperfect. In the first no reason is given for the presence of the infants; in the second their presence is explained, but they are introduced abruptly into the narrative without previous mention. At all events it is clear that the children are brought in for the express purpose of inflicting punishment on the negligent clergy who should have instructed them but did not. The conception may be based, if not ultimately on the *Apocalypse of Peter*, at all events on some lost apocalypse: may we hazard the suggestion that we have here a portion of that curious work, once current in Ireland, of which a very corrupt fragment has been published in *Revue Bénédictine* (t. xxiv p. 311) and in the *JOURNAL* (vol. xx p. 15)? We may also compare with these two other passages.

¹ Boswell *An Irish Precursor of Dante* p. 29; *Journal of Theological Studies* for 1910, p. 290. Other parallels may briefly be noted. The Virgin sees Hell, Lewis *Apocrypha Syriaca* p. 64; Basset *Apocryphes Éthiopiens* v p. 68. In the *Apocalypse of the Virgin* she is conducted through Hell, James *Apocrypha Anecdota* part i; *Revue des études grecques* t. xiii p. 233. In the Ethiopic *Instructions of Christ to His disciples* the twelve Apostles (without Mary) are shewn Hell, Basset *op. cit.* vii p. 9.

² *Patrologia Orientalis* t. i fasc. 1 p. 86.

Alberic of Monte Cassino, in his early twelfth-century vision, sees in a great fire women who procured abortions, while their children (who are really demons in disguise) stand before them and upbraid them. In William of Stranton's descent into St Patrick's Purgatory in 1406, men and women are beaten by their own children with brands of fire. This was the doom of parents who had neglected to correct their offspring during life.¹

The concluding portion, which describes the petition of the damned for some respite, and Mary's successful prayer for them, is based on the late Greek *Apocalypse of the Virgin*, which in its turn is built upon the *Vision of Paul*. The conception of a brief cessation from torment being granted to the souls in Hell occurs elsewhere in Irish literature, e. g. at the end of the *Vision of Adamnan*, in the *Voyage of the Sons of Ua Corra*, and in the *Cáin Domnaig*; but it is far from being exclusively Irish in origin, as it is found in Greek, Latin, Hebrew, and Coptic.

In conclusion, several points in the Irish find no parallel in the other versions of the *Transitus Mariae*. Such are: (1) The trees bowing to the palm which Mary carries. (2) The introduction into the narrative of the story of the palm-tree. (3) The house vibrating at the presence of the palm. (4) The story of Christ bringing Paul to Heaven, and of the fight of the two Apostles with the Devil. (5) The direction that Mary should be buried in her mother Anna's grave. (6) Peter telling John to carry the palm (in all the versions in which the story occurs it is John who speaks first to Peter). (7) The introduction of the description of Hell. (8) The petition of the damned, and Mary's prayer for them. Of these Nos. 2, 7, and 8 are almost certainly interpolations made by the Irish compiler. One cannot speak with equal sureness of Nos. 1, 3, and 4. It may be conjectured that these are taken from some source (possibly a Syriac one) now unknown; had we Wright's *Obsequies* in its entirety, or a cognate document, our conjecture might become a certainty.²

II

There is another version of the *Transitus Mariae* on f. 64 a of a manuscript in the library of the Royal Irish Academy classed 3. B. 22. In general this account does not need much comment, as it is

¹ Boswell *op. cit.* p. 42. Alberic's vision is in *Dante, opere minore, rime* vol. v p. 283. W. of Stranton's vision is in Seymour *St Patrick's Purgatory*. For the question as to whether the *Apocalypse of Peter* was known in ancient Ireland see a sentence in the *Vision of Adamnan* (Boswell p. 45), which would seem to imply that it was.

² A passage slightly resembling (1) occurs in a fragment (Wright *op. cit.* p. 50), where the trees on the Mount of Olives bow down to the Apostles.

admittedly based on the Golden Legend, quoting such authorities from the latter as John of Damascus, Cosmas Vestitor, Andrew of Crete, the pseudo-Dionysius, &c.

Yet it does not hold slavishly to the Golden Legend, and the points where it breaks away must be noted. When the Virgin shews John the palm and garments she also puts into his hand a parchment written by Christ before His Passion, which contained mysteries of divine lore. Over her grave was 'a four-cornered stone cut wonderfully, of which the upper part was smooth and even, and the lower part hollow; and it closed the grave, so that neither clay nor ashes nor dirt could get through it'. The episode of doubting Thomas occurs as follows. When he sees Mary being carried up he asks Christ to give him some token which people will not call in question. In response the cloak that had been wrapped round her in the tomb falls back. Thomas joyfully shews it to the Apostles. They all hasten to the tomb, but find nothing in it but 'the heavenly flour which is called manna'.

The concluding portion differs altogether from the Golden Legend. Mary is carried aloft through five named Heavens, viz. Aereum, Coelum, Coelum Etherium, Coelum Sidereum, and Coelum Empyreum. Countless hosts of angels come to meet her. She is welcomed by Adam, Noah, Abraham, the other patriarchs, Joseph her husband, and finally by the Trinity. To a certain extent this resembles Tischendorf's Greek version. But it finds a closer parallel in the longer Syriac and Arabic versions. In these she passes through the lower heaven and the heaven of heavens (the first, second, and third in the Arabic) where she sees the celestial wonders. Then she enters the Heavenly Jerusalem. It had twelve gates, at each of which an Apostle (a *guardian* in the Arabic) stood. As she enters each she is adored by celestial beings, by the souls of the disciples and prophets, or by the elements. Finally she sees the Trinity. It seems fairly probable that the concluding portion of the Irish text is influenced by the Eastern versions.¹

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¹ *Enger Iohannis Apostoli de Transitu B. Mariae* (Migne *Dict. des Apocr.* ii p. 527); *Lewis Apocr. Syriaca* p. 65; Budge *The History of the Blessed Virgin Mary* ii p. 128; *Journal of Sacred Literature* vii (new series) p. 157.

THE ANAPHORA OF THE ETHIOPIC TESTAMENT OF OUR LORD.

THE Ethiopic version of the *Testament of our Lord* is contained in two manuscripts of the British Museum (Orient. 793 and 795). One of the chapters of the *Testament* gives an account of the celebration of the Eucharist. The Syriac version of this is well known from the English translation published in 1902 by Cooper and Maclean. In the notes of their edition occasional reference is made to the Ethiopic version, and in an Appendix a translation is given of the Ethiopic *Anaphora of Our Lord Jesus Christ* which is based on the Anaphora of the *Testament*. No translation of the Anaphora as it is found in the Ethiopic *Testament* has hitherto been published. It will be seen to follow on the lines of the Syriac version. There are, however, differences of reading, in some of which the Ethiopic seems to have preserved a better text.

The following translation is made from Orient. 793 (A), except in one or two places in which the other MS (B) has obviously a better reading.

In the notes the symbol Syr. is used for the Syriac version of the *Testament*.

Concerning the Order of the Eucharist

(being chapter ix [xv in B] of the *Testament of our Lord*).

While offering let the veil be drawn over (and) let the bishop¹ (pâpâs) offer within, with the presbyters and deacons, monks and widows, and sub-deacons and deaconesses² and readers to whom grace has been given.

And let the bishop while he offereth stand in their midst and the presbyters on his right hand and on his left, and the widows behind them on the left, and the deacons³ on the right,⁴ and the readers behind the deacons, and the sub-deacons behind the readers, and the deaconesses behind the sub-deacons.

And the bishop alone shall place his hand on the loaves which they have

¹ B omits 'pâpâs', perhaps rightly, as the word does not occur in Syr., and elsewhere in the Anaphora the Eth. word for bishop is the Gk. ἐπίσκοπος.

² B *per homoioteleuton* omits from 'monks' to 'deaconesses'. The text agrees with Syr., except for the insertion of 'monks'.

³ So B and Syr. A reads: deaconesses.

⁴ B adds: and on the left.

offered on the altar, and the presbyters shall raise (?)¹ their hands with fear, and the others shall stand in quietness.

And a catechumen shall not then be present, and even if there be one that hath (believing) children or a wife, he shall not offer (lit. give), unless he be a believer and be baptized.

And before the bishop offereth, or the presbyter, the people shall give the Peace one to the other, men to men, and women to women.

And then there shall be a deep silence and as they are silent, the deacon² shall say thus, and make proclamation before the Thanksgiving.

Be your hearts in heaven.

And if there be one that hath aught against his neighbour, let him forgive him.

If there be one that thinketh hypocrisy in his heart, let him make confession.

If there be one in whom is pollution of mind,³ let him withdraw.

If there be one that hath fallen into sin, let him not forget it, for it shall not be forgotten.

If there be one that hath a diseased mind,³ let him not draw nigh.

If there be one that is defiled, or that is not clean, let him withdraw.

If there be one that is a stranger to the commandment of Jesus, let him withdraw.

If there be one that despiseth the prophets, let him withdraw himself from the wrath of the Only-begotten, and save his soul (*or*, himself); let him not do despite to the cross; and let him flee from the wrath of God, for we have Him who seeth us, the Father of light with His Son⁴ and His holy angels who visit the Church.

See to your souls (*or*, yourselves) and cleanse your bodies, and remember not their transgressions against your neighbours.

See that none be in wrath against his fellow; the Lord seeth.

Lift up your hearts. Let us draw nigh to the salvation of life and to the holy things in the wisdom of the Lord; let us receive the grace that hath been given us.

And thus let the bishop do,⁵ giving thanks with a strong and awesome voice, The Lord be with you all.

And the people say: With thy spirit.

The bishop saith: Lift up your hearts.

And the people with all their mind say: We have (them) to the Lord.

¹ *lit.*: make to look. A change of one consonant would give 'place', as in Syr. This would seem contradictory to the previous clause, 'the bishop alone, &c.'

² So B and Syr. A reads: deacons.

³ i. e. one who is mentally afflicted.

⁴ B omits: with His Son. The text agrees with Syr.

⁵ So the MSS. Perhaps 'say' should be read as in Syr., or 'saying' inserted after 'voice'.

The bishop saith : Let us give thanks to the Lord.

And all the people answer : It is meet and very right.

And the bishop saith : That which is holy¹ for the holy.

The people say : Continually in heaven and on earth.

We give Thee thanks, O God perfect and² holy, the End of our souls, the Giver of our life, the incorruptible Treasure, the Father of the Only-begotten Thy Son our Saviour who proclaimed Thy will, for Thou didst will that we should be saved through Thee. Our hearts give thanks to Thee, O Lord, to Thee the Might of the Father, and the Grace of the Gentiles, true Knowledge, the Wisdom of the humble, the Physician of the Soul, the Greatness of the humble, our Friend.³ Thou art the Staff of the righteous, the Hope of the persecuted (or, the exiled), the Haven of those who are tempest-tossed, the Light of the perfect, the Son of the living God.

Make to shine upon us, from this Thy grace which is unsearchable, firmness (*lit.* planting) and strength, trust and wisdom, and power of faith that bendeth not, and hope that changeth not. Grant knowledge of the Spirit to our lowliness that we Thy servants, O Lord, may ever be purified in righteousness, and that all Thy people may glorify Thee.⁴

Yea, O Lord, Thee we bless, and to Thee we give thanks ; and ever we pray Thee, O Lord, the Father of the lofty ones who reignest over the treasures of the light, the Visitor of the heavenly Jerusalem, the Lord of dominions (and) of the chiefs of the angels, the Might of lords and the Glory of thrones, the Raiment of the lights, the Joy of delight and the King of kings, the Father who upholdest all things and governest by (Thy) hand,⁵ and by Thy Counsel, Thy only Son Jesus who was crucified for our sins, through whom, the Word of Thy covenant, Thou didst make all things ; in Him being well pleased, Thou sentest Him into the bosom of the Virgin ; He was conceived in the womb, was made flesh, and was declared Thy Son by the Holy Spirit, being born of a Virgin, that He might fulfil Thy will and prepare for Thee a holy people.

He stretched forth His hands to the passion that He might save the suffering and loose the dead who trusted on Thee, who was given of His own will to the passion that He might save the suffering and strengthen those who tottered, find the lost, and give life to the dead, and loose death and burst the band of Satan,⁶ and fulfil the will of His

¹ This word is in the singular in Eth.

² B and Syr. omit : perfect and.

³ Our Friend. There is nothing corresponding in Syr. The same Eth. word is used in the *Didascalia* in a quotation from Prov. vii 4 as a translation of *γνώριμος*.

⁴ Or, and all Thy people shall glorify Thee.

⁵ B reads : all things by (Thy) hand which governeth.

⁶ B omits : of Satan.

Father and trample on Sheol and open the gates of life, and give light to the righteous, and establish an ordinance (*or* covenant), and remove darkness, and bring up the babes, and proclaim His resurrection.

He took bread in His holy and blessed hands which were without spot, He¹ brake, and delivered to His disciples, speaking (and) saying, Take, eat; this is My Body which is broken for you for the forgiveness of sin and for life eternal. So be it. And when ye do this, make memorial of Me. And mingling a cup of wine Thou gavest (it) to them in the likeness of this Thy Blood which was poured out for our sin.²

Now also, O Lord, we pray to Thee; remembering Thy death and confessing Thy resurrection we offer to Thee the bread and the cup, giving thanks to Thee who alone art from eternity God the Saviour, for Thou hast bidden us to stand before Thee and serve as priests in Thy presence, therefore we also Thy servants, O Lord [give thanks unto Thee]³ *and the people also say thus.*

Again we offer to Thee this Thanksgiving, Eternal Trinity, O Lord, the Father of Jesus Christ (before) whom every creature and (every) soul trembleth and returneth (*lit.* shrinketh) into itself. Thine is this gift; not food and drink is it that we offer to Thy holiness. Make that it be not unto us for condemnation, or for blaspheming of the enemy, or for perdition, but (for) a healing of our bodies and for a strengthening of our spirits.

Yea, our God, grant us for Thy name's sake that we may flee from every thought that is not pleasing unto Thee. O Lord, grant us that every counsel of death may be banished from us, (even each) who by Thy name is written within the veil of Thy sanctuary in the heavens. May death hear Thy name and be amazed, may Sheol and the abysses be rent and the enemy be trodden under foot, may the spirit of destruction tremble, and the serpent (*or* dragon) be removed, may unbelief be far away, and the traitor be afflicted, may anger be silent, envy avail not, may the arrogant be reprov'd, and the covetous (*lit.* lovers of gold) rooted out; may oppression cease, the crafty be overthrown, and every root of bitterness⁴ be scattered.

Grant, O Lord, to the inner eyes of our hearts that they may see Thee and glorify Thee and praise Thee, remembering Thee and serving Thee, for Thou alone art their portion, the Son and the Word of God whom all things serve. Perfect and strengthen those to whom Thou hast revealed Thy grace; heal (and) guard those who are in

¹ B adds: gave thanks, blessed and.

² B reads: for us.

³ It seems necessary to add these words from Syr.

⁴ So Syr. The Eth. phrase is 'creation of gall'.

grace ; direct those who by the power of the tongue glorify the faith (and) who teach by the word of the tongue ; save those who do Thy will continually ; visit the widows ; receive the orphans ; receive those who have entered into rest in the faith.

Grant unto us also, O Lord, a portion with all Thy saints ; grant us strength that we may please Thee as they pleased Thee ; feed Thy people in righteousness and holiness ; O Lord, grant unto us all union whereby we may receive of Thy holy things (and) be filled with the Holy Spirit and the strength of faith in truth (*or* righteousness) that for ever we may praise Thee and Thy beloved Son Jesus Christ with the Holy Spirit ; for Thine is the glory and honour. *And the people say : Amen.*

The deacon saith : With all the heart let us entreat the Lord our God to grant us a good communion of the Holy Spirit.

The bishop saith : Grant us to be joined in Thy Holy Spirit, and heal us by this *prosphora*¹ that we may live in Thee to all ages for ever and ever. *And the people say : Amen.*

And the people also pray the very same.

And after this (is) the seal of the Eucharist ; thus he saith : Blessed be the name of the Lord for ever and for ever and ever. *And the people say : Amen.*

And again the priest saith : Blessed be He who cometh in the name of the Lord, and blessed be the name of His glory. *And the people say : So be it, so be it, so be it.*

And the bishop saith : Send Him ; *and the people say :* Send the grace of the Holy Spirit upon us.

And if the bishop be unclean, let him not offer, but let the presbyter offer ; neither let him take part in the communion, and not as though he were defiled, but for the sake of the honour of the altar. And when he hath fasted and washed himself with pure water, let him come and offer and take part ; and if there be a widow who is in her impurity, let her not take part, and (similarly) if a layman (be defiled) or (a woman) who is in a rule of monasticism, let them not take part, until they be purified, for the sake of the honour of the altar. But if they have washed and fasted, let them take part. And in this wise let the priests first receive the Eucharist ; the bishop and the presbyters and the deacons and widows, the readers and the sub-deacons, and those who are in grace, the newly baptized² . . . Christians, and then the children ; and the people thus, the old men and the celibates ; and then the others who are left ; and (then) the deaconesses and the rest of the women.

¹ This Greek word is transliterated in Eth.

² After this there is in Eth. a word meaning ' great ', which seems unintelligible in the context. Syr. has nothing corresponding.

Here the Eth. chapter ends. Syr. adds as part of the same chapter the Prayer found in the Eth. Anaphora of the Apostles (cf. Brightman *LEW* p. 241) beginning, 'Holy, Holy, Holy, Trinity ineffable'; then some rubrics about the reception, and finally the prayer found in nearly all the Eth. Anaphoras, and called in them 'Pilot of the Soul' (cf. Brightman, p. 243). The same matter is found in the Eth. version in the three chapters (x-xii, A; xvi-xviii, B) which follow.

J. M. HARDEN.

THE EASTER CALENDAR AND THE SLAVONIC ENOCH.

In the JOURNAL for January 1921 Dr Charles has replied to Mrs Maunders's paper 'The Date and Place of Writing of the Slavonic Enoch' (*The Observatory* xli, 1918, 309-316), or rather to my notice of it in the JOURNAL xx (1919) 252, for, as he himself tells us, he writes without having referred to Mrs Maunders's paper. In that notice I was careful to express neither agreement with nor dissent from any part of Mrs Maunders's criticism except in so far as she dealt with the scheme of the calendar. Here alone her argument falls within the range of my own studies, and in my opinion it is unanswerable.

Since it is impossible to discover from standard works on chronology when some of the calendrical elements contained in the Slavonic Enoch came into use, I have thought it may be useful both to students of the Easter calendar and to students of the Slavonic Enoch to have the dates set out when these elements first made their appearance. Being ignorant of Slavonic languages I use the English versions of Morfill¹ and Forbes² and the German version of Professor Bonwetsch.³

The calendrical elements in the Slavonic Enoch are contained in chapters xiii-xvi. They are almost entirely omitted from the shorter redaction, which the editors call B. The elements may be enumerated as follows:—

(a) xiii. A division of the Sun's course by six gates of $61\frac{1}{4}$ stadia each, apparently a sixfold division of the year, but unintelligible in its

¹ *Book of the Secrets of Enoch*, Morfill and Charles (1896).

² In 'Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament', Charles (1913) vol. ii *Pseudepigrapha* pp. 431-469.

³ 'Das slawische Henochbuch', *Abhandlungen der königl. Gesellsch. zu Göttingen* neue Folge, i (1896).

present form. B assigns 42 or 35 days to each gate, so far as the text is preserved.

(b) xiv 1. The Sun's course is stated at $365\frac{1}{4}$ days.

(c) In xiv 3 the interval between evening and morning twilight seems to be stated at 'seven great hours', presumably reckoned as each one-twelfth of the interval between sunset and sunrise.

(d) xv 4. The Sun's circuit is said to last twenty-eight years and to begin again from the beginning. This sentence appears from Morfill's apparatus to be wanting in the Bulgarian version of the complete text, as well as in the shorter redaction.

(e) xvi 1, 2 describes the course 'of the moon, twelve great gates, crowned from west to east, by which the moon goes in and out of the customary times'. Then follows a list of the number of days with which the moon goes in by each of the twelve gates. These correspond very closely to the lengths of the months in the Julian calendar beginning with March and ending with February. In the translations given by Morfill and Forbes the months corresponding to April and November have 31 days each, while those corresponding to May and December have 30 days each. But it would appear from Morfill's apparatus that both MSS of the complete text read 35 for April, while for November the Bulgarian MS has 35 and the South Russian 31, and for December the Bulgarian has 31 and the South Russian 30. For May both agree on 30. In view of the corruptions in the numbers in both MSS, it seems safe to assume that the intention of the author was to represent the Julian calendar. This would appear to be rendered certain by the duration of the last month, which like February has 28 days. Dr Charles holds that this account cannot possibly apply to the Moon, but applies perfectly to the Sun, which must therefore be understood as the subject. It is clear, however, from the position of the account that it was intended to apply to the Moon. We must realize that we are dealing with a writer who was sufficiently unscientific to regard the Julian month as the period of a course of the Moon.

(f) xvi 4, 5. The Moon is stated to 'accomplish the $365\frac{1}{4}$ days of the solar year, while the lunar year has 354, and there are wanting twelve days of the solar circle, which are the lunar epacts of the whole year'. After '354' Morfill and Bonwetsch insert 'making twelve months of twenty-nine days'. They also read 'eleven days' instead of 'twelve days'. If Morfill and Bonwetsch are correct, 29 is an inexact figure for $29\frac{1}{2}$. A solar year exceeds twelve lunar months by a little less than eleven days, but I am not prepared to say whether 'eleven' or 'twelve' is the correct reading.

(g) The last passage is immediately followed by the words: 'Thus, too, the great circle contains five hundred and thirty-two years'. These

words are found in both MSS, but are bracketed in all the translations because in Dr Charles's opinion they have no real connexion with the context.

(h) xvi 6 contains an explanation of leap year.

(i) xvi 8 concludes the motion of the Moon with the statement: 'It has a sevenfold course in nineteen years', doubtless referring to the Metonic cycle of seven intercalations in nineteen years. Dr Charles in his separate edition has permitted the printer to give the length of nineteen solar years as 6939·1860 days instead of 6939·6018 days, and this transposition of figures has found its way into his note in *Pseud-epigrapha*. He has also suggested suitable years of the cycle for intercalations, but in the *Pseudepigrapha* he has permitted the printer to drop one of the seven.

I come now to the dates when the different statements bearing on the calendar first made their appearance.

(a) as I have stated is unintelligible.

(b) The knowledge that the solar year lasted $365\frac{1}{4}$ days was of immemorial antiquity in Egypt.

(c) The interval here stated is, so far as I know, unique. It is not strictly calendarial.

(d) The twenty-eight years' cycle is a period in which each day of the year falls on the same day of the week as in the corresponding year of the preceding cycle. The earlier writers on the calendar do not find the day of the week by means of a cycle, and the earliest reference that I have been able to discover to the twenty-eight years' cycle is in the epistle of the Spanish monk Leo to the Archdeacon Sesuldus, which Dr Krusch, who has published the text,¹ dates in the year 627. The passage runs as follows²: 'Et non inmerito, quia lunaris cursus suum ordines metas x et viiii consummans annis, in semet reuertitur, solaris uero, quia curso lunari uelocior est, per xxviii annos efficaci discursu graditer, et sic in semet, xxviii expletis annis, reuertitur.' It will be observed that the cycle is called 'solaris cursus', though it is really no more solar than is the nineteen years' cycle, which reconciles the solar year with the lunar month just as the twenty-eight years' cycle reconciles the solar year with the week.

This cycle appears to have come into vogue with great suddenness. There is no mention of it in the three chapters which the Emperor Heraclius added in the years 618-619 and 623 to Stephanus of Alexandria's *Diasaphesis*,³ nor yet in Isidore's *Etymologiae*, where

¹ 'Studien zur christlich-mittelalterlichen Chronologie' (1880) 298-302. For the date see note on p. 301.

² *Ibid.* 300.

³ Edited by Usener *De Stephano Alexandrino* (1880).

the Paschal cycle is treated in vi 17, written about 627.¹ It is mentioned, however, in the *Syntagma de Pascha* prefixed to the Paschal Chronicle.² That Chronicle was completed, apparently at Constantinople, in the year 629-630,³ and in it the cycle is styled *τὴν κατὰ φύσιν ὀκτωκαιεκοσαετηρίδα τοῦ ἡλίου*. It is true that Professor Schwartz⁴ attributes the earlier parts of the *Syntagma* and of the Chronicle to a supposed Antiochene author of the year 507 and a later part of each to a supposed continuator of the year 562. But his argument is far from convincing, and Mgr Mercati⁵ has, as a result of a study of the unique MS of the Chronicle, raised the question whether the *Syntagma de Pascha* is really part of the Chronicle at all, and not rather an independent work which has been bound up with it. In any case the twenty-eight years' cycle is unmistakeably present in the computus of Maximus⁶ written in Africa in the year 640-641.⁷ If the Sesuldus of Leo's letter should prove to be the younger Sesuldus, and if the *Syntagma de Pascha* should prove to be of later date, Maximus will be the earliest author to mention this cycle.

If it is possible to date the Slavonic Enoch in the seventh or a later century, there seems to be no reason for rejecting the reference to this solar cycle, which comes in its proper place at the close of the description of the course of the Sun, and is, as will be seen, analogous to the references to other elements in the Easter calendar.

(e) The Julian calendar dates from 45 B. C. The passage seems to point to an author living in a country where this calendar was used, and, therefore, not to Egypt, where the Alexandrine year of twelve months of thirty days each followed by five or six *epagomenae* took its place.

(f) The knowledge that the solar year exceeded twelve lunar months by approximately eleven or twelve days is very ancient, but the use of lunar epacts appears to date from the third century of our era. 'Lunar epacts'—the plural form is the more correct—is a technical term and may be defined as follows: 'the age of the Moon expressed in days on an unvarying date of the calendar year'. If the age of the Moon on March 1 or any other date that may be preferred is tabulated for each of a series

¹ *Etym.* v 39, 42 is dated in the seventeenth year of Heraclius (626-627).

² *Migne Patrologia Graeca* xcii (1865) 88 A-96 A.

³ *Ibid.* 101, 102.

⁴ Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Encyclopädie* iii (1899) 2474.

⁵ *Journal of Theological Studies* vii (1906) 412.

⁶ *Migne Patrologia Graeca* xix (1857) 1217-1280. See also Professor Schwartz's paper 'Christliche und jüdische Ostertafeln', *Abhandlungen der königl. Gesellsch. zu Göttingen*, philolog.-histor. Klasse, neue Folge, viii (1905) 81-88, and the facsimile at the end.

⁷ A. Mentz *Beiträge zur Osterfestberechnung bei den Byzantinern* (1906) 4.

of years, it becomes a simple matter to compute the approximate age of the Moon for any day in any year falling within the series, or to compute the approximate date of any phase of the Moon. These tabulated ages are the 'lunar epacts'. Since the solar year exceeds twelve lunar months by a little under eleven days, and falls short of thirteen lunar months by a little under nineteen days, the lunar epacts are normally increased by eleven days or reduced by nineteen days from year to year. That is why they are connected in this passage with the twelve (or eleven) days of the solar circle which are wanting to the lunar year. I have failed to find any example of the use of the term 'epacts' or of the use of the calendrical device indicated by the name earlier than the treatise '*De Pascha computus*'¹ of the year 243 of our era, where we read of the Hebrews of the time of Moses: '*Hac itaque ratione non sua sed Dei sapientia instructi Hebraei circa cursum lunae iuxta regulam primam Graecorum more Aegyptiorum, et non secundum epactas lunares, non potuerunt errasse.*' It will be observed that 'epactae lunares' are here treated with contempt, as part of some rival system of computation, doubtless the eighty-four years' cycle which is regulated by them, and to which this appears to be the earliest reference. It is also clear that the author of this treatise did not understand the term 'epactae lunares', for his own Easter table is actually based on the age of the Moon on March 1, and therefore on lunar epacts. Dr Charles refers in his paper in the JOURNAL to the Book of Enoch lxii-lxxxii, and to his commentary on it in the second edition of his Book of Enoch, but, although some very inaccurate references are made in those chapters to the excess of the solar year over twelve lunar months, there is nothing there at all resembling lunar epacts.

(g) Dr Charles states that the great cycle of 532 years is produced by multiplying together the Metonic cycle of 19 years and the solar cycle of 28 years. He also states that the cycle was first proposed by Victorius of Aquitaine, c. A.D. 457. Both statements are based on erroneous information, though the former may be supported by the account of the cycle in the *Syntagma de Pascha* prefixed to the Paschal Chronicle. The oldest 532 years' cycle was the work of Annianus,² who, according to Syncellus,³ was the contemporary of Theophilus, the twenty-second archbishop of Alexandria, A.D. 385-412. If, as Unger argues,⁴ the passage in Syncellus, ed. Dindorf 59, is derived from Annianus, Annianus must have produced his cycle in the year 412, forty-five years earlier than Victorius. His great cycle contained twenty-eight cycles of

¹ Edited by Hartel in *Corpus Script. Eccl. Lat.* vol. iii pars iii (1871) 248-271.

² See Syncellus, ed. Dindorf (1829) i 63-65, 597.

³ *Ibid.* 62.

⁴ *Chronologie des Manetho* (1867) 38, 39.

nineteen years, but there is no evidence apart from the vague statement of the *Syntagma de Pascha* of his having used a cycle of twenty-eight years. It may be noted that Annianus gives the name ἡλιακὸς κύκλος to his own cycle of 532 years.¹

Dr Charles's criticism that the reference to this cycle has no connexion of any kind with its immediate context nor with any other statement or section of the book appears to be rather hasty. If the South Russian text is correct, the account of the course of the Sun ended with a reference to the twenty-eight years' cycle of the Sun. The account of the course of the Moon has brought the writer to the lunar epacts. These recur in cycles of nineteen years, and it seems appropriate to mention the combination of the two cycles in the great cycle of 532 years. No doubt it would have been more logical to refer definitely to the length of the lunar cycle before going on to the great cycle, but this is not the only instance of illogical arrangement in the chapter. Immediately after the reference to the 532 years' cycle the writer breaks off his account of the motion of the Moon to deal with leap year, which ought to have been treated in the previous chapter as concerned with the motion of the Sun. Then he returns to the Moon and explains how her circle is the lowest of all the circles, i. e. the nearest to the earth, and then throws in the nineteen years' cycle with its seven intercalations, which, as we have seen, ought to have been mentioned immediately after the lunar epacts as completing the comparison of the solar year and the lunar month.

(4) The reference to leap year implies the use of a calendar which contains this contrivance. The Julian calendar was probably the first civil calendar of this type, but the *paraepgmata* carry back the contrivance to the time of Meton himself.

(i) The cycle of seven intercalations in nineteen years is the work of Meton and dates from 432 B.C. It appears to have been first introduced into the Easter calendar by Anatolius in the second half of the third century.²

In dating the calendrical chapters of the Slavonic Enoch we have to consider not merely the dates when the different calendrical elements contained in them made their first appearance, but also their relation to one another. It will be clear from this *résumé* that they not merely give *termini a quo*, of which the latest falls in the seventh century, but that they all form part of the Easter computus as developed in that century. In fact they contain the complete scheme by which the week, the solar year, and the lunar month were combined by the computists from that time onwards. They do not contain the feast of Easter itself, which would be an anachronism in a book attributed to Enoch. It seems

¹ Syncellus 64.

² Eusebius *Hist. Eccl.* vii 32.

clear that either the whole of the astronomy of the book is an interpolation, or the book was written many centuries later than Dr Charles supposes. The former alternative is difficult, because the astronomical section appears to be an integral part of the whole, as Mrs Maunder points out. If the latter alternative also presents difficulties, I must leave their solution to more competent scholars than myself, who may be trusted to do justice to the strong case that Mrs Maunder has made out.

In view of the evidence that points to a connexion between the Slavonic and the Hebrew Book of Enoch, Dr G. Buchanan Gray has kindly examined the latter to see what there is in it corresponding to this scheme of the calendar. The only calendrical information that he could discover is contained in chapter xvii, which, according to Dr Buttenwieser's article on Apocalyptic Literature in the *Jewish Encyclopaedia* i (1901), is wanting in the MS on which Jellinek's edition is based. Dr Gray has, however, been able to study it in a printed edition, which appears to be that which Dr Buttenwieser describes as printed at Lemberg in 1864, and also in the Bodleian MS Oppenheimer 556. In this work below the seven heavens is the sphere of the Sun, which, according to a sentence preserved in the MS but missing from the printed text, runs in the heaven 365,000 parasangs in one day. Below this sphere is that of the Moon, which, according to both copies, runs 354,000 parasangs in each night. The author also seems to assert that there are 31 days in each month. Below this sphere are the planets which run in their spheres and ways 339,000 parasangs in every night. Below them is the prince who is appointed over all the stars and with him are 365,000 myriads of angels. References to the length of the solar year—364 days—are contained, and references to the 354 days of twelve lunar months are implied, in the Ethiopic Book of Enoch,¹ which has, doubtless, suggested this passage, but the more elaborate calendrical matter of the Slavonic Enoch appears to have no parallel in the Hebrew book.

Lest readers of Dr Charles's paper which formed the occasion for this study should form an exaggerated conception of the unanimity with which scholars have accepted his conclusions, I may mention that Schürer in *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 1896, 347-350, while accepting Dr Charles's view as to the date of the Slavonic Enoch and its Jewish authorship, published a destructive criticism of his attempts to prove the dependence on it of other works, and that Dr Burkitt in *Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* (1914) 75, 76, has called in question the date and authorship as well as the dependence on it of other works.

¹ Chapters lxxii-lxxxii.

I shall be happy if this present study has contributed anything to the elucidation of these questions ; but it will give me greater pleasure if the information which I give on the developement of the computus should make its way into future text-books of chronology.

J. K. FOTHERINGHAM.

EPISTOLA APOSTOLORUM: A POSSIBLE QUOTATION.

IN the pseudo-Cyprianic tract *de montibus Sina et Sion* 13 is this passage : ' Nam et nos qui illi credimus Christum in nobis tamquam in speculo uidemus, ipso nos instruente et monente in epistula Iohannis discipuli sui ad populum : (one roth cent. MS reads "ad paulum") *ita me in uobis uidete quomodo quis uestrum se uidet in aquam aut in speculum.*'

It is undeniable that the *Epistola Apostolorum* might very fairly be described as *Epistola Iohannis ad populum* ; for in c. 2, after the title and salutation, the Epistle proper begins : ' We John, Thomas, Peter . . . write to the Churches of East, West, South, and North.'

It is also undeniable that the quotation is quite agreeable to the spirit of the Epistle, e.g. pp. 66, 67 : ' Ye shall not be partakers of (earthly creation) but shall be partakers of the eternity of my Father. As I am ever in Him, so shall ye also be in me.' We asked Him again, ' In what form ? in the fashion of angels, or in flesh ? ' and so on.

A third point is that we know that the Epistle was current in Latin, for we have a leaf of it in a Vienna palimpsest.

And lastly, since we possess the whole text only in an Ethiopic version (from Coptic, from Greek) and the older Coptic version is badly mutilated, there is room for conjecture that clauses may have dropped out. The remains, moreover, of the Latin version shew that it omitted a long passage without notice.

These considerations favour the conjecture that pseudo-Cyprian may be quoting the *Epistola Apostolorum*. Against them is the solid fact that the passage is not to be found in the *Epistola* : but, as I have tried to shew, there is a possibility of getting round that.

M. R. JAMES.

TOGA AND TOGATUS IN THE BOOKS OF THE MOZARABIC RITE.

WE know that though at Rome itself the use of the *toga* became unfashionable under the Empire and there was some difficulty in retaining it even at court and as the official dress of the *civis Romanus*, yet in the provinces its use spread further and further as a sign of civilization. In Cicero's day Cisalpine Gaul was apparently already called *Togata*, though Transalpine Gaul was dubbed *Comata*, because its inhabitants still wore unshorn locks (*Phil.* viii 27). But by the time of Agricola, one hundred years later, Tacitus tells us that even in Britain *habitus nostri honor et frequens toga* (*Agric.* chap. xxi).

It is not the object of this short paper to do more than give a few examples of the way in which the thoughts suggested by the use of this greatly and widely respected Roman dress were in the later days of the Empire adapted to religious purposes in one part of Western Christendom, viz. Spain.

The instances quoted of the participial adjective *togatus* are worth giving, though of less interest than the instances of the noun *toga* itself, which it is the writer's main object to bring forward.

No doubt both words started in the 'Mozarabic' books with the old Roman associations as describing the civilian garb (of white stuff) in the times of peace for the City and its colonies, and was then gradually applied to the heavenly garb of Christian martyrs and saints, *togatus* becoming an equivalent of *candidatus*.

Thus in the *Breviarium Gothicum* (Migne *P. L.* lxxxvi col. 1112) we find *urbis Romuleae iam toga candida*. The meaning of *toga* we reserve for the moment, but obviously it is here closely connected with *urbis Romulea*, viz. Rome. And again (*ibid.* col. 1033) S. Julian, whose martyrdom is assigned to A. D. 304, is called *civis togate urbis Antiochie*: this is, it would seem, quite an accurate epithet to use, as Antioch was made a *colonia* by Antoninus Pius (†161). With these two instances we may compare Prud. *Perist.* ii 10 *urbis togate* (= Rome) *insignibus* and *Cath.* ii 39 *miles, togatus, navita*. Fr A. Lesley in his note on the passage from the Missal (col. 676) quoted further on says that Tarraco in Spain was also called *Togata* (? as a *colonia*), but he does not quote his authority.

Three other instances of *togatus* occur in these books, and in all these its Christian application as we have suggested is obvious, viz. (1) *Brev. Goth.* col. 1141 *chorus inde surgit | tendit in caelum niveus togate | nobilitatis* (= the band of noble martyrs in their snow-white robes); this is from Prudentius (*Perist.* iv 75): (2) *Miss. Mozarab.* (Migne *P. L.* lxxxv col. 881) *quem togatorum immensitas conlaudat*

sanctorum (= the vast host of white-robed saints): (3) Mozarab. Psalter (*HBS* vol. xxx fol. 137) in a hymn *de primitiis ad vesperum* we have *candida veste togati in coro angelico*.

With regard to the noun *toga*, there is sufficient evidence that it was used in Spain (at all events in religious circles) as a collective noun, i. e. as an equivalent of *coetus* or *chorus togatus*, and it is this point which has been thought worthy of some special notice. Five instances can be adduced from the service books: (1) In the Missal (col. 676) one of the prayers addressed to S. Vincent the Spanish deacon-martyr (†304) on his festival (Jan. 22) contains this clause: *te huius caterve toga submissa flagitat mente*. Three towns in *Hispania Tarraconensis* laid special claim to this saint, Huesca and Saragossa as rivals for being his birthplace and Valencia as the scene of his martyrdom. But it looks as if Fr Lesley (quoted above) was right in thinking that the phrase *huius caterve toga* (= this throng of toga-wearing worshippers) sought to include the whole province, and that the reference was rather to the old civilian garb of Rome than to the later Christian associations. Then there is (2) the passage already quoted from the Breviary (col. 1112): *urbis Romuleae iam toga candida | septem pontificum destina* (lit. 'prop' hence rule or authority) *promicat*. Here the reference is to the group of seven missionary bishops sent from Rome to evangelize Spain, of whom Torquatus was the leader; and *toga* and *destina* are in apposition, both being used in this curious collective way, *toga* = a toga-wearing group, *destina* = a staff-bearing band (of rulers). (3) The Breviary (col. 1095) has a hymn in honour of S. Agatha, which contains these words: *sacram efflavit animam in caelos | toga cum sanctis*, a condensed and quite ungrammatical clause to suit the metre: if the text is not corrupt, *toga* (abl.) *cum sanctis* must be taken to stand for *cum toga sanctorum*: 'she breathed out her holy soul (and passed) into the heavens, (there to be) with the host of the white-robed saints.'

Lastly in the *Liber Ordinum* (edited by Dom Férotin, 1904) we have two nearly similar phrases where the plural is substituted for the singular (with no very obvious significance): (4) in an *ordo votivus de energumeno* (fol. 369), *angelorum togis adscitus*, and (5) in a *missa votiva de anniversario defuncti* (fol. 448), *electorum omnium togis adscitus*. These last two phrases serve to indicate that the use of *toga* we have drawn attention to was peculiar to Spain, as the parallel phrases in other books (e.g. the Bobbio Missal and the *Missale Gothicum*, *HBS* vols. lviii and lii) always employ other more ordinary words. And this view is corroborated by quotations given by Ducange s.v. from various Spanish charters (ed. Perez), where *toga* (*monachorum* or *fratrum*) occurs in the sense here discussed. It would seem also to have come into use at a later date than Prudentius, who only once

gives *toga* a Christian reference, *candidiore toga niveum pietatis amictum | sumere* (c. *Symm.* i 547), and elsewhere employs the word in its older and more natural sense, e. g. *sanciens | mundum Quirinali toge | servire et armis cedere* (*Perist.* ii 419), a phrase reminiscent of Cicero's famous *cedant arma togae*.

C. L. FELTOE.

Since writing the above, another clear instance of this use of *toga* has come to my notice in the *missa* for SS. Simon and Jude (col. 889): *soliata . . . convenire debet fidelium toga*.

JOSEPHUS ON JOHN THE BAPTIST.

IN *The Beginnings of Christianity* vol. i p. 102 f Dr Foakes Jackson and Dr Kirsopp Lake maintain that Josephus's version of the work of John Baptist has been generally misinterpreted by scholars, who have been misled by Whiston's translation of *Antiquities* xviii 5. 2. The passage is as follows: κτείνει γὰρ δὴ τοῦτον Ἡρώδης ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα, καὶ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις (τοὺς Ἰουδαίους Epit.) κελεύοντα, ἀρετὴν ἐπασκοῦσι (ἐπασκοῦντας Epit.) καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους δικαιοσύνη καὶ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν εὐσεβείᾳ χρωμένοις (χρωμένους Epit. Eus.), βαπτισμῷ συνιέναι. Whiston translates the passage thus: 'For Herod slew him, who was a good man, and commanded the Jews to exercise virtue both as to justice toward one another and piety towards God, and so to come to baptism.' The editors of *The Beginnings of Christianity* criticize this rendering on the ground that it would require the participles ἐπασκοῦσιν and χρωμένοις to be in the accusative instead of the dative. '[Whiston's] explanation', they say, 'seems to have been adopted by the Epitome which has emended the datives into accusatives. This cannot be the true text, but there is perhaps a possibility that the text found in Eusebius *Hist. Eccl.* i 11. 5 is right which emends χρωμένοις into χρωμένους, but leaves ἐπασκοῦσι' (p. 102 n. 2). The editors themselves translate as follows: 'For Herod killed him, a good man, and one who commanded the Jews, training themselves in virtue and practising righteousness to one another and piety towards God, to come together for baptism.' This translation is literal, but ambiguous. It might still bear the same meaning as Whiston's more idiomatic version, which connects the participles with the infinitive συνιέναι, or it may mean to construe the participles with τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις, thus giving a sense which would be more naturally represented in English by a relative clause—'John commanded

those Jews, who were training themselves in virtue . . . to come together for baptism.' The editors of *The Beginnings of Christianity* make it plain that they intend the latter sense. 'According to Whiston', they say, 'it means that John was addressing penitents, who were only beginning to turn to the pursuit of virtue. . . . But in view of the general content, it would rather seem that Josephus means that John preached originally to those who were already making especial practice of virtue' (p. 102). Later on they speak more confidently: 'The true text of Josephus represents him as preaching first to a body of "ascetics", and afterwards to others' (p. 105). And again: 'The real difference between Josephus and the Gospels as a whole is that Josephus represents [John] as preaching to those who had especially devoted their lives to virtue, and offering baptism as the crowning point of righteousness, whereas the Gospels, including Luke, represent the baptism of John as one of repentance for the remission of sins' (p. 106). The editors thus construct the participles *ἐπασκοῦσι* and *χρωμένοις* with τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις and give them the force of an English relative clause. But this would require an article before the participles: τοῖς ἀρετὴν ἐπασκοῦσι καὶ . . . χρωμένοις. In the absence of the article, Whiston gives the only possible interpretation and Josephus agrees with the Gospels that John's mission was to the Jewish people. There is no difficulty. The Epitome puts the participles into the accusative, because it gives *κελεύω* its classical construction of the accusative of the person, and reads τοὺς Ἰουδαίους. The following sentence from *Antiquities* xix 1. 13 fin. shews that an infinitive does not attract into an accusative a participle which is naturally in the dative: Ἀσπρήνας δὲ . . . παρήγει τῷ Γαίῳ . . . ὑπεξελθόντι πρὸς τε λουτρῷ καὶ ἀρίστῳ γενέσθαι, καὶ ἔπειτα δὲ εἰσελθεῖν.

J. M. CREED.

NOTES FROM PAPYRI.

THE following notes on the language of the New Testament are based on the fourteenth volume of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*.

I. *Lexical Notes.*

Ἀκωλύτως, Ac. xxviii 31. The adverb, according to Moulton and Milligan, becomes very common from the second century of our era. They give examples from contracts and similar documents dated from A. D. 164 onwards. The present volume provides an example in a contract of A. D. 68 (no. 1641), as well as several later instances. We have then clear evidence of the use of this adverb in legal documents at

a date at least as early as any likely date for Acts. Luke was scarcely unaware of the legal flavour of his language when he concluded his apology for Pauline Christianity—'without let or hindrance'.

Ἀνανεῦσθαι, Eph. iv 23. The derived substantive *ἀνανεώσις* for which Paul uses *ἀνακαίνωσις* (Rom. xii 2) occurs in no. 1752 (A. D. 378): *παρασχὼ Πτολεμαίῳ καὶ τῷ κοινωνῷ πίσταις εἰς λόγον δαπάνης ἀνανεώσεως τοῦ πλοίου* . . . Moulton and Milligan say of this word that it 'seems to be confined to legal phraseology', meaning apparently, that the only attested sense is the 'renewal' of a lease, mortgage, or the like. The present instance, therefore, appears to be of a new kind.

Εἰφραίνεσθαι. This word, common in the N. T. in the general sense of 'to rejoice', is by Luke used specially of the revelry associated with feasting, xii 19, xv 23, 24, 29, 32, xvi 19. Cf. 1676 (third century): *λείαν ἐλυπήθην ὅτι οὐ παρεγένου ἐς (sic) τὰ γενέσια τοῦ παιδίου μου καὶ σὺ καὶ ὁ ἀνὴρ σ[ο]υ, εἶχες γὰρ ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας εὐφ[ρ]ανθῆναι σὺν αὐτῷ*.

Μετewρίζεσθαι, Lk. xii 29; cf. 1679 (third century): *ὥστε, κυρία, μὴ μετewρίζου, καλῶς διάγομεν*.

Παρατίθεμαι, in the sense of 'commending' a person to the care of another, Ac. xiv 23, xx 32; cf. 1663 (second or third century): *Σωτήρα ἂν, ἐξ οὗ τ[ῆ]ν ἀφορμὴν ἔσχον ἐπιστεῦλαί σ[ο]ι, παρατίθεμαί σοι, ἀδελφέ, ἵνα ὡς αὐτὸν ὡς Σερῆνον τ[ῆ]ν μεικρὸν ἡμῶν ἀδελφόν*.

Πληροῦν. The present writer has elsewhere¹ argued on the basis of usage in the papyri that this word has in Phil. iv 18 the meaning 'pay', which attaches to *πληρόνω* in modern Greek. To the examples there given may now be added from the present volume, 1773 (third century): the writer, a woman travelling on business, writes to her friend or partner to instruct her to repay a debt of two and a half talents to the bearers of the letter, and adds, *ἐὰν δὲ εἰδῆς ὅτι οὐκ ἔχεις [εἰς τὰς χεῖρας (sic) σου, χρῆσε (i. e. χρῆσαι) παρὰ τοῦ [. . .]τα καὶ πλήρωσον αὐτούς*. The combination of terms in the Philippians passage recurs in no. 1645 (a receipt dated A. D. 308): *[ὁμολο]γῶ ἀπεσχη[κ]έναι καὶ πεπληρῶσθαι παρὰ σου τὰ εἰρηθέντα παρὰ σοι τῆς μητρὸς μου*.

Σκέλλειν. The use of this verb in the middle, Lk. vii 6, finds a parallel in the passive aorist imperative used in a middle sense, 1669 (third century): *ὥστε κὰν νῦν ταῦτα ποιήσον, [καὶ σ]κύληθι καὶ αὐτὸς ἐνθάδε, 'do you yourself be at the pains of coming here' (Edd.)*.

Συνζητεῖν. The classical sense of this verb is 'to examine together'. In the N. T. it means 'to discuss, hold controversy', v. Mk. viii 11 &c. Cf. 1673 (second century): *τοῖς τὸν ὄνον λαβοῦσι συνεζήτησα πολλὰ καὶ κατέλεξα αὐτῶν αἰτού[ν]των τὸν ἀρ[ρ]αβῶνα, 'I had much discussion and complication with the men who took the donkey, as they asked for an earnest' (Edd.)*.

¹ 'Pauline Illustrations from recently Published Papyri', in *Expositor*, April 1918.

Συνπληροῦσθαι, Lk. ix 51, Ac. ii 1, of the completion of a period of time, a usage not recognized in Liddell and Scott, is implied in the use of the substantive, 1626 (A. D. 325): ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ὁμολογεῖ ὁ ἐπιμελητὴς ἐσχηκέναι παρὰ τῶν δεκανῶν ὑπὲρ μισθοῦ μηνῶν δύο ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ὁγδόης ἀργυρίου τάλαντα εἰκοσι, τὰ δὲ φανησόμενα ἄχρι συνπληρώσεως τῆς ἐπιμελείας ἀπολήμψεται παρὰ τῶν αὐτῶν δεκανῶν.

Χάραγμα. The use of this word to describe a mark imprinted on the body, Apoc. xiii-xx *passim*, may be illustrated from 1680 (late third or early fourth century), in which a son, feeling for some reason anxious about his father's safety, and apprehending some danger to his life, begs him to provide himself with an identification mark, so that at least his body may be recognized: κα[ὶ γὰρ] πολλάκις σοι δηλῶσαι {σοι} βου[λομαι ὅτι] βλέπων εἰς τὸ ἀσύστατον σῆ[μα ἢ] θέλησα ἐνχαράξαι σοι.

II. Grammatical Notes.

The pendent nominative of time is a usage of the N. T. not recognized in classical Greek, and sometimes put down as a 'Semitism'. An example is Mk. viii 2 ἡδὴ ἡμέραι τρεῖς προσμένουσίν μοι. Cf. no. 1764, a letter of the third century, πολ[λ]αὶ ἡμέραι¹ προσκαρτεροῦμεν Φιλέα τῷ μοσχομαγ[ε]ίρῳ, 'we have been waiting many days for Phileas the veal-butcher'.

The form *ἐν*, said to be for *ἐνεστι* (cf. modern Greek *εἶναι*²), is in the Koinḗ gradually taking the place of *ἐστίν* in certain usages, especially with the sense 'there is'. A familiar example is Gal. iii 28 οὐκ *ἐν* Ἰουδαίῳ οὐδὲ Ἑλλην. Cf. 1668 (third century) ὁ ἡγεμὼν ἀμνησίαν ἐπεμψεν ἐνθάδε, καὶ οὐκέτι φόβος οὐδὲ εἰς *ἐν*.

The uses of *ἵνα* have caused much difficulty to those who approach the N. T. from the standpoint of classical Greek. Take for example Mk. v 23, where Jairus says to Jesus, Τὸ θυγάτριόν μου ἐσχάτως ἔχει, *ἵνα* ἐλθὼν ἐπιθῇς τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῇ. A glance at Swete's note will shew how helpless in such a passage is the classical or literary tradition of exegesis which insists on a 'telic' force for *ἵνα*. Now cf. no. 1675 (third century) πειράθητι δὲ παραλαβεῖν ζεύγος βοῶν εἰς ἐπαντ(λ)εῖν τὸ κτήμα ἢ δύο γεῖνη, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸς σε καταλαμβάνω τῇ γ. *ἵνα* οὖν καὶ σὺ ἐπιμελῶς χρήσῃ . . . (*cetera desunt*), ' . . . do you therefore make careful use . . . ' (Edd.). It is quite manifest that *ἵνα* cannot here be made to introduce a subordinate clause dependent on the preceding verb. Nor is there any such dependence in the N. T. passage. We have a simple case of *ἵνα* of courteous request: 'My daughter is extremely ill; please come and lay your hands on her.' This use of *ἵνα* with the subjunctive 2nd person as a periphrasis for the imperative is not only widely attested in papyri,

¹ The editors note '1. πολλὰς ἡμέρας', but this is surely unnecessary.

² See Thumb *Handbuch der ngr. Volksprache* p. 151.

but is preserved in the modern speech.¹ The usage applies to the third as well as to the second person, and so we get Jn. xv 25 ἀλλ' ἵνα πληρωθῇ ὁ λόγος ὁ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ αὐτῶν γεγραμμένος, 'but let the word be fulfilled . . .', an expression of acceptance of the will of God as declared in prophecy.

The extended use of ὅτι to introduce speeches reported not only in indirect discourse, but also in direct discourse, including not only statements, but also questions and commands—so that this 'ὅτι *recitativum*' becomes a practical equivalent of our quotation marks—is a vulgar usage which the N. T. shares with the papyri. Thus in Mk. iv 21 we have ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς ὅτι Μήτι ἔρχεται ὁ λύχνος; 'He said to them "Does the lamp come?"', and in Mk. viii 4 ἀπεκρίθησαν αὐτῷ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ ὅτι Πόθεν τοίτους δυνήσεται τις ὧδε χορτάσαι; 'his disciples answered, "How can any one feed these people here?"' Cf. 1671 (third century) γράβον μοι ὅτι ποῦ εὐρίσκομεν, 'write to me on the question "where can we find them?"'; 1682 (fourth century) ἐπίστευλον ὅτι εἰ ἤς ἐπιδημήσασα, 'send word on the question "whether you have arrived"'. Similarly, a sentence in the imperative may be introduced by ὅτι *recitativum*, e. g. 1 Thess. iii 10 τοῦτο παρηγγέλλομεν ὑμῖν ὅτι εἴ τις οὐ θέλει ἐργάζεσθαι μηδὲ ἐσθιέτω. Cf. 1668 (third century) ἔλεγεν ὅτι ἡ δός μοι (ἀρτάβας) ἰβ ἢ λαβέ (ἀρτάβας) ἰβ, 'he said, "Either give me twelve *artabae* or take twelve *artabae*"'. Since the imperative can be replaced (as shewn above) by ἵνα with the subjunctive, we may have a sentence containing both these conjunctions, and this is probably the explanation of the construction in Mk. xii 19 Μωσῆς ἔγραψεν ἡμῖν ὅτι εἰάν τις ἀδελφὸς ἀποθάνῃ καὶ καταλίπῃ γυναῖκα καὶ μὴ ἀφῇ τέκνον, ἵνα λάβῃ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ τὴν γυναῖκα. This is a sentence which has given much trouble to exegetes. It may be rendered, 'Moses prescribed to us "If a man's brother dies leaving a wife but not leaving a child, *let his brother take* the woman in marriage"'. There is no need to speak of an 'anacoluthon'. A partial parallel is supplied by 1769 (third century) ἔγραψα τῷ ἀδελφῷ ὅτι περὶ οὗ ἐὰν χρίαν (*sic*) σχῆς ἵνα λάβῃς, 'I have written to my brother that as for anything you need you are to get it.'

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¹ See Thumb *Handbuch* p. 120.

ADUERSARIA IN GREGORIUM NYSSENUM ET IN MACARIUM MAGNETEM.

IN the course of reading Gregory for the Patristic Lexicon I have encountered several passages for which emendations have suggested themselves to me. My main work has been that of collecting glossemes. I have not in any way attempted to scrutinize the text word for word as an editor must: and the following conjectures are simply a by-product of a lexicographer's work. Encouraged by the scholars¹ to whom I sent them to put them on record, I have added to my own their suggestions as far as possible in their own words.

My text for Gregory is Migne's, for Marcarius Harnack's (in Berlin Abhandl.) edition of Porphyry adv. Xtianos. 'E. T.' is the translation in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, 'Lowther Clarke' in the S.P.C.K. *Translations of Christian Literature*.

Non Tres Dii 2. 133 B Migne (so for all refs.) *μίξιν τινὰ τῶν ὑποστάσεων καὶ ἁνακύκλῃσιν*.

So ed. Par². (1638): Sifanus renders 'confusionem' and E. T. 'confusion'. Read undoubtedly *ἀνακύκλῃσιν*.

Mort. Infant. 3. 161 B *ἱποκινεῖν τοὺς πόδας πυκνῶς τῷ ἐδάφει τὰς ὀπλὰς ἁπαύσσοντα*.

Ed. Par². -αῖσ-σ-. Both words are *uoces nihili*. Read *ἐπαίссонτα* which takes acc. (e. g. *πόδα* v. L. S. s. v.) and is in Gregory's poetic style. The subject of both verbs is an old charger, spent but still mettlesome. [*ἐπαίссω* and other compounds are oftener used in prose than L. S. imply:—to exx. of *ἐπ-* add Nic. Dam. 268 (Tauchn.); δι- Ju. c. Xt. 356 C; *προσ-* Aen. Tact. 34. 27.] Bury tentatively suggests *λυσσῶντα*.

164 D ὁ . . . Πλάτων ἁ πολλὰς . . . περὶ τῶν . . . δικαστηρίων φιλοσοφῆσας.

Without understanding *φιλοσοφίας* out of the verb, *πολλὰς* has nothing in or out of the context to agree with. Read *πολλὰ*.

A few lines above appears *γῆρειος* and the meaning required is 'old'. Read *γηραιός* or *γερ-*. [Ed. Par². has no variant and will in future only be quoted where it has.]

Or. in Bapt. Xti 3. 584 C *αὐτάκουε*. Read *ὤτ-*? Cf. *ὤτακουστέω*. But Bury, and independently Srawley, proposed *ἀντάκουε*, and this as it suits the context seems certain. Srawley says *ἀντάκουε* is quite in Gregory's manner.

¹ Dr R. G. Bury, Dr J. H. Srawley, Rev. E. I. Robson.

Ep. 1. 1001 A τὴν μνήμην τοῦ μακαριωτάτου Πέτρου . . ἀγομένην ἐπιτελέσας καὶ τὰς . . . τῶν ἁγίων μαρτύρων μνήμας τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον συνδιαγαγόντων † ἐκείνῃ.

ἐκ. can only refer to μνήμη, yet the martyrs did not live at the same time as their memorial service, though they may well have been contemporaries of Peter of Sebaste. Read ἐκείνῳ—so Lewenklaus tr. Srawley says: 'ἐκείνῳ seems a natural emendation for ἐκείνῃ, but more probably, I think, ἐκείνῃ is used in its adverbial sense: "there, in that place".' Robson 'ἐκείνῳ is good, but I cannot account for -ῃ arising; it *might* mean "in those parts" as Srawley suggests'.

1004 D Christ entered a leper's house and was not ashamed to be kissed by him: ἐγὼ δὲ † οὐτε ἀντὶ τοῦ λεπροῦ ἐλογίσθην.

Read οὐδέ—Lewenklaus 'ne . . . quidem'.

Ep. 2. 1012 B a woman being weak needs on a pilgrimage to ride and to be helped mount and dismount καὶ ἐν ταῖς δυσχερίαις † παρακρατουμένη.

Text yields no sense. Gregory is arguing that mixed pilgrimages ruin conventual morals. Read perhaps παρακροτουμένη 'encouraged, cheered up and on'. Robson suggests παρακαλουμένη καὶ παρακροτ-, or παρακαalone:—too far off the *ductus litterarum* I think.

Ep. 10. 1041 A ἡμᾶς δὲ γίνωσκε . . . περιελαλεῖν τοῖς παροῦσι (neuter) καὶ † διαφοροῦντας μὴ παύεσθαι.

Zacagni and E. T. render 'men do not cease to tear us in pieces'. One of the many unaccountable blunders in E. T., since διαφ. can agree only with ἡμᾶς, the subject of the infinitive. But the text is wrong and an intrans. verb is needed.

I propose διαφροουντας which must have had the required meaning 'keep one's post', before acquiring a metaphorical one. Having in the course of reading a great many authors added over 20,000 fresh vouchers (several of them being unrecorded meanings) to my L. S. (largely out of late authors), I do not despair of finding the one needed here. For in what little of Gregory I have read so far I have been struck with the amount of support he gives to words or meanings I have added to L. S. And the science of semantics is hardly even in its infancy.

An even more gentle correction would be διαποροῦντας, easily corrupted if the dictator said 'deea-por-' but the scribe thought he heard 'deea-por-'.

Or read διαπονοῦντας. Bury suggests διάφορα φοροῦντας 'girt about with quarrels'. Srawley suggests a lacuna.

Ep. 11. 1044 B like those in the *Odyssey* I will endure the inhabitants of Ithaca ἐν ᾗ πολλοὶ μνηστήρες καὶ τῶν κτημάτων τῆς μνηστευμένης † κρατήρες.

E. T. conjectures μνηστήρες: too far off the text and that root already

appears twice in as many lines. Cod. Med. reads *βρωτήρες* which is just the word needed.

If we dare not adopt *βρωτ.* because unable to account for *κρατ.* as e.g. the relict of a very ill-written (uncial) *βρωτ.*, I would suggest that *κρατήρες* is a minuscule corruption of *κραντήρες* (if it can mean 'lords of (mis-)rule'); or of *κρατήτορες* (but only quoted *re stars*); or of *κτήτορες*. With any of these *βρωτ.* is explicable as merely a learned scribe's brilliant improvement. Srawley 'the suggestion which occurred to me . . . before I studied your note was that which I see you include . . . i. e. *κτήτορες*'. Bury would keep *βρωτ.* and consider *κρατ.* as corrupted therefrom. Robson 'does *κράτωρ* occur?—*αὐτοκράτωρ* does; or have you discovered *τηκτήρ* "a waster of"? [*κράτωρ* would I think be certain if one could assume its existence c. 380, for it is Byz.]

V. Macrin. 3. 960 C—961 A *Μακρίνα ἦν ὄνομα τῇ παρθένῳ· εὐδόκιμος δέ τις πάλαι κατὰ τὸ γένος ἦν ἡ Μακρίνα μήτηρ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν . . . † ἡ ἐπωνομάσθη παρὰ τῶν γονέων ἡ παῖς* [i. e. *Μακ. ἡ παρθένος*].

Read *ἡς*—cf. Pl. Lg. 738 B; Lys. 204 E, Eur., Soph. quoted by L. S. s. v. *ἐπονομάζω*.

εὐδόκιμον (sc. *ὄνομα*) *δὴ τι* would ease the sense, but is not essential.

Just above (960 A) *σύνθεσις* = 'theme, subject', unique, elsewhere it is always active.

961 B she became pregnant and in a dream (which ended by her being vouchsafed painless delivery: waking to find her babe born) she seemed *φέρειν* . . . *διὰ χειρὸς τὸ † ὥς τι ὑπὸ τῶν σπλάγχων περιεχόμενον*.

If sound *ὥς τι* must precede *τό* and mean 'in a sense': an impossible pleonasm and not to be defended on the analogy *ὥς τί: quam ob rem* : *ὥς τι: eam ob rem*.

Had *ὥς τῷ ὄντι* (which I would read) once had the last word split up into *ὄν τι*, it then might well have been mauled into *ὥς τὸ ὄν τι* and this last into the text.

Zinus translates 'adhuc'—did he read *ὥς ἔτι*—and is this even possible fourth-century Greek?

Robson suggests uncial corruption out of *ἐς τὸ φῶς τὸ ὑπὸ . . .* (*φέρειν ἐς τὸ φῶς = in lucem edere*).

969 A *ἀλλὰ . . . διεκατέρεται τοῖς λογισμοῖς, † ταῖς τῆς φύσεως προσβολαῖς διωθόμενῃ*.

Wrong case after *διωθ.* Read *τὰς προσβολάς*. [Context forbids making *προσβ.* dat. instr. like *τοῖς κόντοις*.]

985 C Macrina had asked me to do the last offices, but since she lay as in sleep her eyes needed no one to close them *τοῖς βλεφάροις † διειλημμένοι* [*οἱ ὀφθαλμοί*].

Zinus 'contecti erant', so Lowther Clarke. Yet *διαλαμβάνω* has no such signification. *διειλημένοι* would be certain if it bore the required

meaning which merely depends on the δι- being understood as = 'right up', instead of 'asunder' as given in L. S. διειλυμένοι labours under a similar difficulty; ἀνειλημένοι has the right meaning, but is hard to justify palaeographically. Either of the first two is I think justifiable semantically.

Ep. 19. 1076 B at midday's blaze a poor traveller finds dried up to dust the spring to which he has run to slake his thirst, for he is † καταφραγείς τῷ ἡλίῳ τὸ σῶμα.

Read καταφρυγείς which is made certain by Ep. 1. 1008 A where Gregory speaks of the heat of Sebaste: μετὰ θάλπος ἐν ᾧ ὑπαιθρίοι . . . κατεφρύγγημεν. He also uses the word of a fever that burns up one's strength.

C Ἰβωρα πόλις . . . ἔχουσα πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐξ ἀρχαίου καὶ πρὸς ὑγιαίνουσιν πῶστιν † ἐπίρρητος.

Caracciolo renders 'propensa'. Right sense, and gained if we alter to ἐπυρεπῶς, an easy uncial corruption. This word has, too, the construction used here.

Virg. § 3. 325 CD πόθεν δέ τις ἀρξάμενος † ἐπαξίας ἂν τὸν βαρὺν τοῦτον ἐκτραγῶδήσειεν;

Read ἐπαξίως—Galesinus 'satis'.

Mac. Magn. 3. 35 (p. 60. 9 Harnack) εἶτα μετὰ τοσαύτην τερθρείας ἀδολεσχίαν ὥσπερ ἐν † κλίνη κείμενος ἀπεμνηρκήσατο φὰς [ὁ Παῦλος]· πᾶν τὸ ἐν μακέλλῳ πωλούμενον ἐσθίετε . . .

St Paul is likened to an old cow chewing a very stupid and senseless cud, ruminating out a slaver of drivel. But cows do not recline on κλίνας. Can the original have had φάτνη?—cf. βοῦς ἐπὶ φ.

βοῶν κλίνη

may have been thought worth a gloss, e.g. φάτνη.

Later on βοῶν, seeming unsuitable to the context, was omitted and with it φάτνη was doomed, leaving the adscript victorious, because (apparently) better suited to a man (St Paul). Anyhow κλίνη can hardly stand since it is only used of a couch—there is no βοῦς ἐν κλίνη.

The verb μνηρκαίω is used twice again by (? Porphyry ap.) Mac. Magn.—see Harnack fr. 23. 14; 52. 11—each time in the same sense, and cf. ἀναμνηρ. in Ir. ap. Eus. *H.E.* 5. 20.

Bury suggested χλιδῇ and in reply to some objections of mine wrote: 'if φ = κ elsewhere in this MS, then φάτνη would be very plausible. As χλιδῇ is hardly apt, how about χλιῇ (= χλιῶ) = κίῳ? χ = κ is easier'. Robson 'I think φάτνη quite likely; is ἀπ- right? The idea is certainly "sitting in his arm-chair" and βοῦς ἐπὶ φάτνη is proverbial in this sense, not, I think, ἐν'.

RONALD BURN.

NOTE ON THE TEXT OF JER. IV 11.

MT has the words *רוח צה שפים במדבר*, the LXX *πνεῦμα πλανήσεως ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ*. Commentators and Editors are practically agreed (though in some cases with hesitation) that the text before the Greek translators did not include the word *שפים*. Closer study reveals the fact that it is rather *צה* which was missing from their text.

The word *צה* is itself suspicious. The root occurs in the O. T. as follows:—*צחח* (Vb.) Lam. iv 7, *צה* Isa. xviii 4, xxxii 4, Ct. v 10, *צחצח* Ez. xxiv 7, 8, xxvi 4, 14, Neh iv 7, *צחצחה* Ps. lxxviii 7, *צחצחה* Isa. lvi 11. A comparison of these cases shews that the word implies colour and not heat—or only heat when suggested by colour. It means a dazzling white—cf. the passages where it is applied to human teeth or to bare, scorched, limestone rock. To use it of 'wind' is a rather harsh transference of metaphor. The evidence of comparative philology points in the same direction. So also the ease with which it might be accounted for as a reduplication of *רח*.

What then about *שפים*? There can be no suggestion of 'wandering' in this word. But the Greek translators used *πλανάω* in Dt. xxvii 18, Job vi 24, xix 4, Prov. xxviii 10 to render the root *שנה*. The facility with which *פ* and *נ* might be confused in the old script makes it practically certain that the Egyptian text (from which the LXX translated) had some form which they derived from the root *שנה*.

It does not follow that the LXX text was right in reading *שנה*. It is usually safe in the Book of Jeremiah to give the preference to the reading of the LXX when it offers a longer or a shorter text than the MT, but not when it involves a change in a word or letter. We may, then, accept their omission of *צה* but retain the *שפים* of the MT, reading *רוח שפים במדבר*. Further emendation may seem desirable to some scholars, but this at least is clearly the text underlying the common ancestor of the MT and the LXX's text.

THEODORE H. ROBINSON.

SOME HEBREW ROOTS AND THEIR MEANINGS.

MANY difficulties in the Hebrew text have been elucidated by the comparative study of the Semitic languages, and the following notes are an endeavour to throw light on several difficult words in the Old Testament with the help of Arabic and Assyrian.

The meaning of רמך in the phrase בני הרמכים (Esther viii 10) has long been considered doubtful, but the conjectural rendering 'stud-mare' is confirmed by the Arab. رَمَكٌ, stayed indoors, رَمَكَةٌ, a mare kept in the stables for rearing foals, and رَمَّانٌ, *celui qui garde les juments* or *qui les fait couvrir*.¹ Thus בני הרמכים may be rendered 'thoroughbreds'. Of two other words the roots may perhaps be sought in Arabic: חרש, magic charm, and עברה, arrogance. The word חרש should be connected with Arab. حَرَسَ, opportune moment, الْحَرَسَانُ, night and day, and حَرَسَ, kept watch, and thus חכמים חרשים (Isa. iii 3) will mean 'wise in the seasons', 'skilful in discovering the right moment'.² As regards עברה, I would suggest that it is cognate with غَبَرَ, was ulcerated (of a wound), bore rancour, and غَبَرٌ, rancour, malice, hatred. In no Semitic language does the (ע) עבר connote 'overflowing' of pride or wrath, and there is no reason why עברה, though the implication of the corresponding word in Arabic is bad, should not in Hebrew mean not only malice or enmity, but also righteous resentment, indignation. There will therefore be two roots in Hebrew, (i) עבר (ע), passed over, and (ii) עבר (פ), rankled.

In two passages in Jacob's Blessing Assyrian may prove of assistance in interpreting obscure phrases. The words נזיר אחיו (Gen. xlix 26) are rendered 'that was separated from his brethren' by the Revised Version. It is possible that there is a play on the classical meaning of נזיר, consecrated, in Hebrew and the original signification which has survived in the Ass. *nasûru*, to curse. Render therefore נזיר אחיו, 'that was accursed of his brethren', for 'they hated him and could

¹ Dozy *Supplément* vol. i p. 558 b, Ed. König (*Hebr. u. Aram. Wörterb.*, under רמך), however, deny this connexion. Possibly the original root is Ass. *ramûku*, to pour out, sprinkle, while Arab. رَمَكٌ, stayed indoors, is merely a *vb. deriv.* from رَمَكَةٌ, mare.

² Whether the Ass. *erûu*, to settle, and *erûu*, wise, cunning, are connected with this root is uncertain; for many scholars would find the cognate root in חרש, engraved, devised, Arab. حَرَسَ, (i) tilled, ploughed, (ii) cultivated, studied. Compare probably חַרְשָׁן (Targ.) enchanter, with חכמים חרשים. (For Ass. *e* = Hebr. פּ cp. *edeû* = חרש, *elêqu* = חושק, &c.)

not speak peaceably unto him' (Gen. xxxvii 4). Perhaps also מכרה (Gen. xlix 5) can be traced back to the Ass. *makaru* or *makkaru*, staff (for driving donkeys, &c.), and should be rendered 'staff', the implication being that the brethren have abused the herdsman's staff and employed it in deeds of violence. Again, may there not possibly underlie שילה in Gen. xlix 10 a long lost root in Ass. *šilu* or *šilu*, prince, ruler? Then it should probably be pointed שילה¹ and the passage will run: 'The sceptre shall not depart from Judah . . . until the ruler thereof come, whom all people shall obey', viz. until the local rule of Judah's princes passes away before that of one who shall hold universal sway.²

In Isa. xlii 8 I should be inclined to suggest התחששו, grieve yourselves, for התאששו. This is textually nearer to the original התאששו, and is phonetically a corruption easier to understand than the suggested emendation, התבששו; nor is it easy to account for any error arising in the case of so well-known a root as בוש. Further, it agrees with the LXX, which reads στενάξατε. The חשש√ has long been regarded as confined to Aramaic, but it is now known to occur frequently in Assyrian, where *ašāṣu* means 'to be sad, troubled', and *ašūṣu* means 'trouble, sorrow, affliction'.³ The occurrence of such an ἀπαξ εἰρημνόνον, only known in Assyrian and Aramaic, apart from a single possible occurrence in the Old Testament, is no more striking than that of אנרת, ארשת, and so on, while the second Isaiah is especially prone to the use of such words.⁴ In at least one instance Assyrian, instead of being adduced in support of textual emendation, may possibly prevent it. In 1 Sam. ii 33 various proposals have been made to remove לאריב from the text, as inexplicable. But the ארב√ appears to be confirmed by the Assyrian *addbu*, (i) to bind, (ii) to oppress.⁵ If this is correct, לאריב should probably be pointed as a Pi' infin., לאריב, incorrectly written *plene*, and לאריב את נפשך translated 'to vex thy soul'.

Assyrian may sometimes correct the false exegesis of the Rabbinic scholars. As an example of this may be cited the word בלא, without,

¹ Like דין, for example, with the archaic pron. suff.; cp. Ges.-K. § 84^b b, and 91 e.

² Other words in this poem which have to be referred to Assyrian for solution are הור for הור (Ass. *uru* = *urru*) and יקהה (Ass. *aqi* and Arab. وقى).

³ The same root, it has been suggested by Dr Gray, underlies חוש' in Job xx 2 (Driver and Gray *Job* pt. ii p. 134).

⁴ Examples are מנחם, שרב, שבל, צרח, צוח.

⁵ See Delitzsch *HWB*, pp. 20 b and 21 c. It should, however, be added that Professor Langdon regards the meaning 'oppress' as not well established for *addbu* in Assyrian.

which they regarded as a compound of לָא, not, and ב, with. But the Assyrian *balum*, *balu*, without, side by side with *balī*, without,¹ clearly proves that in Hebrew also בָּלָא and בָּלִי were originally different cases of the same noun, from the בָּלָה, Ass. *balû*, to be nothing.²

Another word which has been wrongly suspected by scholars is אַבְנֵי נֹר in Ps. lx 6 (נִתְחָה לִירְאִיד נִם לַחֲתָנֶס) and Zech. ix 16 (אֲבָנֵי נֹר מִתְנוֹסֶסוֹת עַל אֲדָמָתוֹ), for Assyrian proves that 'to wave to and fro' is the correct meaning.³ In II Rawlinson 40. 21 *nussusu ša zibbatī* means 'wagging of the tail', and in the Epic of Gilgameš, col. iv a l. 4 (Schrader's *K. B.* v 140), *linassisa kummaššu* is rendered by Jensen 'let him shake his hair'. In Ps. xl 6 therefore נִם לַחֲתָנֶס should be translated 'a flag to be waved to and fro', and in Zech. ix 16 מִתְנוֹסֶסוֹת are 'jewels in a crown waving to and fro' with the movement of the head, and picturesquely depicted as 'waving to and fro over the land'. Similarly I would translate רֹחַ יְהוָה נֹסֶסָה (Isa. lix 19) 'the spirit of the Lord passing to and fro upon it', regarding נֹסֶסָה as the Qal ptcp.⁴ from [נָסַס], Arab. نَسَسَ, and not the pf. Po'l. from נָסַם.⁵ Consequently נָס, standard, will have meant primarily 'something waved to and fro', 'a banner', and be a derivative from נָסַס rather than the primitive noun from which נָסַם was formed as a denominative verb.⁶

Lastly, I am inclined to think that in several cases in Hebrew, where two roots bear the same form, the rarer has been lost by being merged in that whose occurrence is more common.⁷ Two examples will suffice

¹ In Assyrian *bala* and *bali* were originally the acc. and gen. respectively of *balum*, *balu*; thus in *bala šaltum šabit* (= it was taken without fighting), the phrase *bala šaltum* constitutes an adverbial accusative, and in *ina bališu* (= without him) *bali* is in the genitive case after a preposition.

² In Arabic also بَلَا is probably philologically incorrect for بَلَا by similar false analogy.

³ With Ass. [*nasāsu*] cp. Arab. نَسَسَ, *pervasisit, celeriter progressus fuit* (in omni re); *celeriter abiit*; *dispersus fuit*, and its derivative تَنَسَّسَ, rapid motion. The meaning of the נָסַס is, therefore, 'to move quickly', probably with the special connotation of 'moving quickly to and fro'.

⁴ The ptcp. also agrees better with the sense of the passage than the perf., all the tenses referring to future time.

⁵ There can be no doubt that Hebr. נָס, fled, and Arab. (و)نَاسَ, oscillated, was in commotion, Hebr. נָסַס, waved to and fro, and Arab. نَسَسَ, moved to and fro, went quickly, are ultimately to be derived from a common root signifying quick motion (cp. מָלַל and מָלַל, &c.).

⁶ For the form נָס (c. suff. נָסִי) from נָסַס, cp. נָס from נָסַס, מָרָה from מָרַס, מָרָה from מָרַס, &c. (Ges.-K. 84^a c.).

⁷ Thus Delitzsch (*Prolegomena* pp. 66 ff. has detected a second root מָחַץ,

to illustrate my meaning, the words **מצא** and **פרץ**.¹ There are, it would seem, two roots **מצא** in the language, which should be kept distinct, viz. (i) **מצא**, found, and (ii) **מצא**, sufficed, corresponding to the Assyrian verbs, (i) *maṣû* = to find, obtain, and (ii) *maṣû* = to be wide, broad; to be enough, be plentiful. As in other cases of this nature, (ii) **מצא** was lost through the rarity of its occurrence; for it is perhaps only to be recognized in five or six passages of the Old Testament. In Num. xi 22 **להם ומצא** clearly means 'that it suffice them, that there be enough for them'; in Judges xxi 14 **ולא מצאו להם כן**, 'and even so they sufficed them not', the meaning given by the Revised Version, is therefore correct.² The Niph. **נמצא**, which occurs in Joshua xvii 16 and Zech. x 10, in the same way signifies 'was accounted sufficient'.

As a last instance in which Assyrian is of assistance, it suffices to recall two occurrences of **פרץ**, where the usual rendering 'broke forth' is unsatisfactory and can only be extended to mean 'spread abroad' by a violent exegesis. The passages are **נפרצה נשלחה על** (1 Chron. xiii 2), where the Revised Version avoids the difficulty by rendering 'let us send abroad everywhere . . .', and **כפרץ הרבר** (2 Chron. xxxi 5), for which the same translation gives 'as soon as the commandment came abroad'. But in both cases the sense required by the context for **פרץ** is 'to command', 'issue an edict', and this is exactly what the cognate root in Assyrian offers. There we find three roots corresponding to **פרץ**: (i) *pardāsu*, to tell lies, which has no equivalent in Hebrew; (ii) *pardāsu*, to break through; (iii) *pardāsu*, to decide, with its common derivative noun *parṣu*, command, order, law, edict, especially of a god or king.³ The Hebrew lexicon should therefore be corrected to read (i) **פרץ**, broke through (= Ass. (ii) *pardāsu*); (ii) **פרץ**, issued an edict, commanded (= Ass. (iii) *pardāsu*); and at the same time these two passages in Chronicles should be translated: 'Let us issue an edict, let us send unto our

corresponding to Ass. *maḥāṣu*, to sprinkle, dip, and bearing that meaning, which has only survived in Ps. lxxviii 24: **למען תמחץ רגלך בדם**, that thou mayest dip thy feet in blood.

¹ Another example is perhaps **התחנן**, implored, with its derivative **תחנון**, supplication, which cannot be brought under the **חנן**, was gracious. There are clearly in Semitic four roots of the form **חנן**: (i) **חנן**, Hithp., implored = Ass. *anānu*, to implore; (ii) **חנן**, was gracious = Ass. *anānu*, to be gracious; (iii) *anānu*, to be hostile, which has no cognate root in Hebrew, and (iv) **חנן**, was loathsome = Arab. **خفن**, was loathsome.

² Another probable instance in the Qal is in Lev. xxv 26, where **ומצא כרי גאלתו** should be rendered 'and there be enough for its redemption'.

³ See Burney *Judges* p. 116 n.

brethren . . . that they may gather themselves together unto us', and :
'when this thing was decreed', as indeed the LXX (ὡς προσέταξεν τὸν
λόγον) renders the latter.

G. R. DRIVER.

[I have no doubt that Mr Driver is right in finding under Heb. מָצָא both Assyr. *mašû* 'find, obtain', and *mašû* 'be wide, suffice'. The latter verb may be paralleled by Aram. מִצֵּן 'able, possible', properly *capax*. The two sets of meanings appear, however, to go back to a common idea, and thus to have a common root, with which is connected Aram. מָצָא, מִצֵּן, 'reach, attain' (against Nöldeke, *ZDMG.* xl 736, and *BDB*), Heb. מָצָא 'stretch out, extend', Assyr. *našû* 'be feasible, attainable', Heb. מָדַד, Assyr. *maddû* 'measure' (from idea of *extension*, as appears from Ar. مَدَّ 'extend, stretch', Heb. מָדַד 'extending 'garment'', probably also Heb. מָדַד 'extend', Aram., Ar. *ibid.* (ה) strengthened to ל gutt. as in מָדַד, מָדַד), and perhaps even Heb. מָדַד 'draw out, extend' (ה strengthened to נ as in Assyr. *tamāhu*, Heb. מָדַד). We thus have a common Semitic biliteral MAŠ, (MAŠ), MAT, MAD, MAT, NAT, the meaning of which appears to have been 'stretch, extend, reach'. The difference between the meanings 'find, obtain', and the meanings 'be wide, suffice', is merely the difference between 'stretch, extend' (trans.) and 'be stretched, extend' (intrans.); and the connexion between the trans. and intrans. meanings will be clear to those who are familiar with the uses of the *Permansive* in Assyrian.

C. F. BURNEY.]

FURTHER CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE CRITICISM OF ZMARAGDUS'S *EXPOSITIO LIBRI COMITIS*.

In the earlier article¹ I attempted to shed some light on the authorities used by Zmaragdus by presenting the results of a collation of the marginal symbols in the Bodleian, British Museum, Paris (B. N. 2341), Berlin, Einsiedeln, St Gall 424 and St Gall 435 MSS. Since then I have been able (a) to add to the list of MSS, especially by Dom Wilmart's kindness, the following :—

Paris B. N. 12045 (formerly of St Maur des Fossés) (saec. ix), defective at beginning and end,²

¹ See the *JOURNAL* vol. ix (1907-1908) pp. 584-597.

² Begins *tunc abiit unus de duodecim* (p. 176 c), ends in *conscientia et intellectu* p. 454 B).

Angers 233 (formerly of St Aubin) (saec. ix), second part only,
Córdoba, Mosque (Cathedral) Library 1 (olim 72) (saec. x) (about
960)¹;

(b) to collate the following MSS:—

St Omer 257 (saec. x), second part only,²

Munich 6214 (saec. x),

Luxemburg 135 (29) (formerly of Orval) (saec. x),

Paris 12045 (saec. ix) (see above);

and to obtain a collation of the following MS from my friend, the ever
lamented A. H. Kyd, of Wadham Coll. Oxon. and the Vict. University
of Manchester:—

Munich 6210 (saec. ix).

I set down here the results of the examination of these MSS, so far as
they contribute anything not already recorded by me from the other
MSS. For the convenience of the printer the horizontal lines over the
abbreviations are here omitted.

Migne (cii)

New Notes of Sources.

- | | |
|-------|---|
| 19 B | At <i>Quare non Iesu Christi</i> Clm. ³ 6214 has H |
| 32 B | At <i>Peccatum non per ipsum</i> Clm. 6214 has H |
| 34 D | At <i>Verbum caro factum est</i> Clm. 6214 has N |
| 40 B | At <i>Hierusalem non saxa</i> Clm. 6210 has B |
| 51 C | At <i>Non dicit tuum puerum</i> Clm. 6214 has FL (or FI) |
| 58 A | At <i>Postquam consummati sunt dies</i> Clm. 6214 has R |
| 63 D | At <i>Denique Eua statim ut</i> Clm. 6210 has A |
| | At <i>Et ipse dominus ad matrem</i> Clm. 6214 has A |
| 92 B | At <i>si ergo nosmet ipsos</i> Clm. 6210 has P |
| | At <i>Ego quasi meam dicit</i> Luxemb. MS has P |
| 93 D | At <i>Ille potes me mundare</i> Luxemb. MS has H |
| 99 D | At <i>Naucula ecclesia catholica est</i> Clm. 6214 has H (or N) |
| 111 B | At <i>Et tamen spinæ sunt</i> Clm. 6214 has G |
| 116 C | At <i>Praeuidens saluator ex</i> Clm. 6210 has V |
| 119 B | At <i>quia iuxta prophetæ testimonium</i> Luxemb. MS has H |
| 120 A | At <i>Non modica hoc loco</i> Clm. 6214 has A |
| 121 D | At <i>Tristitia uestra uertetur</i> Luxemb. MS has AG |
| 126 A | At <i>Sicut primo et secundo</i> Luxemb. MS has AG |
| 127 B | At <i>Vox diaboli semper</i> Luxemb. MS has H |
| 127 C | At <i>Sed questio oritur</i> Luxemb. MS has FR |
| 135 B | At <i>Eratis enim aliquando</i> Clm. 6210 has B |
| 136 C | At <i>Non haec aliqui de turba</i> Clm. 6214 has H |

¹ See C. U. Clark *Collectanea Hispanica* (Paris, 1920) p. 31 and plates 65 to 69.

² I have to regret the loss of this collation.

³ The recognized symbol for Codex latinus monacensis.

- Migne *Notes of Sources.*
- 139 C At *-puli genti geri non desinit* (perhaps referring to *Et tunc uadit et adsumit*) Luxemb. MS has H
- 148 D At *Ille enim Abraham* Luxemb. MS has P
- 150 C At *-us ancille cum filio libere* Luxemb. MS has ISD
- 184 C At *Ut conpleretur quod* St Maur MS has N
- 186 C At *Pilatus autem accepit aquam* St Maur MS has N
- 191 B At *Nunc autem manent fides* St Maur MS has N
At *et accepit latro et seruauit* St Maur MS has G
- 196 B At *Et ex simplici sepultura domini* St Maur MS has H
- 234 D At *sicut et ipsi de se ipsis* St Maur MS has A (?)
- 235 A At *Id est misit deus filium suum* St Maur MS has H
C At *Postea sciens Iesus quia omnia* St Maur MS has A
At *Quid respondendum est iudeis obicientibus* St Maur MS has EY
- D At *in quo nondum quisque positus erat* St Maur MS has AG
- 237 A At *Hanc ostensionem domini post* Clm. 6210 has AVG
B At *quia non erat uera caro sed spiritus* St Maur MS has AG
- 247 A At *An qui in pisce asso* Clm. 6210 has DP (?)
- 248 C (At *soluerit male uiuendo et* Clm. 6210 has a star)
- 259 A At *ut illa femina figuraretur ecclesia* St Maur MS has AG
- 265 D At *Ecce ego uobiscum sum usque ad* St Maur MS has IO (?)
- 271 B At *sed animae suauissimum sensum* St Maur MS has CAS
- 276 A At *lintheaminibus non inuenitur* St Maur MS has GR
- 277 A At *quia omnes qui uera deuotione* St Maur MS has AG
- 280 B At *Quid mirum si clausis ianuis* St Maur MS has GR
- 281 B At *qui hunc pro redemptione generis* St Maur MS has G
- 282 C At *suam dubitare permisit nec* St Maur MS has G
- 286 A At *qui non pro amore intimo oues* St Maur MS has G
- 293 B At *dixit propheta Hieremias* Luxemb. MS has B
At *Scitis fratres mei dilecti notis-* St Maur MS has B
- 300 A At *-ditores tantum legis iustificabuntur* St Maur MS has B
- 302 C At *Quia uos me amastis* Luxemb. MS has AG
- 305 A (?) ABRO *In hac lectione sancti* Luxemb. MS
- 311 B At *Cum id utique non crediderit* Luxemb. MS has AM
- 325 D At *Hoc est in cenaculo quod* Clm. 6214 has g
- 332 A At *Id est fidem natiuitatis* Clm. 6214 has B
- 375 A At *Stagnum Genesareth idem dicunt* Clm. 6214 has H (?)
- 379 D At *Plerumque iustitia durior* Clm. 6214 has AM
- 403 D At *In lege autem iudicabatur* Clm. 6214 has F
- 405 A At *Gehenna nomen conpositum est* the St Maur MS has FR,
while Clm. 6214 has F
- 412 B At *Qui timore non amore* the St Maur MS has P

*Migne**Notes of Sources.*

- 416 A At *Dictum est enim ad moysen*¹ the St Maur MS has A
 C At *In illa scriptura quae* Clm. 6214 has H
- 417 A At *Fidelis qui se pollicitus est* Clm. 6214 has AG
- 420 A At *Prout ducebamini a quo uel* the St Maur MS and Clm. 6214 have OR
- 432 B At *Occupatus erat dominus in opere* the St Maur MS has N
- 437 A At *Id est qui parum tribuit* Clm. 6214 has **PEL**
- 438 A At *Amen amen dico uobis nisi* the St Maur MS has G
- 443 C At *Hic dicere poterat aliquis quid* the St Maur MS has H
- 475 D At *Quae oportet fieri cito* Clm. 6214 has **PRIM**
- 486 A At *Tempus quippe redimimus quando* Clm. 6214 has G
 At *Tempus autem redimimus quia* Clm. 6214 has H
- 498 D At *Interrogauit Petrus magistrum* Clm. 6214 has AG in margin also
- 500 C At *Prouocatus apostolus Petrus* Clm. 6214 has H
 D At *Quod autem amplius quaeris* Clm. 6214 has A
- 505 C At *se et Petro* Clm. 6214 has B
 At *Aliter reddite quae sunt* Clm. 6214 has A
- 508 D At *Dicit prope est dominus* Clm. 6214 has V
- 510 D At *Ambulans autem Iesus* Clm. 6214 has B
- 511 A At *Non filii regum, non scribae* Clm. 6214 has H
- 521 C At *mortui resurgunt pauperes* Clm. 6214 has F
- 523 D At *Miserunt Iudaei ab* Clm. 6214 has CY
- 524 B At *Iohannes igitur in spiritu* Clm. 6214 has G
- 526 D At *Id est secundum quod proposuit* Clm. 6214 has H
- 528 D At *Cum pro his inquit* the St Omer MS has AG² and Clm. 6214³ has A
- 529 B At *Videtur enim posse hoc* Clm. 6214 has OR
- 538 C At *Lucernas autem ardentes* Clm. 6214 has G
- 540 D At *Homo quidam nobilis* Clm. 6214 has B
- 545 B At *Recte deus excelsus* Clm. 6214 has F
- 546 D At *Cum dicit beati pauperes* Clm. 6214 has FI
- 549 B At *Videntur itaque mihi* Clm. 6214 has A
- 550 A At *Multi enim quamuis* Clm. 6214 has A
- 551 A At *Aptauerunt lampades suas* Clm. 6214 has A

A. SOUTER.

¹ Here some MSS differ from printed text.² This note is preserved apart from the collation proper.³ The last quaternion of this MS has been turned outside in by the binder.

CORRECTION: DR GORE ON THE 'SUCCESSION' IN
CLEMENT.

DR GORE writes that Dr Whitney is mistaken in supposing (JOURNAL July 1921 p. 412) that there is any difference between Prof. Turner and himself as to the nature of the 'succession' spoken of by Clement. 'Where I speak of "bishops" on p. 283 I am (plainly) speaking of bishops (and deacons) as they appear in Clement, i. e. of the presbyter-bishops. No doubt Clement implies that certain distinguished men had succeeded by apostolic appointment to the apostolic function of appointing these presbyter-bishops, but he does not speak of this as a "succession".'

REVIEWS

The Book of Job, by SAMUEL ROLLES DRIVER, D.D., and GEORGE BUCHANAN GRAY, D.Litt. 'The International Critical Commentary.' (Edinburgh, 1921. 35s. net.)

THE book of over 800 pages (bound in one volume) is divided into two parts separately paged. Part I contains an Introduction of sixty pages, which is the work of Dr Gray, followed by an English translation with exegetical notes, in part the work of Dr Driver, in part that of Dr Gray. Of the translation chs. iii-xxviii are due to the former, and of the exegetical notes those on iii 1-ix 10 and xl 15-xli 30. Thus a considerable amount both of translation and of commentary remained to be executed by Dr Gray.

Part II contains the philological notes, which of course are of very great importance in the book of Job. Of these Dr Driver composed those on chs. iii-xxxi and on xxxii 7-xlii 6, but Dr Gray besides completing the series has made many additions throughout. These additions are conscientiously distinguished by square brackets, sometimes to the serious inconvenience of the reader.

In the view taken of the original structure of the book and of the supplementary passages due to later hands Gray goes a little way—but not far—beyond Driver in his small edition of Job (Oxford, 1906). The original book was composed (it seems) in broad outline as follows:—

The Prologue followed by chs. iii-xxiv

xxv (Bildad + perhaps xxvi)

xxvii 2-6 (Job)

7-23 (Sophar; vv. 11, 12 Job)

xxix-xxxi (Job)

xxxviii 1-xl 5 followed by the Epilogue.

According to this scheme the only large additions to the original work are

xxviii. Poem on Wisdom.

xxxii-xxxvii. Elihu.

xl 6-xli 34 (26). JEHOVAH's second answer to Job containing the description of Behemoth and Leviathan.

The Purpose and Method of the Writer are well treated by Gray in the Introduction, only some readers would have welcomed the addition of a reprint of Driver's own concise statement of the main aim of the book given on pp. ix, x of the small edition of 1906. Perhaps also

it would have been worth while saying that the author of the book of Job shews how obstinate was the controversy called forth by the problem of the Suffering of the Righteous and the Prosperity of the Wicked. Elsewhere, e.g. in Ps. xxxvii and Ps. lxxiii, the doubts which are raised seem quickly to be laid to rest. Not so in our book. If in form we have an academic debate, in substance we have the human cry from four separate individuals. Eliphaz and Bildad and Sophar are as earnest for their own view as Job for his; if they may not believe that sin and suffering go together, and that righteousness and prosperity are inseparable, their faith in God is taken away. Eliphaz dares to ask, 'Who ever perished, being innocent?' Bildad tells Job, 'If thou wert pure and innocent, surely now [God] would awake for thee'. According to Sophar, 'The triumphing of the wicked is short, and the joy of the godless but for a moment'.

The three friends are condemned in the Epilogue, but the leaven of their doctrine remained. In our Lord's time some believed that the Galilaeans whose blood Pilate had mingled with their sacrifices were sinners above all the Galilaeans (Luke xiii 2), and even disciples asked him, 'Who did sin, this man or his parents, that he should be born blind?' (John ix 2). In our own day popular religion still allows men to cry, 'It's a judgement', when some striking calamity happens. But the doctrine is thoroughly opposed to the higher religion whether of Judaism or of Christianity; and it is a boon to have it fully and nakedly set forth in the speeches of Job's friends to its own confutation.

Perhaps one's first impression in using this new commentary is of the great difficulties which beset the study of the book of Job. Driver and Gray face the facts fairly, and if too few stumbling-blocks are removed, the fault lies perhaps with a corrupt text. Chs. xxvi-xxviii are specially rich in difficulties of criticism and interpretation. According to M.T. the whole section apparently is ascribed to Job himself as speaker, but commentators point out how unsuitable many of the sayings are in the mouth of the patriarch. Gray suspends judgement on the proposed ascription of xxvi 5-14 to Bildad, but he assigns xxvii 7-10 and 13-23 tentatively to Sophar; ch. xxviii he regards as 'an independent poem rather than a speech either of Job or . . . of one of his friends'.

Possibly the best solution is that both in xxvi 5-14 and in ch. xxviii the Author seeks relief from the tragedy of Job's story by taking the rôle of Chorus Speaker and delivering a monologue on a general theme. In detail Gray can hardly be right in assigning to Sophar xxvii 7,

Let mine enemy be as the wicked,

And let him that riseth up against me be as the unrighteous.

This sentiment is fully characteristic of Job himself. The patriarch is imagining his own trial before God, and he prays that his accuser,

his enemy (אִישׁ רִיבִי in xxxi 35), may be 'as the wicked' (רָשָׁע), i. e. that he may be condemned ('condemn' = הָרַשָׁע). Such words form a very suitable conclusion to Job's brief indignant protest in xxvii 2 ff. Sophar then begins in v. 8 with כִּי, 'Surely' (not 'For'), which is used also to introduce ch. xxviii.

On xxvii 4 b, 'Neither doth my tongue utter deceit', Driver has only the curt note: 'תַּחֲנֶה rd [יִהְיֶה] לשני, with 10 MSS; cf. G-K. 145 u.' The note (cf. a similar one on xx 9) raises the question how far the rules of grammatical concord are observed in Hebrew—particularly in later Hebrew, and it is a pity that we have not a fuller exposition of the whole subject. An initial difficulty lies in the fact that a Hebrew substantive so rarely gives away its gender. Only rarely is there any determining ending. The article gives no help, for it is a mere prefix common to all numbers and to both genders. Adjectives again give only a little aid, for if they be used as predicates they may be masculine, although their substantives are feminine. So also a verb which precedes its subject may be masculine, although the subject is feminine.

This condition of licence has unfortunate results for the grammarian. He may conclude from חַעֲבֵר כּוֹס (Lam. iv 21) that כּוֹס is feminine, but not from רִבְקָה לֶשֶׁן (Lam. iv 4) that לֶשֶׁן is masculine. In Eccl. i 4 he is confronted with אִמֶּר קִהְלָת. The substantive by its form protests its femininity even vehemently; the verb through its position is neutral, though masculine in form. As however the Preacher declares in v. 12 that he was 'king' (not 'queen') over Israel, we must believe himself against himself, and confess that a Hebrew monarch was *super grammaticam* and that the Ecclesiastes was not a woman. The Hebrew text in short yields few decisive proofs, and the Lexicons have to rely on two or three passages only for fixing the gender of many a common word. Sometimes it even happens that these few passages do not agree among themselves, אֹר, 'light', appears to be both masc. (xviii 6) and fem. (xxxvi 32) in Job. The same may be said of רוּחַ, 'spirit' (iv 15; xxxii 8). דֶּרֶךְ, 'way, road', is 'masc., less often fem.' acc. to B. D. B., but 'fem., frequently masc.' acc. to Gesenius (ed. Buhl, 1910). In Ezekiel יָד, 'hand', and חֹצֵר, 'court' (usually fem.), appear occasionally as masc. מַחֲנֶה, 'camp' (masc.), forms the plural מַחֲנֹת, and is construed as a fem. in 1 Chron. xi 15. לֶשֶׁן itself is treated as masc. in Joshua vii 21.

In the passage of Gesenius-Kautzsch referred to by Driver a large number of cases of breach of concord between verb and subject are collected, and the suggestion is there made that several instances are to be explained by the supposition that the text is corrupt. This supposition is sometimes correct no doubt, but it seems to me insufficient as a general solution of the difficulties. Minute study of the text of O. T.

suggests rather that the Hebrew writers were far less sensitive to concord of gender than Greek or Latin authors. They steadily wrote אבות as the plural of 'father' and נשים as the plural of 'woman'. They could treat שלשה, &c., as 'masc.' numerals and they could write רוח נרולה וזקן (1 Kings xix 11). In the face of these and other similar facts it does not seem the obvious duty of an editor to correct the syntax of לשוני אם יהנה. Indeed if we follow the general rule brought forward by Gray (Philological Note on xix 20) we shall keep the reading of M.T.: 'Parts of the body other than those which exist in pairs are masc.' (cf. G-K. § 122 n). But this rule again cannot be pressed. At times we find the appeal to gender a treacherous guide in making our way through a difficult Hebrew sentence. It may even be suspected that a Hebrew writer sometimes extemporizes genders for his substantives,¹ and chooses his forms more for euphony than for grammatical concord. Happily the two motives sometimes lead to the same result.

Probably the reader will be disappointed that the book does not contain Dr Driver's full treatment of the great passage xix 23-27. The translation is Driver's, with v. 26 a left a blank, but the commentary and nearly all the philological annotation are from Gray.

25. But I know that my vindicator liveth,
And that hereafter he will stand up upon the dust.

26. And . . .
And away from my flesh I shall see God.

27. Whom *I* shall behold (to be) on my side
And mine eyes shall see to be unestranged.
My reins fail with longing within me.

'For the moment at least', writes Gray, 'Job is convinced that there is to be some better defence of his character than his own assertions recorded in writing for ever. . . . None other than the living God Himself will at last free his name from reproach. . . . A great change will occur after death: and of this change Job even in death will become conscious. . . . There is still no belief here in a *continued* life of blessedness after death in which compensation in kind will be made for the inequalities of this life.'

For these halting conclusions the reader cannot blame Gray, who has evidently spared no pains in his investigation of the difficulties of the passage.

It is possible, however, that Driver would have written more decisively, for in his smaller work he quotes with approval A. B. Davidson's

¹ Combining in one phrase the characteristic masc. plu. and fem. plu. endings.

² There are plenty of instances of אבן being used as a fem., but can we be sure that the author did not mean 'stone is molten into copper', when he wrote אבן יצוק נחושה (xxviii 2)?

paraphrase, 'When I have died under the ravages of my disease, I shall then see God'.

After a careful consideration of all that Dr Gray has written it seems to me that an older explanation still holds the field. The emphatic words of *vs.* 25-27 are surely, as Bernard¹ held, an answer to a passionate outburst of Bildad, in which this 'friend' accuses Job of practical Atheism. In xviii 4 the Shuhite asked in answering Job's complaints, 'Does thy case prove that the earth is forsaken, i.e. by its God?' Further, in xviii 21 he proceeded to pass a definite judgement on the patriarch by the assertion, 'This (Job's dwelling) is the place of one who has not acknowledged God'.

To this severest condemnation Job makes reply:

25. Yea, I know that my Goel² liveth,
And (though He tarry) that he shall stand up (for me) upon the earth (dust).

Job protests that far from not acknowledging God, he acknowledges Him as the First and the Last, and indeed as Living³ Redeemer.

26. And after they⁴ have stript off my skin—thus,
From my flesh I behold God.

Here, as in x 10, 11, the patriarch becomes deeply conscious of God from the sight of the Creator's wonderful work on the human body:

This man's-flesh he hath admirably made,
Blown like a bubble, kneaded like a paste.

(*An Epistle.*)

27. Whom I behold for myself,
And mine own eyes see, and not a stranger's,
Though (When) my reins are consumed within me.

Not even deep-seated painful disease can hinder Job's vision of God. The patriarch is no Atheist; his confession is in essence the same as that of the Psalmist (Ps. lxxiii 26), 'My flesh and my heart are consumed, but God is the rock of my heart, and my portion for ever'.

The quality of Job's faith is indicated by the twofold 'after' (ואחריו *v.* 25 and ואחר *v.* 26). After long delay on the part of the Redeemer, after the disease has reached a terrible stage, the patriarch retains an inward vision of God—a vision which is his own and due to no suggestion of his 'friends'.

It seems to me that these three verses are comparatively free from textual difficulty; the ואת of *v.* 26 is abruptly introduced, it is true, but the sudden word is fitting in the mouth of a man in pain. On the other hand can we accept the rendering of מבשרי, 'away from my flesh' (*v.* 26), given by Driver-Gray? In a philological note on xi 15 (מפנים,

¹ H. H. Bernard *Job* (London 1863-1884) p. 168.

² Kinsman-redeemer.

³ Everliving.

⁴ Subject indefinite for the sake of reverence; cp. ἀπαυθύν, Luke xii 20.

'without spot') and in B.D.B. 578 *a b* Driver has collected a number of examples of this usage of מן. But some of these are not true parallels to מְשֵׁרִי. In xi 15 the verb (חָשָׂה) helps to suggest a privative sense, and Isa. xiv 19 (הִשְׁלַכְתָּ) is a similar case. In xxviii 4 מן is more probably partitive, 'Mortal men (מֵאֲנוּשׁ) hang, they swing to and fro', and in Gen. xxvii 39 (Isaac's Blessing of Esau) it requires a great effort to accept the rendering:

Away from the fatness of the earth shall be thy dwelling,
And *away from* the dew of heaven from above:

particularly since מן cannot be treated as privative in the parallel passage, v. 28, 'of the dew of heaven and of the fatness of the earth'. In spite of the great authority of Dr Driver many will feel that the privative sense of מן remains unproven.

An interesting philological note on the enigmatic word תְּרִשָּׁה is given on v 12, ending with the cautious conclusion, 'If the root idea is really *support*, we must suppose that [the word] was applied specially to a *supporting* or *helping* quality of mind'.

There is a good discussion (pp. lxxi-lxxvi) of the chief textual problem of Job, in which Gray decides for the priority of M.T. as against the (shorter) Greek text. A useful table shews that the brevity of the Septuagintal text increases towards the end of the book, as though the translator's desire to abbreviate increased as his task proceeded.

For preserving and publishing so much of Driver's work on Job the warm thanks of students are due to Dr Gray. His own work also claims our gratitude and perhaps not least that part of it which introduces an appeal to metrical considerations. Some of us, indeed, would prefer to speak of *rhythm*—rather than of *metre*—for metre suggests a measurement of syllables and of stresses far too strict to be defended without many violent 'corrections' of M.T. But 'the ear' must be allowed to 'try the words' of a poetical passage, and make such contribution as it can towards settling an uncertain text.

In a book of over 800 pages studded with Hebrew, Greek, Syriac, Arabic, and Ethiopic type some errors must escape the most careful eye. The only complaint perhaps which is justly to be made is that there are too many misprints in Syriac. Some of these are only wrong forms of right letters, but others are more serious. In the Philological notes I have noticed the following slips amongst others: page 1, line 6; 43. 14; 55. 15; 70. 5; 130. 27 (Heb.); 134. 21 (Heb.); 184. 6 (Eng.); 186. 24; 202. 4 (seyame); 238. 19; 302. 14 (Heb.); 324. 11 and 13 (three Syr. misprints); 325. 9 (faulty junctura); 328. 35.

W. EMERY BARNES.

Liber Geneseos. Textum Hebraicum emendavit, Latinum Vulgatum addidit GODOFREDUS HOBERG. (B. Herder, Friburgi Brisgoviae, editio altera 1913-1917.)

A USEFUL but wonderful book, to be used with caution. The Hebrew text is pointed, but no accents except Ethnah, Silluk, and Metheg are given. The type is clear and pleasant. The Vulgate text is from Hetzenauer's careful edition.

The editor, however, is not to be congratulated on his revision of the Hebrew text. Some additional clauses supported by the Samaritan Pentateuch and LXX are accepted, e.g. in iv 8, xxxv 22. But other changes are simply tendential and aimed at the methods of criticism. In ii 4-iv 26 only אלהים is allowed to remain as a Divine name. In xii 1 and many other places אלהים is substituted for יהוה. Astruc would have had nothing to work on, had this revised text lain before him. The *crux interpretum* of xlvi 22, 'with my sword and with my bow', is solved by reading קשית במאה from xxxiii 19.

W. EMERY BARNES.

The Gospel in the Old Testament, by the Rev. C. F. BURNEY, M.A., D.Litt., Oriel Professor of the Interpretation of Holy Scripture at Oxford, Fellow of Oriel and St John's Colleges, Canon of Rochester. (T. & T. Clark, 1921.)

As Oriel Professor Dr Burney is also Canon of Rochester, and in his inaugural sermon, no. xiv in this volume, he set out the principle and plan by which he would make the plurality good: scientific study of the Holy Scriptures at Oxford should be completed by exposition in sermons at Rochester of the moral and spiritual value of the same Scriptures. The commentary on Judges is the rich fruit of the Oxford months, these sermons are a worthy complement; the plurality of office is far more than justified.

For first, this popular application of scholarship is really scholarly, precise, delicate, balanced: once or twice perhaps a critical commonplace has been drawn with too swift and hard an outline, but only once or twice. There is also that creative touch which the thorough labourer never fails to exercise though he be unconscious of it, though he purposes no novelty: this is particularly noticeable in the sermon on 'The Christian Interpretation of Messianic Prophecy' (one of two sermons which were not preached at Rochester), but it is recognizable throughout. Secondly, this tact of scholarship is felt in the handling

of moral problems. The sermons are contemporaneous with the whole course of the war, and patriotism, penitence, forgiveness, justice, love had to be considered again and again in this connexion. Candid readers may differ as to where they are entirely willing to accept Dr Burney's teaching on these subjects, but will agree that his academic conscience is quite uncommonly in harmony with the Gospel, and that his academic breeding has made him as courageous as he is void of offence. A third point comes out of the last sermon in the volume. Here Dr Burney commends the study of the Old Testament by the example of our Lord, and thus completes a thought which runs through all the sermons, namely that the Old Testament fulfills its purpose by means of its limitations. Finally, we realize as we lay the book down what *pectus facit theologum* truly means. Our soul has been purged and revived in reading. A good deal that we had already learned from the commentary on Judges has been presented to us freshly; this time as prophecy, with pastoral affection, with the warmth of piety. Yet even this in an uncommon manner; with a scholar's certainty, a scholar's modesty, with 'faith unfeigned'.

Just once a doubtful illustration has intruded; an illustration merely, the argument would work as well without it: but it is doubtful whether we should any longer introduce the word *kenosis* from Philippians into any theory of our Lord's human knowledge; see articles in the JOURNAL July 1909, April 1911, October 1914.

A. NAIRNE.

Histoire littéraire du sentiment religieux en France depuis la fin des guerres de religion jusqu'à nos jours, by HENRI BREMOND, vols. i, ii, iv, and v. (Bloud et Gay, Paris, 1916-1920.)

THOUGH the JOURNAL did not notice this masterpiece, when the first two volumes appeared, it was not from any failure to recognize their value. It is a pleasure to draw attention to them now, and to commend the whole work to theologians, historians, psychologists, and lovers of French literature. There is matter here to benefit and delight them all. M. Bremond carries his amazing learning like a feather, and there is not a dull or uninteresting page in the two thousand odd he has already printed. It is literal truth that no man alive is so well qualified as M. Bremond for the discharge of the immense task which he has set himself, and that he is doing it as he alone is able. We trust he may have health and strength to carry to completion what he has so brilliantly begun.

It is a *literary* history of religious sentiment, i. e. a history as told in printed books—the tract, the sermon, the biography, the volume of philosophy or verse—not antiquarian, dug out of archives. But it is *religious*; the aesthetic value of the writers is throughout kept subordinate to their piety. An artist like M. Bremond cannot neglect the literary aspect of the characters which he brings upon the scene, and he abounds in opinions and judgements of rare penetration. But the object to which he loyally adheres, and which (so far as he has gone, for he has not reached the Quietist dispute) he certainly may claim to have attained, is to set forth the religious life of France in the seventeenth century. He begins with *L'Humanisme dévot*, 1580–1660 (vol. i), i. e. the consecration and application to life of the Renaissance *joie de vivre* and glad acknowledgement of human worth and dignity. The hero of this volume is Saint François de Sales: its subject, the progress and manifestation of his spirit through his school. Vol. ii, *L'Invasion mystique*, 1590–1620, traces the beginnings of seventeenth-century mysticism which took root in ground prepared by the humanists: the coming of the Discalced Carmelites, the reform of the nunneries, &c. Here again St Francis stands supreme, setting his seal upon the movement begun by Père Cotin, Pierre de Bérulle, Benoit de Canfeld, and others. Vols. iv and v, *La Conquête mystique, l'École de Port-Royal, l'École du Père Lallemant*, tell their story by their titles. It is the great conflict between Jansenist and Jesuit theory and practice, between moral philosophy and mysticism, ending in the Pyrrhic victory of the former. Vol. iii, which has not yet appeared, promises us an account of *L'École française*.

The importance of M. Bremond's undertaking is as great for the historian as it is for the theologian, for in the words of M. Lavisé quoted by our author, 'négliger les choses religieuses du xvii^e siècle ou les estimer petitement, c'est ne pas comprendre l'histoire de ce siècle, c'est ne pas le sentir'. We may go further and add, 'c'est ne pas comprendre la France'; for the France of to-day has its deep roots in the seventeenth century, an age which for moral, intellectual, and spiritual achievement may challenge comparison with any, when all the qualities which we admire in our allies—clarity, sincerity, taste—came to their perfect flower.

Yet M. Bremond's outlook is deliberately limited: 'Cet enclos', he says, 'est exclusivement catholique'—Protestant readers may be allowed to point out the unintentional irony of the epithet—and the only heterodox with whom he deals at length are the Jansenists. On these, their origins and developments, their influence on religious life, he says, if not the last word, yet a great deal that modern readers, and especially English readers, should lay seriously to heart. For we are

most of us under the spell of Port-Royal. Its attraction for Englishmen is extraordinary but easily explicable. The nuns and the Solitaries were Puritans and anti-papalists; they were saints—not canonized indeed, but truly saints in the original sense of the term; they were martyrs. There is high romance in their story as M. Bremond himself recognizes (iv p. 283); they have their great romantic historian, Sainte-Beuve. They had until within a few months of his death and they claimed as their inalienable possession the man before whom even to-day science and philosophy stand bare-headed, Blaise Pascal. All this poetry has helped to blind us to the inhumanity of their creed and the grotesque impossibility of their conduct. M. Bremond exposes both with unflinching hand. He strips Saint-Cyran of the bright and many-coloured robe in which Sainte-Beuve arrayed him, and shews him for what he really was—not a great moral reformer or leader of men, not a true mystic, not even a formidable conspirator, but a poor thing, at best a revivalist preacher, at worst a mild megalomaniac. He shews conclusively that the real founder of the sect was Antoine Arnauld, a man breathing and inspiring controversy, with no real vision of high things, living to snatch momentary victory at the cannon's mouth, nay, himself a piece of ordnance—‘une mitrailleuse théologique en mouvement perpétuel’. He argues that the system inaugurated by Arnauld effectually dried up in the second half of the century the springs of contemplative devotion which flowed freely in the first half, and that the chief siccific agent was Pierre Nicole, a half-hearted Jansenist, but a whole-hearted anti-mystic.

Taken as a whole, M. Bremond's indictment of the school of Arnauld, severe but not unchristian, seems to be unanswerable. But on his last point, the influence of Jansenism in checking the mystical current, a counter-plea may be put in. The Society of Jesus, which produced many authentic and splendid mystics, Alvarez, Surin, Lallemant—not to mention Edmund Campion—which took its marching orders from a man who saw visions and from a book, the *Ejercicios espirituales*, essentially mystical in its main tenets, was as a practical organization hostile to mysticism. We have only to read the story of the opposition offered to Lallemant and Surin by those of their own house (v pp. 267–276). The Order was divided against itself: ‘le duel devient pathétique, jésuites contre jésuites.’ And although Surin enlists our sympathy and compassion, it would be unfair lightly to condemn the hostile majority of his brethren. For mysticism, as they saw, contains a dangerous element. Few can walk in the enchanted garden and take no harm; the many are apt to pluck the poison flowers of Molinosism. And as a fact all the wisdom of the Church is needed to distinguish contemplative Saints from Quietists. The ordinary confessor whose business is

with ordinary souls and who has not himself the rare gift of true contemplation is almost bound to mistrust and condemn ecstasy as extravagance.

If it is clear that Surin was baulked and rebuffed by members of his own Order, it is surely probable in the highest degree that they played a large part in the reaction which M. Bremond seems inclined to attribute solely to the Jansenists. But besides the direct and positive opposition there was perhaps another, a negative way in which the Jesuits helped to block the stream of contemplative devotion and to divert it towards meditation and moralizing. There can be no question that, in spite of lofty ideals and genuine piety, the Society, by its precepts and its handling of Penance, promoted that lax morality in which the dying Pascal, freed from party spirit, reconciled in heart to Rome, saw the Enemy (cf. the *Mémoires* of M. Beurrier in Jovy *Pascal inédit* ii p. 491). The truth is that the substitution of external authority for the voice of conscience is bound to have lamentable results, even when that authority is as venerable as the noble Jesuits to whom M. Bremond introduces us. And in the seventeenth century, Probabilism, of itself a harmless, necessary aid to confession, was often used by penitents, without condemnation by the confessor, not to solve honest doubts, its legitimate function, but to find excuse for continuing in sin.

No wonder then that in a corrupt age not only a genius like Pascal, but commonplace men like Nicole, turned all their attention to morals. Now when morals occupy the field of vision there is little room for mystical contemplation. Had Nicole been mystically minded, which he was not, he must have put it all aside in order to fight *la morale relâchée*. If this contention is sound, then the Jesuits are under two heads responsible, no less than their arch-foes, for the reaction against mysticism. Having uttered this *caveat*, I can only bid the reader go and take his pastime with M. Bremond. He will find himself in a large room, walking in a Paradise of Saints, some of them too obscure to have a place in the all-comprehensive *Biographie universelle*, who deserve the praise and loving treatment which they get from their historian—Mme Acarie, Mme Helyot, Yves de Paris, and a host of others. In dealing with them, as with the rest, M. Bremond displays uncommon insight, an unerring grasp of catholic principles, and a range of reading which few of his countrymen possess. He is entirely at home in England. His studies of Newman (*Développement du dogme chrétien*, *Psychologie de la foi*) are probably known to many, and admirable they are. But his familiarity with English thought and letters extends far beyond and on either side of Newman. Miranda's cry 'How beauteous mankind is!' is the motto for his first volume. He knows at first hand John Wesley and Charles Simeon, Thomas Goodwin, George Herbert,

Mrs Humphry Ward (where, by the way, is Christina Rossetti?), all of whom serve their turn with a reference, a comparison, a quotation. He expresses regret that he has not time or knowledge to follow out the parallel movement in seventeenth-century England, and the influence of Saint François de Sales on our writers. We rebut the latter excuse and we wish that he would put his hand to the task.

To return to the work before us, we believe that it deserves a place beside Sainte-Beuve's *Port-Royal* for its portraiture, and beside Baron Fr. von Hügel's *Mystical Element in Religion* for its psychology; and there can be no higher praise.

Volume iv, containing a delicious study of *La Mère Agnès* and *La Prière de Pascal*, is the one which will probably appeal most to English readers, and it will reward them. But on it I have two remarks to make. (1) It is strange that M. Bremond who explodes so many ancient superstitions should apparently retain that one which represents Pascal as unlearned. Why should he not have read St Bernard? ('Pascal avait-il lu ces textes? Cela me paraît moins certain . . . ' p. 378.) At the end of his life he had nothing to do but to pray and read. He was no doubt late in coming to theological literature, but once he acquired the time and taste for it, he would have been insatiable. See how he devours the *Pugio Fidei*! No evidence of his erudition should surprise us. (2) I feel that M. Bremond when he approaches Pascal's proof of religion derived from original sin (p. 391) states only half the case. Pascal is not persuaded by the mere fact of man's misery, but by the contrast of his misery and his greatness. It is the difference between what he is and what he was and might be—his corruption and darkness, his high thoughts and hunger for the good, that impels the apologist to find the key to the riddle in the doctrine of a Fall from the divine likeness and original liberty.

Apart from these two points M. Bremond's account of the man who out-Jansened Jansen but was too great a spirit to be held slave by any sect is a notable contribution to the study of one of the most attractive and perplexing figures in history.

H. F. STEWART.

Histoire de la Littérature Latine Chrétienne, par PIERRE DE LABRIOLLE.
(Paris, Société d'Édition 'Les Belles Lettres', 1920.)

THE French Roman Catholic layman, Professor de Labriolle of Poitiers, has already given such signal proof of his competence in the sphere of Christian Latin literature that a comprehensive volume on the subject from his pen is sure of a wide welcome. In the present

work he not merely sets forth what is most surely believed among us, but he commands such a dignified diction for the purpose, and is such a master of method, that his volume is a model of what such a book should be; and if there be any in our country who have an interest in its subject and yet cannot read French, the sooner it is translated into our language the better. For we have nothing to equal it, even approximately.

The work is divided into an introduction and five books, headed respectively: 'Les Origines', 'Le III^e siècle jusqu'à la paix de l'Église (313)', 'L'Âge d'or de la littérature latine chrétienne', 'La décomposition de l'Empire', 'Au seuil du Moyen-Âge'. The introduction deals in a most interesting way with the relation between pagan and Christian literature, and furnishes a general bibliography. In the other chapters the most important facts with regard to the authors and their works are treated according to a natural division, not without much sane criticism, and the writer takes us as far down as Isidore of Seville. Each chapter is equipped with a bibliography shewing the author's wide command of the literature of the subject, both early and late.

The rest of my space may profitably be devoted to notes I have made in the course of reading the book. There can be no doubt that a second edition will shortly be called for. Page 62, the Letter of Clement is generally dated in the last decade of the first century, not 'au second siècle'; page 71, it might have been mentioned that Augustine also complains of the poverty of the Latin language (*loc. hept. iii 22*; *quaest. hept. ii 116*; *epist. 84. 2*); page 73, it is no longer true that the *De baptismo* of Tertullian is without manuscript authority, since Dom Wilmart's discovery of a MS at Troyes; and the oldest MS of the *Apologeticus* at Petrograd (saec. ix) should have been mentioned; p. 75, Löfstedt's three important volumes on Tertullian (Lund, 1915, 1918, 1920) have been undeservedly overlooked; it is also a mistake in a work of this character to refer the reader to the earlier work on Montanism for details that ought to be repeated here; p. 177, refer also to *Sancti Aureli Augustini Tractatus sive Sermones inediti*, ed. G. Morin (Campod. et Monac. 1917), p. 103; p. 178, Abp. Benson's great work receives no mention; p. 304 read *Olisipo* for *Olisopo* (so also p. 338), and record C. H. Turner's recovery of *Ossius* as the real name of him we usually call Hosius; p. 423, for 13407 read 13047; p. 446, add M. L. McClure's translation of the *Itinerarium Aetheriae* (London, 1919); p. 519, for 1680 read 1679,¹ and compare Rottmanner's discussion in the *Geistesfrüchte aus der Klosterzelle*; p. 559, n. 2, for xxxiv read xxxiv; p. 568, n. 1, add R. S. Moxon's edition, the best (Cambridge, 1915); p. 660, add to the works

¹ I myself possess a copy with this date.

of Cassiodorus the Pseudo-Primasius on thirteen Epistles of St Paul (Migne *P. L.* lxxviii).¹

It ought to be mentioned that the excellent index is preceded by eight most useful chronological tables: (1) a comparative table from A. D. 100 to 600 giving Roman Emperors, Christian Latin Literature arranged according to countries (Italy, Africa, Spain, Gaul, Illyricum), principal contemporary Greek Christian writers, and contemporary profane literature; (2) chronological arrangement of the works of Tertullian with references to the places where each is printed in the modern editions, and similar references to the French translations: (3), (4), (5) similar tabulations of the works of Cyprian (with Pseudo-Cyprianica), Hilary, and Ambrose (with falsely attributed works); (6) table of shorter poems of the fourth century²; (7) and (8) are like (1), (3), (4), (5), and tabulate the works of Jerome and Augustine.

Not for generations has the temper of the age been so much in harmony with the conditions amidst which Christian Latin literature grew, and it is earnestly to be hoped that this admirable book, beautiful in its printing as in other respects, will tempt many young readers of classical attainments to make acquaintance with the later period. Professor Phillimore does well to tell us to 'read deeply and perpetually in all Greek and Latin without respect of departments'.³

A. SOUTER.

Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der lateinischen Apokalypse-Übersetzung
von HEINRICH JOSEPH VOGELS. (Schwann, Düsseldorf, 1920.)

THE methods employed by Sanday in his well-known study of *k* (Codex Bezae Cantabrigiae) of the Old-Latin Gospels have been pursued with success by Burkitt, Hans von Soden, and Capelle, but it may be doubted if they have ever been carried out on such a massive scale as in this epoch-making work of Dr Vogels. Vogels's work on the Diatessaron is widely known, and his edition of the Greek New Testament was recently reviewed in the JOURNAL.⁴ It is no disparagement to his other work to call this the most important of all that he has produced.

Three-fifths of the book are devoted to investigations, and two-fifths

¹ I have noted misprints on pp. 5, 20, 49, 51, 53, 58, 68, 176, 226, 235, 312, 387, 415, 424.

² Here the writer makes the usual (continental) mistake of treating J. E. B. Mayor's wonderful *Latin Heptateuch* as an edition.

³ *The Revival of Criticism* (Oxford, 1919) p. 32.

⁴ Vol. xxii (1920-1921) pp. 174 f.

to the publication of texts. The author rightly starts with the Vulgate, and in succession considers the texts of Primasius, *gigas*, Victorinus, Tyconius, forms related to Primasius, the interpolations in Cyprian's *Testimonia*, Tertullian, and forms related to *gigas*. This part of the book concludes with seven pages on translation of the Apocalypse into Latin. The texts give *in extenso* all that survives in Primasius; *gigas*; recension X of Victorinus's commentary on the Apocalypse; Tyconius, under five heads (the fragments edited in the *Spicilegium Casinense* III (1), the citations in the 'Rules', the quotations in the Pseudo-Augustinian Homilies, the contents of the 'Summa Dicendorum' of Beatus, and the verses quoted in the course of Beatus's commentary); the Fleury palimpsest (h); Cyprian; Pseudo-Cyprian *Ad Novatianum*; Pseudo-Prosper *De Promissionibus et Praedictionibus Dei*; Fulgentius; Orosius; Cassiodorus; Augustine; Interpolations in Cyprian's *Testimonia*; Ambrose; Priscillian (or Instantius?); Pseudo-Augustinian *Quaestiones* (i.e. Ambrosiaster); Pseudo-Augustinian *Speculum*; Hilary. The volume ends with corrections, an index of Greek words, and an index of Latin words.

His conclusions, which are based on a scientific review of the evidence, cannot, I think, be gainsaid, and some of them may here be mentioned. The interpolator of Cyprian's *Testimonia* is closely related to Tyconius and the Latin Irenaeus, Orosius to Cyprian, Cassiodorus to Primasius. Victorinus's text is unique and unparalleled. The oldest forms of Latin translation are lost, since already in Tertullian's time a Latin translation was known, and a long history lies behind even Cyprian's type of text. *The Apocalypse was translated at least three times direct from the Greek* (pp. 144 ff.). This last statement is supported by a list of the Latin equivalents for a large number of Greek words, which are to be found in the various translations. In all about a hundred and twenty Greek words are given, for which the Latin renderings are never fewer than three. These three translations were probably produced about the same time. Priscillian, Hilary, Ambrose, and Ambrosiaster are related to the *gigas* type.

One of the most interesting discoveries in the book, to me at least, is the proof that Beatus took over the Tyconius text. Dr Vogels has evidently not seen Buchanan's publication of the Biblical text in the later Morgan MS of Beatus.¹ From it he would have derived some interesting non-Vulgate readings such as *signavit* (i 1). But, as I can judge by comparison with a collation of considerable portions of the John Rylands MS at Manchester, which I made some time ago, Vogels, in spite of the rather defective sources accessible to him, has been able

¹ Buchanan's book, *Sacred Latin Texts: No. IV*, printed in 1916, was published on March 27, 1919: see the JOURNAL vol. xx (1918-1919) pp. 372 ff.

to present the text of Beatus substantially in the form in which Beatus gave it. It seemed to me that the Rylands MS was a better MS than the later Morgan one.

At the risk of seeming ungrateful I must express regret that Vogels did not also refer to the Apocalypse quotations of Jerome (in Hilberg's and Reiter's critical editions), Gregory of Elvira, and the Toledo *Liber Comicus*.¹ I have noted some fifteen misprints, particularly in the Greek parts of the book. The paper on which the book is printed does not seem very durable, and there is an absence of thread to connect the leaves of sheets together. To these phenomena we have learned to become accustomed in German books later than 1917.

A. SOUTER.

A Short Survey of the Literature of Rabbinical and Mediaeval Judaism, by W. O. E. OESTERLEY and G. H. BOX. (Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, London, 1920.)

It is no small achievement on the part of the two distinguished authors to have filled their three hundred pages so adequately. They have allocated their space with much judgement. Their style and method, no less than their sense of proportion, is praiseworthy. They have set themselves a task of compression, and they have succeeded in covering a wide surface without incurring the reproach of superficiality.

As is well known, this is not their first literary experience in the field of Jewish letters. Apart from other publications, their *Religion and Worship of the Synagogue*, deservedly recognized as a work of value, is perhaps that which bears the closest relation to the book under consideration. Indeed, the two books complement each other, though to some extent they have to cover the same ground. Here the authors are mainly concerned with the literature of Judaism, while, to quote their words, 'in the earlier work this occupied only a subordinate place, Jewish religious life, custom, thought and doctrine being the main themes.' The two books should be found in the library of every theologian. Indeed, it would be an excellent thing if questions on selected pages, of a general nature, were included in the examination of Divinity students seeking Honours.

The 'Survey' begins with an introductory essay. This covers, in twenty-nine pages, the post-exilic period, the Maccabaeon era up to the

¹ There are no actual quotations from the Apocalypse in Pelagius's *Expositions of the Epistles of St Paul*, but it might be worth while to search for them in the Cassiodorus (Pseudo-Primasius) revision.

Fall of Jerusalem, the Talmudic period (Tannaitic, Amoraic, and Saboraic), the Geonim and the Jews in Spain. Here, of course, we get somewhat more of history than of literature, but this is inevitable. Perhaps a line or two might have been spared to indicate the place of Alexander in Jewish literature, but in this case, as in others that each reader will select, according to his own predilections, we have to bear in mind that the limitations of space prevent every subject from being treated without destroying the proportions of a chapter or involving omissions. As to the question of relative importance, that too is a matter of individual taste and judgement. The conditions of life in the Exile and in the Maccabaeon Era are well described, and the growth of the Talmud is lucidly sketched, the frequent employment of dates being a feature worthy of note. All through the book the information is conveyed in a concrete form, with an absence of vagueness that will appeal to students especially. Yet it would not be fair to call the book dogmatic. The authors skilfully avoid either extreme.

Part II opens with the Targums, and here the strictly literary character of the book develops. A full and good account is given of the various versions and of their exegetical methods. Then follows the Midrash, Halakhic, and Haggadic. It was a happy thought to cite typical passages of most of the works discussed. Perhaps the next task to which the authors will devote themselves is a Chrestomathy for the use of students, a companion volume to Brody and Albrecht's poetical selections. After Midrash comes Talmud, and the sequence is good, with careful explanation of Mishna, Baraita, and Tosefta. The bibliographies, by the way, which occur before each fresh subject, are judiciously selected and refer to works which most available libraries should be able to furnish. Perhaps a little more use might have been made of Hastings *E. R. E.*

The introduction to the liturgical section is one of the best in the book, and the authors deserve special praise for it. To take so impartial yet so sympathetic a view of a liturgy not one's own is a gift which very few possess, and most of those who do possess it are not the writers of books. It is easier for a non-Jewish author to write about Midrash than about Piyut: the latter demands a far more intimate acquaintance not only with Jewish literature but with Judaism. Perhaps *The Worship of the Synagogue* provided this training.

The last portion of the book covers the rest of Jewish literature up to the year 1500. It is a good survey indeed. These are the pages which the specialist will use, rather than the average Divinity student, to whom reference was made above. Here again, helpful illustrative selections are often added from the works quoted, and wherever English versions exist they have been mentioned.

It is easy to point to slight flaws and misprints, and this is only done in the interests of future editions, not in a spirit of carping criticism. Thus, on page 35, a loosely worded sentence makes Maimonides the author of *Yigdal* and *Adon Olam*, though a reference to 187 makes it clear that this ascription was not intended. (Perhaps a competent higher critic could assign the two statements to different sources!) On 256, *I'tikadab* should be *I'tikadat*. On 279, two lines from foot, read *Salaman*, and on 269 read *Bibago* for *Bihago*. The last sentence on 228, running on to 229, is rather too bold. It leaves *Saadya*, for example, as well as *Judah hal-Levi's Cuzari*, out of account.

But these are trifles. The work is of very great value, and heartily to be commended.

H. LOEWE.

FRANCIS BACON.

La Philosophie moderne, depuis Bacon jusqu'à Leibnitz: Études historiques, par GASTON SORTAIS, S.J. Vol. i. (Paris, 1920.)

THIS work on 'Modern Philosophy, from Bacon to Leibnitz' is rightly called by the author an historical study, for there is much more history than philosophy in his treatment of the subject. It is, in fact, a life of Francis Bacon and a detailed account of the times in which he lived, together with an analysis of his works and a general appreciation of his philosophy.

This arrangement has afforded the author an opportunity for expressing his views on ecclesiastical questions and English politics in which he evidently is much interested. On all these matters he naturally writes from the Roman Catholic point of view, but whatever opinions the reader may have on the same subjects, he may be pleased to have thus placed before him by a learned Jesuit a clear summary of the interpretation attached by his school of thought to the events which he describes. In this sense, the book might perhaps be fairly considered as an authorized version of the meaning of History.

It would thus be difficult to recommend the book to students who require a plain, unbiased account of the Baconian philosophy and nothing more, although they may find in Father Sortais's numerous notes and quotations, here and there, very useful information not easily obtainable, unless one has access to a large library. In this way students will find in the Introduction an account of the precursors of Francis Bacon which, with due discrimination, is well worth reading. It cannot be denied that to call Bacon simply the Creator of the Experimental Method and the Father of Modern Science would be an

exaggeration. He certainly had precursors, and his work was much enlarged and improved by many great men who came after him. Bacon owed his ideas mainly to the remarkable awakening of thought in the sixteenth century, and Father Sortais is justified in naming Telesio, Pierre Ramus, François Sanchez, Acontio, Everard Digby and William Temple, both Cambridge men, Campanella and Giordano Bruno, Kepler and Galileo, Torricelli and William Harvey among the men who prepared the way for the triumph of the New Method over the paralysing authority of Peripateticism. But our author has here very important reservations to make. He reminds his readers that Reason and Faith, Philosophy and Theology, have distinct domains, whose limits must not be forgotten. He considers that the rights of Reason were quite sufficiently safeguarded in the Middle Ages, but he adds: 'in the order of mysteries, inaccessible to human intelligence, the mind must remain subject to the superior teaching of Revelation and place itself at her service. This is the legitimate meaning of that principle, so abused because it has been misunderstood: *Philosophia ancilla Theologiae*. Distinction, autonomy in their particular domain; subordination of reason to faith in dogmatic questions, such are the normal conditions which must regulate the relations between reason and faith. . . . The Philosophy of the 17th century destroyed from the first this harmony pre-established by God Himself' (p. 93).

This uncompromising attitude which inspires the whole book enables us to understand the spirit in which it is written, and the measure of sympathy with which it deals with the Baconian philosophy. The following words may be taken as the author's final judgement:—

'In the Middle Ages, in spite of many practical inconsistencies, Faith dominated over the acts of public and private life. But the Modern Era, after having more and more restricted the sphere of action of Religion over public life, wishes to confine her activities within the domain of private life. This is the Social Apostasy, the crime of *lèse-majesté* against God which He, the absolute Master of nations and individuals, has not left unpunished, as is shown by the state of unstable equilibrium of human societies. It is the logical consequence of the separatist tendency so imprudently encouraged in the 17th century by the Philosophy of Bacon and Descartes' (p. 95).

Father Sortais criticizes fairly enough the classification of the sciences given by Bacon. He agrees with Condillac in rejecting a classification founded upon an unsatisfactory division of the understanding into memory, imagination, and reason. Those three faculties, as Dugald Stewart, J. Bentham, Ampère, and others have also remarked, do not properly represent the various functions of the understanding, and, moreover, no one science can be the exclusive operation of a single faculty. Even an abstract science, like mathematics, requires at the

same time not only reason, but also memory and some measure of imagination.

But in examining the results of Bacon's method just as he left it in his works, the author abundantly exposes the exaggeration of some of Bacon's admirers in England and on the Continent in calling him 'the Father of Modern Science'. What discoveries did he make by the means of his *Novum Organum*? As a moralist, in theory at least, and as a writer, Bacon has certainly manifested very high abilities, but he can hardly be said to have been endowed with the aptitudes which constitute the scientific spirit. His contempt for mathematics, due no doubt to his very limited knowledge of that branch of science, made it impossible for him to foresee the immense importance of physics. Huyghens alludes to this fact, and thus explains Bacon's strange inability to appreciate the doctrines of Copernicus. Laplace himself has said that, while speaking with so much eloquence, the Chancellor Bacon made a very strange use of induction to prove that the earth did not move. It is strange also, he adds, that his high genius did not lead him to realize the sublime ideas about the universe revealed by the Copernican system. After these criticisms our author does not omit to quote Dr Whewell, who greatly admired Bacon's works, and was nevertheless obliged to acknowledge that 'though Bacon's general maxims are sagacious and animating, his particular precepts failed in his hands and are now practically useless'.

Sir David Brewster is also quoted, and has spoken with even more severity:—

'The method of Lord Bacon was, we believe, never tried by any philosopher but himself. . . . But after all this display of physical logic, Nature thus interrogated was still silent. . . . This example, in short, of the application of his system will remain to future ages as a memorable instance of the absurdity of attempting to fetter discovery by any artificial rules.'

Evidently the author feels that it was hardly worth while to spend so much eloquence on the errors of Aristotle and the mistakes of Scholasticism in order to reach such negative results. Given his theological point of view, it is perhaps natural that he should feel that, but a more just estimate of facts must lead to the admission that if Bacon did not really create the experimental method as understood by us to-day, he certainly had very much to do in establishing that method as a recognized instrument for the investigation of Nature. Some men had anticipated him; many of his contemporaries had more or less clear ideas of such a method; many more still were afraid to speak. Bacon has at least the merit of having followed his precursors, of having given a more definite form to their thoughts, and of having said aloud what he believed to be true.

L. B. DE BEAUMONT.

Studies in Islamic Mysticism, by R. A. NICHOLSON, Litt.D. (Cambridge University Press, 1921.)

THE religion of the Quran is as monotonous in character as the Arabian desert, and had its professors consisted of true Arabs only, it would have remained a straitly limited subject of small interest. But Islam overflowed Persia at a very early date, in the wake of the Saracen armies, and Persia avenged her defeat on the Arabs by remodelling and embroidering their creed and by putting it in a mystic setting. Of the three mystics (*Sufis*) of whom Dr Nicholson treats two were Persians, Abu Sa'id and Jili, while the third was a Cairene.

Dr Nicholson gives us an insight into the meaning of Sufism by allowing the Sufi poets to speak for themselves in ample quotation. In addition he gives the life of Abu Sa'id in autobiographical extracts embedded in a Life composed by one of his descendants some 120 or 150 years after his death. In one of these the story of his conversion is told. Abu Sa'id goes to a lecture on Koranic exegesis. 'The lecturer began his lecture with the verse, *Say, Allah! then leave them to amuse themselves with their foolish discourse* (Quran 6. 91). At the moment of hearing this word a door in my breast was opened, and I was rapt from myself. . . . I abandoned my studies . . . and retired into the niche of the chapel in my own house. There I sat for seven years, saying continually, Allah! Allah! Allah! Whenever drowsiness . . . came over me, a soldier with a fiery spear . . . appeared in front of the niche, and shouted at me saying, O Abu Sa'id, say, Allah! . . . At last every atom of me began to cry aloud, Allah! Allah! Allah!' The rest of Dr Nicholson's account of Abu Sa'id is equally interesting. For many years he was an ascetic, practising austerities even to the extent of reciting the Quran hanging head downwards. Then having reached 'perfect illumination' he acted on the principle, 'It is absurd to trouble about a guide after the goal has been reached.' He gave up asceticism as he had given up the study of theology. He even exposed himself to charges of worldly living. 'He preaches sermons', one of his accusers asserted, 'in which he recites poetry, but does not quote the Traditions of the Prophet. He holds sumptuous feasts, . . . whilst the young men (of his convent) dance and eat sweetmeats and roasted fowls.' He declined to perform pilgrimage to Mecca, and encouraged his disciples to neglect the fixed prayers rather than break off from meditation.

All this is not surprising when viewed in the light of Sufi belief. Hallāj, a predecessor of Abu Sa'id, dared once to say, *Ana'l-Haqq*, 'I am the Truth', i. e. the truly existing One by whom the Universe was 'created', and by whom it has existence. Abu Sa'id himself in the course of a certain sermon said (touching his vest), 'There is naught

within this vest (*jubba*) but Allah.' This is in accordance with the Sufi tenet that Allah alone exists, and that by contemplation of his Name and by resignation to his Will it is possible for man to secure *fanā*, i. e. the passing away of self. 'If *thou* exists and *He* exists, *Two* exists; and that is dualism. You must put your *self* away altogether' (Abu Sa'id).

Such a doctrine of course is far removed from the austere monotheism of the Quran. Indeed the Book cannot have been of much use to the Sufis.¹ No Sufi could be a rigid Moslem in doctrine, or deeply concerned with the morality of Islam. Abu Sa'id disliked Koranic passages describing the pains of Hell; 'O God', he cried, 'since men and stones have the same value in thy sight, feed the flames of Hell with stones.' Jili, believing that Hell-fire is an eternal object of God's knowledge, denies that it is ever extinguished absolutely, but adds, 'You may say that it remains as it was, but that the torment of the damned is changed to pleasure.' When a disciple of Abu Sa'id lay blind-drunk on a certain road, the master said, 'Thank God that he has fallen on the way, not off the Way.' One asked him, 'Are the men of God in the mosque?' 'They are in the tavern also', he replied. Some of the damned, said Jili, are more excellent than many of the Paradise-people: God has placed them in Hell, that He may be revealed to them therein. 'Blame not the Christians', is another saying of Jili, 'since their polytheism was essentially belief in One God' (*kāna shirkuhum 'ayna 'l-tawhīd*). Ibnu 'l-Arabi (A. D. †1240) comes very near the doctrine of St Paul when he teaches that Love is the highest form in which God is to be worshipped. God teaches men Love through children. 'The child affects the father's disposition, so that he descends from his authority and plays with him. . . . All this is the work of the child upon the father, and is owing to the power of his state, for the child was with God a short while ago, since he is but newly come into the world, whereas the father is further away²; and one that is further from God is subject to one that is nearer to Him.'

Dr Nicholson has written a most interesting book on a great subject. The student of Religion will not only learn much from it concerning Islamic Mysticism, but will also gather many illustrations for the study of religions connected only remotely with Islam. Dr Nicholson's translations are usually very happy and his illustrations of Sufi thought are well chosen and helpful. *Studies in Islamic Mysticism* is a scholarly and stimulating piece of work.

W. EMERY BARNES.

¹ Thou, [O Beloved,] art my soul's joy, known by vision, not by hearsay;
Of what use is hearsay to one who hath vision?

(Quoted by Abu Sa'id.)

² 'Heaven lies about us in our infancy.'

The Sadhu: A Study in Mysticism and Practical Religion, by B. H. STREETER, M.A. (Oxon.), Hon. D.D. (Edin.), Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford; Canon residentiary of Hereford, and A. J. APPASAMY, B.A. (Madras), M.A. (Harvard), B.D. (Hartford), J. S. Wells Fellow of Hartford Theological Seminary. (Macmillan, 1921.)

THE authors have used Mrs Parker's *Sadhu Sundar Singh*, reports of six addresses given in England, discourses published in the Tamil language, and *Seven Addresses* given in Ceylon. In 1920 the Sadhu came to England, and to Oxford, and was much with Dr Streeter and Mr Appasamy. Mr Appasamy was also with him in London and Paris, being himself a member of Queen's College and an Indian whose native language is Tamil. There is every reason therefore to accept this book as a rare achievement, a trustworthy account of an eastern saint. And indeed it is a vivid portrait of a very Christlike man, simple and profound, with uncommon charm.

Born in 1889 of well-to-do parents in North India, Sundar Singh was converted by a vision of Christ in 1904: was at the Divinity College of Lahore 1909-1910, but resolved not to be ordained; he would bind himself to no one branch of organized Christianity. In 1912 he began his missionary career after preparing by an attempted fast of forty days like our Lord's. He lived as an Indian Sadhu without home, money, or any ties, really like an apostle, just as the vision by which he was converted was like St Paul's. That is what first strikes one: apostolic life is here revived, apostolic theology, power, realization of the mind of Christ, the breadth and freedom of the apostolic age.

Of course he became a missionary. Equally of course, he met with persecution, which began at once in Tibet, and has recurred continually. Apostolic union with Christ and joy in sharing the cross made persecution a source of increasing peace, and character so consolidated and burgeoned under stress that the Sadhu is now unspoilable by fame and popularity. The stress was tremendous. His voluntary hardship and his assaults of suffering cannot be concealed by the cheerfulness which pervades this, as it must any account of his life: 'To have spent an hour with Sundar Singh is to have received an unforgettable impression of calm and joy.'

This calm joy is marked. His biographers, making their 'study', would know whether the mystic's 'dark night' comes or has come to him. It has not: 'If ever I lost my peace I got it back when I began to pray.' Nor has he doubts about his impulses: 'Have you ever done anything which you thought was the Father's will, but afterwards found to be your own will?' 'No, for instance fourteen years ago I became

a Sadhu under the conviction that it was my Father's will. I still believe it to be my Father's will.' He is not systematized. The essence of mysticism, says Dr McTaggart, is to emphasize unity ; and that is the only definition which really distinguishes mysticism. But Sundar Singh just says, 'The true mystic is one who lives with God and knows the mind of God: and very few even of the greatest saints have got very far in this. . . I ask no further questions than to be His child. Hence I hesitate to call myself a mystic, just as in India I always try to prevent people calling me "Swami". I prefer to be called merely "Sadhu", which only means "religious man".'

True, there is something which might be thought quite strangely mystical, his insistent belief in his ecstasies and also in his miraculous deliverances from peril. But this is again just the apostolic character, which seems the rough and ready way of describing the Sadhu's position. His ecstasies, in which truth is revealed to him, are just St Paul's revelations. He is indeed primitively apostolic, nearer to St Paul than to the more modern St John. And the resemblance to St Paul is original and natural, renewed by continual return to Christ himself. 'There are those who speak of Christ as the Supreme Mystic. . . That is the tendency of those who are not inclined to accept the divinity of Christ. Christ is not the supreme mystic ; He is the Master of mystics, the Saviour of mystics.'

That is typical of the Sadhu's theology. For his mind is theological. The Christ, master of mystics ; the real Christians, not those who profess but those who possess Christ ; not imitation, but 'The Christian has eternal life because the God to whom he is united is eternal' :—this is meditative if not intellectual, and explains what the Sadhu means when he balances heart and head. He does not say, 'Trust heart not head.' He says that to know Christ does not require book learning but you have to give your heart ; and 'My head acquiesces in what I have seen with my heart'. Scholars would certainly be glad to have as good a head. With what sufficiency does he sketch the purpose of criticism ! How free he is from literal and institutional scruples : 'The language used by the authors of the Bible was the same language as that of ordinary life, and therefore was not really adequate for spiritual things. Hence our difficulty in getting back through the words to the real meaning, but to those who are in contact with the author, that is with the Holy Spirit, everything is plain.' This is followed by a paragraph which explains ecstasy—his own, St Paul's, Isaiah's, Ezekiel's—in a highly reasonable manner : and a little farther on he says 'The purpose of the Gospel is merely to introduce us to Christ'. Of the creeds and the church he says, 'There are not in the Church enough men of the deepest spiritual experience to give final authority to what its teachers say. So I go

direct to God. The Creeds were made by men who had spiritual experience, as is shewn by their reference to the "Communion of Saints"; but now people who repeat them have not the same rich experience. With me a revelation in Ecstasy counts for more than Church tradition. "Churchianity" and "Christianity" are not the same thing. John Wesley and General Booth followed God's guidance in opposition to the Church, and they proved to be right. Every one, however, is not a mystic, so the authority of Church tradition is necessary for the majority.'

Perhaps that last sentence had been better not said: yet the adage holds, *inclusiones exclusiones naturae debita*. Here is something larger: To one who doubted whether it was practicable in the West to make no provision for the morrow, trusting the Lord to provide what is really needful, he replied, 'God is the same God in the East and in the West.' And as for spiritual capacity for such hard sayings and ideals, 'There are physical differences between different men. Some have larger heads than others and some smaller. But I believe that the spiritual capacity in all men is alike. Men like St Augustine stand out because they have developed their capacity better. They have spent more time and energy on the cultivation of their spiritual life.'

It seems better to let the Sadhu speak than to appraise his utterances. On the whole Dr Streeter and Mr Appasamy have observed this rule. Most readers of their welcome study will approve:

on the wild hill
Let the wild heath-bell flourish still.

Sundar Singh would finish the quotation with glee. He is such a creature of mountain and sky that he chafes at cities: 'I don't like cities, they are rough pages of the Book of Nature. . . . I know why hermits prefer to live in caves and mountains. I much prefer it myself.' He confesses that city-going is a missionary duty, still against the grain. But he also says, 'If we seek only what is interesting, we shall never reach as far as the real higher spiritual world'.

A. NAIRNE.

Bergson and his Philosophy, by J. ALEXANDER GUNN, M.A., Fellow of the University of Liverpool, with an Introduction by Professor ALEXANDER MAIR. (Methuen & Co. Ltd., London, 1920.)

No reading of books about philosophers can take the place of a study of the writings of philosophers themselves. The value of a work which serves as an introduction to the original writings of a philosopher

is, however, great. Such an introduction is particularly necessary to Professor Bergson, since his easy flow of language hides an intricacy of thought which can easily be overlooked by the superficial reader. The result of this is that Bergson is very frequently quoted but rarely understood by writers to whom his anti-intellectualism appeals because it seems to provide them with a justification for looseness of thought. Such writers would do well to study Mr Gunn's work, and to follow that study with an intelligent and critical reading of the *Introduction to Metaphysics*.

As an introduction to Bergson's work, *Bergson and his Philosophy* deserves the highest possible praise. It is admirably lucid, and provides an accurate and comprehensive account of Bergson's philosophy. It is intelligently but not blindly appreciative of the value of Bergson's contribution to thought. There is a valuable bibliography at the end. It is to be hoped that this book will be widely read, and that English people may be lead by it to a real and critical understanding of Bergson's position and importance.

ROBERT H. THOULESS.

Scala Mundi, by ARTHUR CHANDLER, Bishop of Bloemfontein.
(Methuen & Co. Ltd., London, 1920.)

THIS book is an attempt to express the traditional Christian view of the world and God in conventional evolutionary terms. It traces an orderly developement, marked by progress and continuity, from inorganic matter to life, from life to mind, from mind to personality, from personality to God in man, and from God in man to God in his eternal and essential nature. It is an interesting discussion of contemporary problems, which makes no claim to startling originality.

ROBERT H. THOULESS.

The Incarnation and Personality, by HERBERT A. WATSON, D.D.
(Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, London: The Macmillan Co., New York, 1920.)

THE aim of this book is expressed in the first chapter as an attempt to shew the Incarnation as a determining influence on human nature and character. This aim marks it as a contribution to the devotional literature of the Incarnation rather than to the philosophy of religion.

The author deals with the bearing of the Incarnation on a variety of the elements of human life, from the sacraments to the love of humanity. The essence of the devotional teaching of the book is summed up in the last chapter on 'The Practice of the Incarnation'. 'When, feeling in himself the power of the incarnate life, and discerning in himself the highest form of activity, and seeing in himself a light that he recognizes as Divine, he [the sincere follower of Christ] devotes his will to his Master's service, then the Incarnation becomes to him what it is—it becomes life in him.'

ROBERT H. THOULESS.

Commentarius in Epistolam ad Ephesios, auctore FR JACOBO-MARIA VOSTE. (Rome and Paris, 1921.)

THIS is a Latin commentary written by a Professor of Exegesis at Rome and deserves a hearty welcome, as being scholarlike and spiritual, based on wide knowledge, on a noble conception of the Church, and free from partisanship: one point, indeed, the defence of the title 'mater gratiae' as applied to the Virgin in the note on i 6, is dragged in unnecessarily, but this place stands quite alone. The book consists of Introduction, Commentary, and three Excursuses—on ii 3, v 32, and the later text of the Epistle. In the Introduction the author accepts the Pauline authorship, and the end of the Roman imprisonment as the date, and follows Harnack in denying the circular character of the letter, holding that it was originally addressed to Laodicea alone, that the reference to Laodicea was struck out later because of the condemnation of that Church in Apoc. iii 13, and the name of the metropolitan church inserted: this does not seem to me convincing, but the arguments on both sides are fairly stated and discussed. In the Commentary both the Greek and Latin texts are printed; there is a careful analysis of each section, a note on every verse, clear, terse, weighing each possible meaning and always deciding for one, giving an account of the history of the most important Greek words, analysing the truth that underlies each metaphor, always pressing the context and not later doctrinal inferences as decisive in the interpretation (this is the special characteristic of the two excursuses on ii 3 and v 32), and often shewing the bearing of St Paul's practical exhortations on life. I doubt whether the author has made any new contribution to the interpretation of the Epistle, and perhaps he has not considered adequately the bearing of Eschatology upon it, but he has given us a sound well-balanced exposition in clear and readable Latin of the writer's meaning: and in the

third excursus has added a useful note on the relation of St Jerome to the Vulgate text. Perhaps the most interesting feature about the book is the readiness to draw from other writers; he knows well the Patristic writers Latin and Greek; the Scholastics; as well as modern writers in England, France, Italy, and Germany. His three favourites are St Chrysostom, 'princeps inter exegetas epistolarum S. Pauli', St Thomas Aquinas, and Westcott 'exegeta inter omnes prudens aequae ac doctus', 'qui non erubescit devota ac moralia miscere commentariis philologicis ac doctissimis', and English readers will note with pleasure that he also draws largely from Armitage Robinson and T. K. Abbott.¹ The whole tone of the book is a witness to the essential unity that underlies the divisions of Christendom and to the power of common studies to unite the warring nations of the world.

W. LOCK.

De Handelingen der Apostelen. Door PROF. DR DE ZWAAN. (J. B. Wolters, Groningen, den Haag, 1921.)

THIS little work on Acts is, I think, the most recent contribution to a series of Bible handbooks (*Tekst en Uitleg, Praktische Bijbelverklaring*) which, broadly speaking, may be placed in the same category with the *Century Bible* and the *Cambridge Bible for Schools*.

It comprises three sections. Introduction (*Inleiding*) stands first. If the respective subjects involved are so handled as to be brought within the grasp of readers of the type primarily in view, there is also matter which should repay perusal by more advanced students. That Dr De Zwaan not only advances his own definite or tentative conclusions, but is at pains to state and to examine theories which illustrate wide divergence of opinion—where, e.g., the question turns on the purpose with which Acts was composed—is all to the good. Treating of sources, he has evidently little patience with an exegesis which exaggerates discrepancy between Galatians and Acts xv; in his opinion the 'first edition' of Blass's and Zahn's hypothesis raises more difficulties than it solves, but (other phenomena apart) it nevertheless prompts him to differentiate between a draft left in incomplete and unrevised form by Luke and the text which emerged from editorial hands. The date of publication is assigned by him to the beginning of the second century, and he is disposed to find both addressee and editor (or

¹ For the Greek text he has carefully used Westcott-Hort, Nestle, von Soden, and Vogels: for the Latin text, the Vulgate, the Commentaries of Jerome, and Wordsworth and White's edition.

editors) in the circle of Clemens and Domitilla, members of the Flavian imperial house. The trend of modern scholarship, says he, is to place the trustworthiness of Acts on a plane certainly not lower than that of the best historical writings of antiquity; and this is quite to his own mind. His two last paragraphs (a useful Bibliography is appended) might perhaps be recast, if not combined, with advantage. In the next section (*Tekst*) I observe with interest that, instead of falling back on the Statenbijbel version, Professor De Zwaan—with all the other contributors to this series; they all, by the way, go to Nestle's text—himself furnishes the translation, and, so far as I can judge, it is sufficiently accurate and reveals a graphic pen. I pass to the third section (*Uitleg*), to realize drawbacks attendant on a system of arrangement which separates the Notes from the document they are intended to illuminate. This, however, is a comparatively small matter; a question which gives one pause is whether a feature in Acts which Dr De Zwaan instances—room made for topics relatively insignificant while important circumstance or outstanding personage is dismissed with a glance—be not sometimes met with in his own commentary. There is surely a lack of proportion when (pp. 125 ff) upwards of two pages are assigned to Gallio and (pp. 127 f) but eight or ten lines to Apollos; the space filled with comments on Acts x 10 and xxvi 3 is, I think, excessive, and might have been utilized elsewhere to greater profit—e.g. the designation 'Son of Man' on the lips of Stephen and the origin and significance of the title *Κύριος* as applied to Jesus. But I gladly turn from complaint to appreciation; there is abundance of good matter in the some 85 pages occupied by Dr De Zwaan's Notes, nor can I grudge him space when, seizing the opportunity presented by Acts xxi 17–26, he discourses in interesting, and perhaps characteristic, fashion on 'conscience' and 'Levantine mentality'. His remarks on the speech of Paul at Athens (pp. 120 ff) are, I think, very much to the point; and, I would add that, not only does he break a lance with those who disallow the genuineness of the Pauline Epistles *en masse*, but, evidently assuming some acquaintance on the part of his readers with theories such as those of E. Norden and W. B. Smith, he is careful to strike warning notes.

Taking it all round, the book appears well adapted to the purpose it is mainly intended to serve. Perhaps it may not of itself fire the enthusiasm of Dr De Zwaan's readers; but, if it is rightly used by them, they will find their interest deepened in the important New Testament document to which he introduces them and which he would have them study for themselves. Let me venture to suggest that he should verify his references.

H. LATIMER JACKSON.

MISCELLANEA.

A WORD of welcome must be offered to Mr E. H. Blakeney's little edition of *The Hymn of Cleanthes* ('Texts for Students', No. 26: S.P.C.K. 1921). We are given the Greek text of the hymn with an excellent translation in blank verse, and introduction and commentary that are just what are wanted to enable the student in view to appreciate duly this 'noblest expression of heathen devotion which Greek literature has preserved to us'. Other volumes of the series supply useful pocket editions of texts readily accessible in larger volumes (such as Dr Crafer's editions of the text of the Epistles of Ignatius, the Epistle of Barnabas, and the Didache), but Mr Blakeney's edition puts the hymn of Cleanthes for the first time at every one's disposal, and that for the sum of sixpence.

The *Demonstratio Evangelica* of Eusebius crowns the long series of defences of the Faith which have been of more use for the instruction of the faithful than the conversion of their opponents, and Mr W. J. Ferrar's translation (*The Proof of the Gospel*, S.P.C.K., 1920) enables us to read it, with the necessary skipping of large parts, much more quickly than we could the original. Mr Ferrar rightly calls attention to the special interest of the third book for modern apology, particularly in the stress it lays on moral values. Notes and introduction are good, and it was a happy thought to add to the other indices one of the rarer Greek words used in the treatise.

An English translation of Hippolytus's *Refutation of all Heresies* already existed in the *Ante-Nicene Library*. It is now superseded by Mr F. Legge's version (*Philosophumena, or the Refutation of all Heresies*, S.P.C.K., 1921), the introduction and notes to which reflect the results of the author's special studies in the philosophies and religions of the early period of the empire, and contribute valuable material to the appreciation of the work of Hippolytus. Mr Legge has an ingenious, if complicated, theory of the composition of the work to account for its discrepancies and other peculiarities; but we have to take it as it is and make the best we can of it. Students of it will be grateful to Mr Legge for the help he gives, alike in Introduction, Translation, and Notes, and to the S.P.C.K.

The Four Gospels: their literary history and their special characteristics from the same publishers (1921) by Dr Maurice Jones may be heartily recommended as an introduction that puts clearly the main facts and theories as to the problems by which the student of the Gospels is faced. Dr Jones argues that the Apostle John wrote the Fourth Gospel, but he also notes the fact that outside England hardly any

scholar holds this view ; and what he says about the ' historical ' character of the Gospel goes far towards establishing a *concordat* with the many other scholars in England and elsewhere who use the Gospel as history, not of our Lord's life on earth, but of later Christian experience and reflexion.

Yet another synopsis of the Gospels in Greek adds to the student's range of choice. In English Stevens and Barton's *Harmony of the Gospels for Historical Study* of 1894, arranged in paragraphs, after passing through several editions, was replaced in 1918 by *A Harmony of the Synoptic Gospels for Historical and Critical Study* by E. D. Burton and E. J. Goodspeed, in which the continuous paragraphs were abandoned and separate lines given to each particular phrase where parallels existed. It is this line by line and phrase by phrase arrangement which is followed by the authors in their new edition in Greek, the text being Westcott and Hort's (*A Harmony of the Synoptic Gospels in Greek*, University of Chicago Press, 1920). The retention of the word 'Harmony' in the title would seem to be a concession to Tradition: the authors' object is to exhibit 'the facts respecting the parallelism of the Gospels as they stand' and (except as regards Mt. viii-xi and Lk. viii 19-21) they print each of the three Gospels in its own order. Continuous reading is therefore possible. A special feature of the arrangement is based on a sharp distinction between parallel sections and parallel matter in sections that are not parallel, the latter being printed in smaller type. The book is not constructed in the interest of any theory, but the authors state their belief that Matthew and Luke possessed in common, besides Mark, not only a document containing the non-Markan matter in Lk. iii 1-ix 50, but also a third document consisting substantially of the non-Markan matter in Lk. ix 51-xix 28, from which Matthew drew about one-half (or else, alternatively, there were two distinct documentary sources of this matter and only one of them was in Matthew's hands). Matthew is further credited with a document not known to Luke, containing about a hundred and fifty verses of sayings of Jesus ; and each had several other sources of his own, either oral or written (infancy, passion, &c.).

Whether this theory of sources be accepted or not, it serves to call attention to the facts presented in the synopsis. In size, print, and paper, as well as arrangement, it will be found probably the most convenient form in which to study the Gospels. The price is three dollars, postage extra.

A second edition of *Essays on the Early History of the Church and the Ministry* was required within eighteen months of publication. It has now appeared with the very few corrections and occasional elucidations of a writer's meaning that were called for: so few that the

pagination remains the same. Fresh interest, however, is given to the volume by a new preface in which Professor Turner replies to some of the criticisms made by Dr Vernon Bartlett in the JOURNAL (vol. xx, pp. 357-370) and other reviewers. He deals particularly with misconceptions of what he himself had written with regard to the history of the idea of 'succession', and dissociates himself from the inferences which some reviewers have drawn from the facts as he presented them.

Each successive volume of the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* has maintained the high standards set by its predecessors and the eleventh, 'Sacrifice-Sudra' (T. & T. Clark, 1920), is no exception. If one wants a survey of thought and speculation on any subject of concern to Religion or Ethics, well arranged and with full bibliography to date, one finds it in this Encyclopaedia. There can be no lack of interest in a volume which includes such articles as are given here on Sacrifice, Saints, Salvation, Schleiermacher, Scholasticism, Science, Secret Societies, Sex, Sidgwick (Henry), Sin, Slavery, Socialism, Socrates, Soteriology, Soul, Space, Spinoza, Spirit, State of the Dead, Substance. Yet one would have been glad to find an article on 'the Sacred', even if it did little more than collect and systematize references in other articles of the Encyclopaedia.

Religion and the Child: a manual for teachers and parents, by the Ven. G. M. MacDermott and the Rev. T. H. Bindley, D.D. (S.P.C.K., 1921), with a foreword by the Lord Bishop of Norwich, is designed to help 'those who have charge of the religious instruction of children', and feel 'the difficulty of teaching the Bible on the old-fashioned accustomed lines'. Biblical and theological science and sense meet together so happily in the booklet, its short bibliographies are so well selected, and the need of the guidance it gives is so widely felt, that mention of it is in place even in the JOURNAL.

M. J. Tixeront's *Précis de Patrologie*, published in 1918, has already reached its fifth edition (J. Gabalda, Paris, 1920). It is an admirable supplement to the author's *Histoire des Dogmes*. It will not displace for English students the English translation of Bardenhewer's *Patrologie*. It is not designed for them, and it often does not refer to English books and editions which are easily accessible to them; but it gives in some 500 octavo pages, at the price of 5 francs, a very readable running history of its subject which English students of theology who can read French will be glad to possess.

J. F. B-B.

RECENT PERIODICALS RELATING TO THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

(1) ENGLISH.

The Church Quarterly Review, July 1921 (Vol. xcii, No. 184: S.P.C.K.). A. C. HEADLAM Divorce—F. GAVIN Some aspects of Greek Church life to-day—M. W. T. CONRAN Some practical suggestions on the Archbishops' Committees of the National Mission—H. RASHDALL Moral Theology—H. L. CLARKE Church Constitutions—MRS JAMES OWEN Charlotte Mary Yonge—F. HAROLD SMITH The Sutta and the Gospel: an inquiry into the relationship between the accounts of the supernatural births of Buddha and Christ—A. C. HEADLAM Arabia—The Reign of Folly—Short Notices.

The Hibbert Journal, July 1921 (Vol. xix, No. 4: Williams & Norgate). R. STEINER Spiritual Life: Civil Rights: Industrial Economy—F. VON HÜGEL, J. CHEVALIER, L. P. JACKS, J. A. SMITH, H. W. CARR Morals and Religion—E. BUONAIUTI Religion and Culture in Italy—H. V. KNOX The Letters of William James—G. DOUGLAS Misanthropes in fact and fiction—J. E. CARPENTER Chaitanya, an Indian St Francis—W. J. JUPP Neglected sources of joy—J. E. BOODIN The religion of mother earth—J. E. McFADYEN Civilization criticized at the source—E. RATHBONE Wages according to family needs—T. D. BACON Our illogical world—J. W. BUCKHAM Theological adventure—HEADMASTER Religious knowledge: a narrative and a moral—Survey and Signed Reviews.

The Expositor, July 1921 (Eighth Series, No. 127: Hodder & Stoughton). D. S. MARGOLIOUTH The Syro-Phoenician Woman—J. R. CAMERON Some notes on the development of Jesus—A. C. DEANE Phillips Brooks—A. C. WELCH Jeremiah's Temple address—W. E. BEET The humorist element in the Old Testament—J. MOFFATT Paul and his first critics.

August 1921 (Eighth Series, No. 128). J. H. BERNARD The Odes of Solomon—J. H. LECKIE John Ker—J. MOFFATT What was the joy of Jesus?—J. A. ROBERTSON The Spirit of God and the New Testament experience—L. LEVONIAN Insufflation—J. W. BUCKHAM Are Christ and the Spirit identical in Paul's teaching?

September 1921 (Eighth Series, No. 129). R. WINTERBOTHAM The Old Testament and the Jews—J. P. LILLEY Wordsworth as a religious teacher—J. R. MANTEY Newly-discovered meanings for *oiv*—J. A. MONTGOMERY Anent Dr Rendel Harris's 'Testimonies'—G. E. FRENCH Is St Paul in the Gospels?—H. GIBBON The Christ: a point of view—A. MINGANA Aramaic background of the Synoptists.

(2) AMERICAN.

The Journal of Religion, May 1921 (Vol. i, No. 3: University of Chicago Press). C. H. HAMILTON Religion and the new culture movement in China—J. MORGENSTERN The historical reconstruction of Hebrew religion and archaeology—C. WOELFKIN The religious appeal of premillennialism—E. S. AMES Religion in terms of social consciousness—H. F. WARD The Bible and the proletarian movement—W. A. BROWN The common problems of theological schools—G. GALLOWAY The problem of the personality of God—K. FULLERTON The problem of Isaiah—Book Reviews.

July 1921 (Vol. i, No. 4). P. G. MODE Revivalism as a phase of frontier life—K. SAUNDERS Some significant aspects of the theology of Buddhism—E. S. BRIGHTMAN The more-than-human values of Religion—M. S. LAZARON The American Jew: his problems and his psychology—J. H. LEUBA Religions and other ecstasies—H. W. WRIGHT What alternatives can Religion present to the will of modern man?—H. F. WARD The moral valuation of our economic order—E. F. SCOTT What did the idea of Messiah mean to the early Christians?—Book Reviews.

The Princeton Theological Review, July 1921 (Vol. xix, No. 3: Princeton University Press). F. L. PATTON Benjamin Brechinridge Warfield: a memorial address—R. D. WILSON The names for God in the New Testament—W. M. CLOW The elements of the industrial strife—B. B. WARFIELD Oberlin perfectionism: Article III—Reviews of recent literature.

(3) FRENCH AND BELGIAN.

Revue Bénédictine, July 1921 (Vol. xxxiii, No. 3: Abbaye de Maredsous). D. DE BRUYNE Fragments d'une apocalypse perdue—A. WILMART Nouveaux feuillets Toulousains de l'Éclésiastique: Un manuscrit du *De Cibus* et des œuvres de Lucifer: Nicolas Manjacoria Cistercien à Trois-Fontaines—Comptes rendus—Notes bibliographiques—Bulletin d'histoire bénédictine.

(4) GERMAN.

Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche, July 1921 (Vol. xx, No. 3: A. Töpelmann, Giessen).
 E. DIEHL Zur Textgeschichte des lateinischen Paulus—W. MUNDLE Die Stephanusrede Apg. 7: eine Märtyrerapologie—H. WINDISCH Englisch-amerikanische Literatur zum NT. in den Jahren 1914 bis 1920, II:—K. G. GOETZ Zwei Beiträge zur synoptischen Quellenforschung—Notizen (H. LIETZMANN *Die Epistula Apostolorum*).

Theologische Quartalschrift (Vol. cii, No. 1/2: H. Laupp, Tübingen).
 HÜNERMANN Die Rechtfertigungslehre des Kardinals Gasparo Contarini—BROWE Die Kommunion in der gallikanischen Kirche der Merowinger- und Karolingerzeit—BIHLMAYER Eine Ehrengabe deutscher Wissenschaft—SCHILLING Der neue Zinskanon—Rezensionen—Analekten.

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JANUARY, 1922

NOTES AND STUDIES

LA TRADITION MANUSCRITE DE LA COR- RESPONDANCE DE SAINT BASILE (suite).

CHAPITRE IV

LES RAPPORTS MUTUELS DES DEUX EMBRANCHEMENTS A ET B

Nous avons considéré jusqu'ici les manuscrits, soit isolément, soit groupés en familles, et nous avons reconnu que les familles de l'embranchement A étaient toutes issues d'un ancêtre dont l'ordre était celui de la famille Aa, tandis que les familles de l'embranchement B se rattachaient toutes à un archétype de l'ordre Bz. Ces résultats nous ont été fournis presque exclusivement par la comparaison des ordres de succession des lettres de la correspondance, d'abord entre les manuscrits d'une même famille, puis entre les diverses familles d'un même embranchement. Il reste maintenant à examiner si Aa et Bz sont absolument irréductibles. Nous appliquerons encore la méthode qui nous a donné jusqu'ici des résultats satisfaisants. Nous comparerons entre eux les ordres Aa et Bz dans un tableau général que nous commenterons ensuite, pour en tirer les conclusions qu'il comporte. A priori il n'est pas vraisemblable que la correspondance de S. Basile ait été publiée d'abord en deux exemplaires donnant deux ordres indépendants auxquels il y aurait lieu de rattacher respectivement nos deux embranchements. Selon toute probabilité il s'est formé d'abord un corpus unique de cette correspondance par développement d'un premier noyau qui s'est enflé avec le temps, ancêtre vénérable de nos deux embranchements. Mais avant d'aborder ce problème, il y a lieu de liquider le groupe des lettres sans adresse, à peu près identique dans tous les manuscrits qui le contiennent et décelant par là même une source commune.

§ I. Le groupe des lettres sans adresse (ἀνεπίγραφοι) et leur source commune.

Ce groupe est formé en majorité d'ἀνεπίγραφοι ἐπιστολαί, mais non pas exclusivement, de même que toutes les lettres de S. Basile sans destinataire connu n'y figurent pas. Celles-ci sont 45 en tout, tandis que notre groupe n'en contient que 38. Par rapport à notre section, les manuscrits se partagent en deux classes. Les uns la donnent plus ou moins complète, dans un ordre identique. Les autres l'ignorent en tant que groupe spécial, bien qu'ils en contiennent, à différentes places, un plus ou moins grand nombre de pièces. Par exemple, la famille Aa nous donne les lettres **103 157 158 168 290 257 60 59 47 115**, mais elle ignore les ἀνεπίγραφοι du groupe que nous étudions.¹ Non pas toutes cependant, car elle connaît **330** et **332**, deux petits billets insignifiants quant à leur objet, mais d'un raffinement sophistique rare. Nous citons **330** comme exemple, puisque c'est un tout petit morceau d'anthologie instructif du point de vue qui nous occupe : Ὅτι σε φιλῶ, οἷς ἐπιστέλλω μάθε. ὅτι με μισεῖς, οἷς σιωπῆς ἔγνω. γράφε δὲ κἀν τοῦ λοιποῦ, καλὰ μω καὶ μέλανι καὶ βραχεῖ χάρτῃ φιλοῦντας φιλῶν. **332** est du même genre. La famille Aa hospitalise ces deux ἀνεπίγραφοι à l'exclusion des 36 autres du groupe, à cause des mignardises de l'expression. Elle reste fidèle à l'esprit qui guidait Grégoire de Nazianze lorsqu'il envoyait des modèles littéraires à Nicobule.

Au surplus notre recueil contient aussi des lettres munies de leur adresse. Telles sont : **93** ad Caesariam patriciam ; **103** Satalensibus (cette lettre figure ici d'ailleurs à titre d'ἀνεπίγραφος : la famille Aa, qui la donne aussi, mais à une autre place (vol. xxi p. 297 *supra*), nous fait connaître les vrais destinataires) ; **157** Antiocho, **158** Antiocho, **168** Antiocho exsultanti — trois pièces de maigre contenu ; **290** Nectario ; **215** Dorotheo presbytero ; **257** ad monachos ab Arianis vexatos ; **60** Gregorio patruo, **59** eidem ; **47** Gregorio sodali (en réalité de Grégoire, père de Grégoire de Nazianze) ; **166** Eusebio episcopo Samosatorum, **167** eidem² ; **280** Modesto praefecto ; **115** ad Simpliciam haereticam, insérée par certains mss. (p. ex. le Mediceus IV 14 [F]) dans la correspondance de S. Grégoire de Nazianze ; **40** Julianus Basilio, **41** Basilius Juliano.

Les 38 lettres 'Sine inscriptione' forment un tout avec celles qui

¹ Deux manuscrits de Aa donnent le groupe des ἀνεπίγραφοι. Ce sont Vatic. 434 et Parisinus 334 S. de la main d'un continuateur.

² Ces deux dernières lettres sont de Grégoire de Nazianze, comme le notent les Mauristes. C'est pourquoi elles n'ont pas été insérées à leur vraie place par les manuscrits qui classent les lettres d'après les correspondants. Si ces deux lettres avaient trouvé place dans le corpus basilien primitif, elles auraient été adjointes aux autres lettres adressées par Basile à Eusèbe de Samosate.

précèdent, et ce tout se présente avec une même suite plus ou moins complète dans les manuscrits où il figure. Le tableau X mettra en relief cette concordance entre familles d'embranchement différent. Mais outre l'argument tiré de l'ordre de succession, nous avons encore une autre raison qui nous induit à admettre une même source pour tous les mss. relativement à cette catégorie. En général A et B diffèrent dans le libellé des adresses. Or pour notre série les libellés des suscriptions sont identiques, ainsi que nous avons pu le vérifier dans quatre manuscrits, savoir : Coislin 237 (C), Parisinus 1021 S (S), Estensis (E), et Parisinus 334 S. Nous allons nous contenter de quelques exemples :

78	ἀνεπίγραφος ὑπὲρ Ἑλπιδίου
273	— περὶ Ἡρα
315	— ὑπὲρ συγγενοῦς
318	— ὑπὲρ πατριώτου
326	— ἐπὶ νοθεσίᾳ
327	— ἐπὶ παρακλήσει
285	— ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς ἐκκλησίας προστασίᾳ
289	— περὶ γυναικὸς καταπονουμένης
168	— Ἀντιόχῳ πρεσβυτέρῳ ἀδελφιδῷ, συνόντι ἐν ἐξορίᾳ
47	— Γρηγορίῳ ἐταίρῳ περὶ τῆς κοιμήσεως Εὐσεβίου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου καὶ ὅτι ἔχει πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν τὸν εἰς ἐπισκοπὴν ἐπιτήδειον.

Cette manière d'indiquer le sujet de la lettre est courante dans A, inouïe dans B. Or dans la catégorie que nous étudions elle est constante dans B comme dans A.

Nous avons donc isolé tout un groupe de lettres pour lequel tous les manuscrits qui le contiennent remontent à une source unique. Quelle est cette source? Nous supposons, bien que la preuve nous fasse défaut, que la section des ἀνεπίγραφοι a été extraite d'un recueil de lettres de S. Grégoire de Nazianze, et cela à une date relativement récente. Nous savons que la correspondance de S. Grégoire et celle de S. Basile ont eu une fortune commune dans la tradition manuscrite. Très souvent elles étaient réunies en un même volume, comme nous avons eu l'occasion de le signaler au chapitre 1^{er}, et mainte confusion d'attribution s'est produite de ce fait. Ainsi les lettres 166 et 167, qui sont de S. Grégoire, figurent dans la section que nous étudions. Pareillement 47 a dû être insérée d'abord dans les recueils de S. Grégoire où elle est tout à fait à sa place. De fait le Parisinus 506 la donne parmi les lettres de S. Grégoire. De même 115 est attribuée alternativement aux deux docteurs par les manuscrits. Les deux lettres 330 et 332, bien qu'adjudgées à S. Basile, sont tout à fait dans la manière apprêtée de S. Grégoire. Certains mss., ceux de la famille Aa, avaient déjà restitué à S. Basile quelques-unes de ces lettres (ainsi

168 157 158 290 257 60 59). D'autres copistes sont allés plus loin et lui ont adjugé la section entière que nous étudions.

Quoi qu'il en soit de cette opinion, il reste acquis que pour la section des ἀνετίγραφοι la tradition est unique, et que les variantes fournies par les divers manuscrits, dans la mesure où l'on peut en juger par l'apparat des Mauristes, n'accusent pas des courants bien distincts. Le tableau suivant fera saisir la concordance des mss. relativement à l'ordre des lettres étudiées ici.

TABLEAU X

Ed. Bénéd. et Migne	Bo			Bz	Ab	Ac		Aa	
	CAM	F	Vat. 713	Vat. 435	E Marc. 79	Paris 1021 S Paris 967	S	Vat. 434	Paris 334 S
283		om.		tr.		tr.		om.	om.
296				tr.		tr.			
297				tr.		om.			
107				tr.					
108		om.		tr.		om.		om.	
93				om.		om.			
103		om.			tr.	tr.		tr.	tr.
87					tr.	tr.		tr.	tr.
78									
273									
275									
315									
318					om.				om.
316						tr. 319 320 70		om.	
70					om.				om.
319									
320									
317									
322									
326									
327									
77									
209									
36									
285									
309									
314									
305									
308		om.			mut. E			om.	
117					mut. E				
298					mut. E				
35									
310									
249									
11									
331									
155					mut. E				
213					mut. E				
88									
270									
287		om.							
288					mut. E				

Ed. Bénéd. et Migne	Bo			Bz	Ab	Ac	Aa	
	CAM	F	Vat. 713	Vat. 435	E Marc. 79	Paris 1021 S Paris 967	Vat. 434	Paris 334 S
307								
37								
289					om. E			
330				om.	om. E	tr.	tr.	om.
332				om.	tr.	tr.	tr.	om.
168				tr.	tr.	tr.	tr.	tr.
			156 bis					
157				tr.	tr.	tr.	tr.	tr.
158				tr.	tr.	tr.	tr.	tr.
290				tr.	tr.	tr.	tr.	tr.
215				tr.	om. E	om.	om.	om.
257				om.	tr.	tr.	tr.	tr.
60				tr.	tr.	tr.	tr.	om.
59				tr.	tr.	tr.	tr.	om.
47		tr.		om.	tr.	om.	tr.	om.
166		om.		om.	om. E	om.	om.	om.
167				om.	om. E	om.	om.	om.
280	tr.	tr.		tr.	tr.	tr.	om.	tr.
a ¹	om. M	om.		om.	om.	om.	om.	om.
b ²	om. M	om.		om.	om.	om.	om.	om.
c ³	om. M	om.		om.	om.	om.	om.	om.
Lib. 1226	om. CM	om.	om.	om.	om. E	om.	om.	om.
1227	om. CM	om.	om.	om.	om. E	om.	om.	om.
1228	om. CM	om.	om.	om.	om. E	om.	om.	om.
G. Naz. 136	om. CM	om.	om.	om.	om.	om.	om.	om.
d ⁴	om. CM	om.	om.	om.	om.	om.	om.	om.
115		om.	om.	tr.	om. E		tr.	om.
G. Nys. 2 ⁵	om. CM	om.	om.	om.	om. E	om.	om.	om.
40	tr. CA	tr.	tr.	tr.	om.			tr.
41	tr. CA	tr.	om.	tr.	om.			tr.

§ II. L'ordre Aa et l'ordre Bz comparés entre eux.

Nous prendrons pour base du tableau qui suit l'ordre Bz tel qu'il résulte du Vaticanus 435 complété à la fin par le Berolinensis 23. Car nous avons découvert, en comparant le Vaticanus 435 avec le Parisinus 1020 S (ordre Bx), que le Vaticanus 435 avait une lacune susceptible d'être comblée par le Berolinensis 23. L'ordre Bz, tel qu'il se présente dans notre tableau, est donc une restauration que nous croyons légitime. Il s'agit d'atteindre cet ordre dans son état le plus complet. Nous ne prétendons pas arriver à une restitution absolument exacte de l'archétype Bz, mais il nous importe de le restaurer avec une fidélité approchante pour que la comparaison de Bz avec Aa nous laisse le moins de résidus possible. Bien entendu, en

¹ Pseudo-Apollinaire Βασίλειος Ἀπολιναρίφ. Ἑδεξάμην . . .

² Περὶ τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Κυρίου.

³ Πρὸς τοὺς μὴ δεχομένους τὸ ὁμοούσιον.

⁴ Bas. Hom. (Migne P. G. 31 coll. 1488-1496).

⁵ Grég. Nyss. ep. 2 (Migne P. G. 46 coll. 1009-1016).

prenant Bz pour base de cette comparaison, nous ne préjugeons en rien l'antériorité de cet ordre sur l'ordre Aa, en supposant que l'un soit issu de l'autre. Nous avons choisi cette marche uniquement parce que les manuscrits Bz nous donnent un total de lettres plus considérable que les manuscrits Aa. Simple raison de commodité. Le Patmius 57 nous servira de représentant pour la famille Aa. Chaque colonne donnera donc la suite naturelle de Bz, et en regard de chaque lettre des manuscrits Bz, désignée par son numéro dans l'édition des Mauristes, nous noterons au moyen de la numérotation en lettres grecques la place qu'elle occupe dans le Patmius 57. Pour interpréter notre tableau comme il convient, il ne faudra pas limiter son attention aux séries absolument concordantes, il faudra aussi tenir compte des cas où l'accord n'est qu'approximatif, et comporte quelques menues interversions, quelques enclaves plus ou moins étendues interrompant la série dans Aa. Surtout il faudra se souvenir que les variantes peuvent tout aussi bien être imputables à Bz qu'à Aa. Si ce dernier ordre était à la base du tableau, ce serait Bz qui semblerait avoir modifié l'ordre Aa.¹

TABLEAU XI

Bo	Bz	Aa	Bo	Bz	Aa	Bo	Bz	Aa
1	14	om.	25	251	ρξε'	113	224	ρπα'
3	G. Naz. 114	om.	26	99	ρζα'	40	135	μδ'
4	2	γ'	27	203	πβ'	195	271	μια'
6	9	δ'	28	207	με'	122	50. 123	μς'
7	4	β'	29	5	κ'	123	262	μζ'
8	13	ρπε'	30	6	κα'	134	57	νη'
9	211	ρπγ'	31	30. 247	ξθ'	135	154	ογ'
10	12	ρπδ'	32	246	ο'	136	164	οδ'
11	3	ρξη'	39	140	ε'	140	197	λε'
12	10. 1	α'	45	29	οα'	190	7	ρνδ'
13	40 [V σοβ'] ²		56	139	ρμβ'	349	60	ος'
14	41 [V σογ']		65	219	ξα'	139	252	ρκς'
5 ³	19	ρνε'	57	82	ρμγ'	223	194	ρλδ'
15	58	οε'	90	28	μδ'	114	60. 212	ρλς'
16	295	σνδ'	95	54	πδ'	267	299	μβ'
17	16	σνη'	98	244	π'	196	84	ρ'
18	259	νθ'	99	40. 250	ρoς'	257	94	ρλη'
19	226	ρoς'	112	223	νς'	91	63	ρλζ'
[21] ⁴	102	ρμδ' ⁴	126	323	νβ'	251	187	ρλα'
[22] ⁴	20. 302	ρπς'	242	65	οη'	271	304	νδ'
23	269	μιβ'	350	59	ροη'	273	147	νη'
20	62	ρξδ'	66	156	ρκε'	197	276	μη'
24	51	πα'	222	134	μκ'	277	152	ρμε' ⁶

¹ [Since I am for my part convinced that Bz is the latest and not the earliest family of the B group, I have added the Bo order in the left or outside column, taken from Table V *supra* : see vol. xxii pp. 105-114.]

² Voir la liste du contenu du Marcianus 61 (V) à la fin (vol. xxi p. 26).

³ [Note that Coislin 237 (C) agrees with Bz in placing here 19 : see l.c. p. 106.]

⁴ [In giving here epp. 102 302 Bz agrees with Bu, and with F and Vat. 713 of Bo : see p. 106. For no. 144 (ρμδ') of Aa see vol. xxi p. 295 col. b *supra*.]

⁵ Le Patmius 57 a subi une mutilation : voir vol. xxi p. 295 col. b.

TABLEAU XI (*suite*)

Bo	Bz	Aa	Bo	Bz	Aa	Bo	Bz	Aa
265	70. 277	ξγ'	188	105	ρκε'	97	53	σνζ'
67	100	ρκη'	202	279	λς'	68	136	ρμς'
258	17	ρπθ'	92	120. 210	μς'	69	30	θ'
259 ¹	56	να'	293	173	ς'	70	162	ρμς'
260	328	ρλβ'	233	90	λθ'	71	170. 98	ρμη'
261	118	ρς'	145	161	σα'	72	241	ρμθ'
224	208	ςζ'	146	176	σβ'	73	138	ι'
164	260	ρνα'	147	191	σιβ'	74	27	η'
279	111	λη'	148	150	μη'	75	182	om.
280	104	ρογ'	149	231	σγ'	88	31	ιγ'
281	80. 110	ρσα'	150	202	σδ'	89	146	ιδ'
47	300	ρκα'	151	200	σε'	343	168	ιε'
226	163	ρπθ'	295	130. 10	σθ'	344	157	ις'
198	148	ρνς'	165 ²	341	κη'	345	158	ιζ'
283	272	ξς'	176	337	κδ'	50	180. 227	ργ'
284	96	ρβ'	177	338	κε'	51	228	ρκβ'
227	20	ρλθ'	178	339	κς'	346	290	σνθ'
229	151	ρμ'	179	340	κζ'	237	91	σξ'
285	180	ργ'	174	356	om.	34	240	σξα'
262	116	ρπη'	166	335	κβ'	101	258	σξδ'
286	90. 76	ρα'	231	261	ξβ'	234	243	ρκ'
	33	om.	116	131	ρπβ'	61	66	λγ'
245	193	ρλε'	203	140. 179	ρξβ'	62	67	ρκδ'
58	80	λδ'	243	97	οβ'	205	281	ροβ'
59	61	λβ'		115	σς'	288	190. 177	ρδ'
	127	ρθ'	157	236	μγ'	276	178	ςθ'
138	68	ρδδ'	239	92	μθ'	289	32	ξε'
282	280	λς'		128	σ'	52	26	ξδ'
264	324	ρνγ'	38	130	σια'	35	229	ξζ'
199	149	ρνη'	[354] ³	64	μα'	36	230	ξη'
275	100. 75	ρξα'	48	101	ςς'	189	189 ⁴	σιγ'
200	74	ρξ'	60	69	ρςβ'	191	71	om. ⁵
268	313	ν'	132	150. 113	σμς'	167	349	σιδ'
263	325	ρσ'	133	114	σμη'	168	350	σιε'
228	21	ρξθ'	130	205	σμθ'	169	200. 351	σις'
115	265	ρπ'	55	206	ση'	170	352	σιζ'
102	245	οθ'	63	133	ρςγ'	171	353	σιη'
85	34	ς	244	292	σν	172	354	σιθ'
86	268	ια'	144	159	σνα'	182	347	σκα'
87	145	ρκς'	290	172	σνβ'	183	348	σκβ'
41	110. 160	ρμα'	109	81	ρξς'	206	86	σκη'
292	52	ρκγ'	110	79	σνγ'	76	183	σλ'
117	214	om.	49	160. 301	πε'	111	119	ρξγ'
96	291	πγ'	100	216	ρςε'	207	72	σλε'
77	48	μ'	64	266	ρςδ'	208	210. 225	σλς'
42	55	οζ'	33	238	σνε'	235	263	σλζ'
201	112	λα'	204	73	σνς'	46	25	σμ'
266	293	μς'	257	192	ξ'	296	283	om.

¹ [So F Vat. 713 and Bu : om. CAM ; see vol. xxii p. 111.]² [F has ep. 341 not as 165 but after 179 ; compare the κς' and κη' of Aa.]³ [CAM and Vat. 713 omit this letter ; see vol. xxii p. 113.]⁴ [CM omit here ep. 189 : M however has it in the later addition prefixed to its collection : see vol. xxii pp. 110, 105.]⁵ [L however has this letter as no. λς' of the collection of letters of Greg. Naz.]

TABLEAU XI (*suite*)

Bo	Bz	Aa	Bo	Bz	Aa	Bo	Bz	Aa
297	296	om.	270	83	om.	194	170	om.
236	242	σλθ'	54	106	om.	193	171	om.
249	333	om.	118	175	om.			
209 ¹	365	om.	153	218	om.		Berol. 23	
347	215	om.	154	232	om.	247	282	ιη'
93	126	σλβ'	155	248	om.	81	95	ρζζ'
210	220. 24	σλβ'	156	190	om.	82	141	ρζζ'
211	15	om.	37	121	πς'	83	198	ρζη'
212	274	om.	238	250. 254	πς'	84	237	ρζθ'
103	49	om.	246	122	πθ'	121	85	σκδ'
278	153	om.	240	255	ς'	129	284	σκε'
104	50	om.	106	184	ζα'	191	71	om.
213	286	om.	107	185	ζβ'	252	137	σλα'
214	142	om.	241	132	ζγ'	253	320. 294	σμβ'
215	143	om.	108	181	ζδ'	348	257	νς'
216	144	om.	43	253	ζε'	158	233	σμοδ'
217	230. 311	om.	44	256	ζς'	159	234	σμε'
137	165	σλδ'	ἀνεπίγραφοι ²			160	235	σμς'
152	201	om.	105	298. 195	πη'	278	153	om.
299	107	om.	125	46	ρς'	8	13	ρπε'
218	109	om.	124	300. 45 ³	σξβ'	119	264	σξζ'
300	108	om.	192	169	om.	120	267	σξη'
219	303	om.	250	186	ρλ'	254	222	σξθ'
269	312	om.	225	329	ρλγ'	255	330. 221	σς' ⁴
53	18	σμα'	224	208	ςζ'	256	220	σςα' ⁴
220	306	om.	272	196	ζη'	143	89	σςβ'
221	240. 278	om.	291	321	ρνβ' ⁴	230	124	σςγ'
298	297	om.	294	174	ρκθ'	86	268	ια'

REMARQUES ET CONCLUSIONS.

Si l'on examine avec un peu d'attention le tableau qui précède on sera frappé des rencontres que présentent les deux ordres Bz et Aa. Elles sont si nombreuses et si importantes qu'on est amené à exclure la supposition qu'ils se soient constitués indépendamment l'un de l'autre. Deux hypothèses se présentent à l'esprit pour expliquer la formation de toutes ces séries concordantes. Ou bien les deux ordres dépendent d'un archétype commun plus ou moins différent de l'un et de l'autre, et dont chacun constitue un remaniement; ou bien l'un des deux ordres dépend de l'autre qui lui a servi de base.⁵ Dans ce dernier

¹ [F Vat. 713 and Bu have here ep. 365; CAM omit. See vol. xxii p. 110.]

² Ici se placent les ἀνεπίγραφοι dans Bz, groupe étudié à part (voir tableau X *supra*) et qui manque comme tel dans les plus anciens représentants de Aa.

³ Suivent trois homélies dans Bz (Vat. 435).

⁴ Le Patm. 57 a subi une mutilation, voir vol. xxi p. 119 col. b (ρνβ'), *ib.* p. 121 col. b (σς' σςα').

⁵ [According to my view the explanation may be a different one according as the Bz order is the same as the order of the other families of the B group, or no. For if Bz is a late development it may also be a conflate one, i.e. it may have grafted elements borrowed from A on to the B stock. Therefore I have noted, in each group of the resemblances that follow, whether it is the whole B order, or only the Bz order, which is in question. C. H. T.]

cas Bz est une édition revue et notablement augmentée de Aa, ou Aa est une sorte de florilège très étendu, extrait de Bz. Examinons les faits de plus près.

B (Bo, Bz)	Aa
2 Γρηγορίῳ ἐταίρῳ	γ'
9 Μαξίμῳ φιλοσόφῳ	δ'
4 Ὀλυμπίῳ	β'
13 τῷ αὐτῷ	ρπé'
211 τῷ αὐτῷ	ρπγ'
12 τῷ αὐτῷ	ρπδ'
3 Κανδιδιάνῳ	ρξή'
1 Εὐσταθίῳ φιλοσόφῳ	α'

Les lettres 2 9 4 13 12 3 1 dénoncent le bel esprit que S. Basile était encore à son retour d'Athènes, dans la période où, tout féru de ses auteurs classiques, il abondait en réminiscences d'Homère (ep. 1), de Platon (ep. 1 ὥσπερ τι θρέμμα θαλλῶ προδεκνυμένῳ ἐπόμενος cf. Phèdre 230 D . . . ὥσπερ γὰρ οἱ τὰ πεινῶντα θρέμματα θαλλὸν ἢ τινα καρπὸν προσείοντες ἄγουσι), de Démosthène (ep. 3), mais où tout en soignant sa prose (ep. 2, ep. 4, ep. 14 qui est la première dans B) il se décidait pour la vie solitaire, la lecture des Écritures (ep. 2) et des auteurs chrétiens (ep. 9, jugement sur Denys d'Alexandrie). Elles sont en outre chronologiquement liées. Si, comme on l'admet assez généralement, la correspondance de S. Basile a été pour la première fois réunie en totalité ou en partie par son ami S. Grégoire de Nazianze,¹ en vue de fournir à Nicobule de bons modèles pour former un rhéteur (π . . . δεξιὸν εἰς λόγους²), les lettres ci-dessus étaient assez dignes d'inaugurer le recueil. Toujours est-il que quelques-unes parmi ces lettres ouvrent l'ordre Aa, comme l'ordre B. Seulement nous sentons poindre dans B une autre préoccupation, qui est celle de grouper les lettres par correspondants. Sans doute B est loin de réaliser ce programme dans son intégrité — la famille Bx (vol. xxii p. 127) ira plus loin dans ce sens — et on le prend très souvent en flagrant délit d'inconséquence. Mais enfin ce point de vue se trouve déjà dans B, et nous le constatons dès le début, puisque, rencontrant le nom d'Olympios, l'auteur de l'ordre B éprouve le besoin de rapprocher les lettres qui l'ont en suscription, qui sont dans nos éditions au nombre de cinq. Seulement il en oublie une, 131, qui figurera plus loin au numéro 116 Bo, 136 Bz. Mais nous croyons que, si l'un des deux ordres B et Aa repose sur l'autre, il n'est pas vraisemblable que ce soit Aa qui, rencontrant le petit groupe homogène 4 13 211 12, l'ait modifié dans le sens qu'indique notre tableau ; tandis que l'inverse est possible et même vraisemblable.

¹ Grégoire de Naz. ep. 53.

² Grég. Naz. ep. 52.

B	Aa
40 Ἰουλιανὸς βασιλεὺς Βασιλείῳ }	cf. V [Marc. 61] <i>ad fn.</i>
41 Βασίλειος Ἰουλιανῷ }	vol. xxi pp. 26, 297
[19] Γρηγορίῳ ἐταίρῳ	ρνέ'

Ces trois lettres continuent la série à caractère littéraire parmi les lettres de S. Basile. Non que 40 et 41 présentent un intérêt quelconque même au simple point de vue stylistique. Seulement Julien était un grand nom dans l'histoire des lettres grecques. On comprend que, ces deux lettres une fois introduites dans le corpus basilien — par fraude ou autrement, nous n'avons pas à examiner ce point ici — l'auteur de l'ordre B ait tenu à les mettre en bonne place, à les promouvoir en dignité, tandis qu'elles ne sont même pas attestées par la totalité des manuscrits Aa. Elles viennent tout à fait à la fin de ceux qui les donnent. Il conviendra de ne pas oublier cette circonstance dans les discussions sur l'authenticité des pièces de la correspondance.

La lettre 19 est un pur jeu d'esprit. C'est l'œuvre d'un jeune rhéteur, mise sans doute à dessein à cette place par l'auteur de l'ordre Bz (cf. C, vol. xxii p. 106).

B	Aa
58 Γρηγορίῳ ἀδελφῷ ἐπισκόπῳ	οέ'
295 μονάζουσιν	σνδ'
16 Εὐνομίῳ αἰρετικῷ	σνη'

La lettre 58, faisant suite à la lettre 19, a été attirée à cette place, pensons-nous, par le nom même de Grégoire, bien qu'il s'agisse dans un cas (19) de Grégoire de Nazianze, et dans l'autre (58) de Grégoire de Nysse, toujours dans l'hypothèse que B n'est pas l'ordre original. La lettre 295 exhorte des moines à la vie cénobitique. S. Basile leur annonce qu'il leur a envoyé son cher frère comme visiteur. L'auteur de l'ordre B entend évidemment Grégoire de Nysse. C'est pourquoi 295 figure dans cet ordre à la suite de 58. La lettre 16 n'est pas une lettre proprement dite, mais un fragment ou plutôt un chapitre du Xe livre de S. Grégoire de Nysse *Contra Eunom.* P. G. 45, col. 828 (cf. Fr. Diekamp dans *Theolog. Quartalschrift*, t. lxxvii, 1895, p. 277-285). On voit donc la raison de cette petite série, et pourquoi la série elle-même est rattachée à la lettre 19. Ajoutons que 295 et 16 se suivent d'assez près dans Aa. A la vérité, dans Aa, ces deux pièces ne forment pas un tout homogène avec celles qui les séparent, savoir: 238 (Νικοπολίταις πρεσβυτέροις), 73 (Καλλισθένι), 53 (πρὸς τοὺς ὑφ' ἐαυτὸν ἐπισκόπους ὥστε μὴ χειροτονεῖν ἐπὶ χρήμασι). Mais elles sont assez voisines pour que l'auteur de l'ordre B ait eu l'idée de les réunir, en admettant qu'il utilisât un exemplaire de l'ordre Aa. On ne voit pas, au contraire, pourquoi l'auteur de l'ordre Aa les aurait séparées par les numéros ci-dessus dans le cas inverse, et éloignées de 58.

B
259 Παλλαδίῳ καὶ Ἰννοκεντίῳ μονάζουσιν
226 τοῖς ἐφ' αὐτὸν ἀσκηταῖς

Aa
 νθ'
 ροζ'

Ces deux lettres ont subi l'attraction de **295** dans B, étant comme elle adressées à des moines.

B
102 τοῖς Σαταλεῦσι
302 τῇ ὁμοζύγῳ Βρίσωνος παραμυθητική
269 πρὸς τὴν ὁμόζυγον Ἀρινθαίου παραμυθητική

Aa
 ρμδ'
 ρπζ'
 ριβ'

La lettre **102** annonce aux habitants de Satala un évêque que S. Basile leur donne, qui lui est très cher ainsi qu'à sa mère, et choisi parmi ses parents. Nous ne voyons d'autre raison à la présence de la lettre **102** dans ces parages que le voisinage, encore non immédiat, de **58 295 16**. Plus haut c'était un frère, maintenant il s'agit d'un parent. C'est pourquoi **102** se trouve dans l'orbite des trois lettres précédentes. **302** et **269** se ressemblent par leur objet. On voit bien pourquoi B les donne ensemble, mais pourquoi les place-t-il ici? En général, du reste, l'ordre B, bien que plus cohérent que l'ordre Aa, demeure encore un ordre très rudimentaire. Nous l'avons constaté en le comparant à Bx. C'est pourquoi, à partir d'ici, nous allons surtout examiner les séries concordantes entre Bz et Aa, sans nous attarder à justifier dans le détail l'ordre Bz. Ce qui nous importe ce sont les rapports de l'ordre Bz avec l'ordre Aa.

Bz
247 τοῖς Νικοπολίταις πρεσβυτέροις
246 τοῖς αὐτοῖς
140 τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ Ἀντιοχείας
29¹ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ Ἀγκυρᾶς

Aa
 ξθ'
 ο'
 ε'
 οα'

Bz insère entre deux lettres de la suite Aa (**246** et **29**) la lettre **140**, consolation à l'église d'Antioche. Cette lettre est du même genre que les deux qui précèdent et que celle qui suit. Pour le reste concordance entre Bz et Aa.

Bz
139 τοῖς Ἀλεξανδρεῦσι
219 τῷ Σαμοσατέων κλήρῳ
82² Ἀθανασίῳ Ἀλεξανδρείας

Aa
 ρμβ'
 ξα'
 ρμγ'

Bz insère **219** entre **139** et **82**, parce que **219** est de même caractère que **139**, et à destinataire collectif.

¹ [These four letters are in Bo-Bu 31 32 39 45: Bz has therefore a point of contact with A, not shared by the other B families, in bringing **246** and **29** into close connexion with one another.]

² [Bo-Bu 56 61 57: i.e. they agree with Aa in not inserting **219** between **139** and **82**.]

Bz	Aa
156 Εὐαγρίῳ πρεσβυτέρῳ ὥστε τὴν εἰρήνην προσηκόντως γενέσθαι	ριέ
134 Παιονίῳ πρεσβυτέρῳ	ριγ'
224 Γενεθλίῳ πρεσβυτέρῳ	ρπα'
135 Διοδώρῳ πρεσβυτέρῳ	ρδ'
271 Εὐσεβίῳ ἑταίρῳ συστατικῇ ἐπὶ Κυριακῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ	ρσ'
123 Οὐρβικίῳ μονάζοντι	ρς'
262 ¹ πρὸς τὸν αὐτόν	ριζ'

Dans ce groupe il faut noter (1^o) que 224 ne fait pas partie de la série dans Aa : néanmoins Bz l'insère logiquement ici parmi des lettres adressées à des prêtres, (2^o) que l'ordre Aa est en partie interverti dans Bz. La lettre 156 suit dans Bz la lettre 59 (Γρηγορίῳ θείῳ), qui est une tentative de réconciliation avec Grégoire, oncle de S. Basile. La lettre 156 traite de la paix des églises. Quant à 271, c'est une simple lettre de recommandation pour un prêtre, du nom de Cyriaque. On saisit assez la raison des interventions, et l'on ne peut douter que ce ne soit Bz qui modifie Aa.

B (Bo-Bu 135, 136)	Aa
154 Ἀσχολίῳ μονάζοντι καὶ πρεσβυτέρῳ	ογ'
164 τῷ αὐτῷ	οδ'

Ces deux lettres font naturellement suite au groupe précédent. On comprend pourquoi elles sont adjointes à un groupe adressé à des prêtres ou à des moines. Bz nous apparaît toujours comme arrangeant l'ordre Aa. Mais on ne saisit pas pourquoi Bz insère entre le groupe précédent et les deux lettres à Urbicius la lettre 57 à Méléce, évêque d'Antioche. Encore une inconséquence dans Bz.

Bz	Aa
194 Ζωίλῳ	ρλδ'
212 ² Ἰλαρίῳ	ρλς'

Omission d'un numéro dans Bz. Concordance à cela près.

Bz (and Bo-Bu 145-151)	Aa
161 Ἀμφιλοχίῳ ἐπισκόπῳ Ἰκονίου (and so the whole section of seven letters)	σα'
176	σβ'
191	σιβ'
150	μη'
231	σγ'

¹ [Except that Bo-Bu agree with Bz and Aa in connecting 123 and 262 (see their 122, 123), the resemblance of order is in this section between Bz only and Aa. It is to be noted that these agreements in order between Bz and Aa against Bo (Bo-Bu) generally relate to letters that are found near the end of Aa.]

² [Again Bz agrees against Bo-Bu with Aa.]

202

σδ'

200

σε'

B complète la série amorcée dans Aa par l'insertion de deux numéros 191, qui se trouve un peu plus loin dans Aa que la majorité des numéros ci-dessus, et 150, située assez loin du groupe dans Aa.

Bz

Aa

292 Παλαδίῳ

σν'

159 Εὑπατερίῳ καὶ τῇ θυγατρὶ

σνα'

172 Σωφρονίῳ ἐπισκόπῳ

σνβ'

Concordance entre les deux ordres,¹ qui ne peut être une rencontre de hasard.

Bz

Aa

238 Νικοπολίταις πρεσβυτέροις

σνέ'

73 Καλλισθένει

σνς'

Concordance qui ne saurait non plus être un hasard, et qui se continue encore par le numéro 53² qui est σνζ dans Aa, séparé, il est vrai, des précédents dans Bz par 192 (qui est ξ' dans Aa).

Bz

Aa

136 Εὐσεβίῳ ἐπισκόπῳ Σαμοσάτων (and similarly for the six letters following)

ρμς'

30

θ'

162

ρμζ'

98

ρμη'

241

ρμθ'

138

ί'

27

ή'

182 τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις Σαμοσάτων

om.

31 Εὐσεβωνᾶ Σαμοσάτων

ιγ'

146 ἐτέρῳ Εὐσεβίῳ ἐπισκόπῳ

ιδ'

168 τῷ αὐτῷ

ιέ'

157 Ἀντιόχῳ πρεσβυτέρῳ

ις'

158 τῷ αὐτῷ

ιζ'

L'auteur de l'ordre Bz s'est préoccupé de réunir en une série unique deux groupes de lettres de l'ordre Aa, adressées soit à Eusèbe de Samosate, soit à diverses personnes vivant à Samosate dans l'entourage d'Eusèbe. Certes la liste des lettres à Eusèbe et à son entourage n'est pas complète dans cette série des manuscrits Bz. Il y manque 100 (71 dans Bz) 183 (208), cette dernière portant la suscription πολιτενομένοις Σαμοσάτων, 48 (114) 239 (qui ne se rencontre pas dans le Vat. 435)

¹ Not shared by Bo, which gives these letters as 244 144 290.]

² [Again an agreement between Bz and Aa not shared by Bo, which has the three letters as 33 204 97.]

127 (95) 95 (absente du Vat. 435) 141 (item) 198 (item) 237 (item)¹ 34 (107) 268 (108) 145 (109). Les manuscrits Bo-Bu compléteront la série. Mais si les manuscrits Bz restent à mi-chemin dans l'application du principe qui dans la plupart des familles a fait grouper ensemble toutes les lettres aux mêmes correspondants ou aux personnes de leur entourage, il n'en est pas moins vrai que Bz réalise sur Aa un progrès dans ce sens. Car il est infiniment probable que Bz remanie ici soit l'ordre Aa, soit un ordre très voisin de Aa. Il est vrai qu'il y a dans Bz, par rapport à Aa, quelques interversions dont on ne saisit pas la raison. Par exemple on ne voit pas pourquoi Bz intercale 30 entre 136 et 162, puisque cette suite ne lui était pas donnée dans Aa. De même Bz place 138 avant 27 sans raison apparente pour nous.² Mais, malgré ces modifications, on reconnaît la parenté des deux ordres dans la section étudiée ici, et l'on peut déduire de leur inspection l'antériorité de Aa ou d'un ordre voisin de Aa sur l'ordre Bz.

Bz	Aa
290 Νεκταρίω	σνθ'
91 Ουαλεριάνω επισκόπω Ἰλλυρίων	σξ'
240 Νικοπολίταις πρεσβυτέροις	σξα'
258 Ἐπιφανίω επισκόπω	σξδ'

Entre 240 et 258 se placent 45 et 103 dans Aa, lettres placées ailleurs dans Bz. Cette série se présente, à part ce détail, dans un ordre identique dans les deux familles. Rien n'imposait cet ordre à Bz, mais en revanche il n'y avait pas de raison urgente de le modifier si l'auteur de l'ordre Bz le trouvait tel dans le manuscrit qu'il utilisait. C'est pourquoi il l'a conservé. C'est sur de tels exemples qu'on peut s'appuyer pour conclure que l'ordre Bz est dérivé de l'ordre Aa, ou d'un ordre très voisin de l'ordre Aa.³ Nous en rencontrerons encore plusieurs.

Bz	Aa
32 Σωφρονίω μαγίστρω	ξέ'
26 Καισαρίω	ξδ'
229 πρὸς τοὺς κληρικοὺς Νικοπόλεως	ξζ'
230 πολιτευομένοις τῆς αὐτῆς	ξη'

¹ Ces quatre dernières lettres figurent dans le supplément fourni par le Berolienensis 23.

² [The immediate reason of the order of Bz for items 136 30 162 98 241 138 27 182 is that these letters find themselves in the same order in Bo-Bu, 68-75; just as its order for the following five items is explained by their occurrence in the same order in Aa. In other words the conflate character of Bz comes out well in this section, where it agrees in turn with Bo-Bu and with Aa. I do not doubt that in both cases the relation is one of dependence on the part of Bz.]

³ [In this section Bz shows no contact with Bo. Letters which occur so late in Aa as σνθ'-σξδ' will, if found at all in Bo, be found independently. But Bz must have exploited Aa pretty well as it now stands.]

Il faut noter que dans Bz 32 est précédée de 177 (Σωφρονίῳ μαγίστρω qui est ρδ dans Aa) et 178 (Ἀβουργίῳ = ςθ' dans Aa). L'auteur de l'ordre Bz a voulu rapprocher autant que possible l'une de l'autre deux lettres adressées à Sophronios, maître des offices, en conséquence de quoi il a interverti, dans la série ci-dessus, l'ordre de Aa qui était 26 32. Mais alors pourquoi rencontrons-nous 178 entre 177 et 32? Il semblait logique d'unir sans enclave 177 et 32. Cependant une autre considération a prévalu. La lettre 177 recommande à Sophronios la cause d'Eusèbe calomnié. La lettre 178 recommande le même Eusèbe à Aburgios, par où l'on voit que Bz s'est constitué en vue de classer les lettres non seulement d'après leurs adresses, mais aussi d'après leur objet, et que parfois il y a conflit entre les deux critères. L'interversion ci-dessus ne peut donc infirmer ce qui a été dit sur la dépendance de Bz par rapport à Aa.¹

Bz	Aa
189 Εὐσταθίῳ ἀρχιάτρῳ	σιγ'
71 Γρηγορίῳ ἑταίρῳ	om. ²
349 (Suite de la correspondance de S. Basile avec Libanios, 347-354).	σιδ'
350	σιε'
351	σις'
352	σιζ'
353	σιή'
354	σιθ'
347	σκα'
348	σκβ'
86 τῷ ἡγεμόνι	σκη'
183 πολιτευομένοις Σαμοσάτων	σλ'
119 Εὐσταθίῳ ἐπισκόπῳ	ρξγ'
72 Ἰουλίῳ	σλέ'
225 Δημοσθένει	σλς'
263 τοῖς δυτικοῖς (+ οὐκ ἀπεστάλη δέ dans Bz)	σλζ'
25 Ἀθανασίῳ ἐπισκόπῳ Ἀγκυρᾶς (+ πρεσβύτερος ὢν dans Bz)	σμ'

Noter dans la liste ci-dessus : (1°) Le cas de la lettre 71 dans Aa. (2°) L'absence dans cette série prise dans Bz de la lettre 355, donnée par Aa à la suite de 354 sous le numéro σκ', et qui manque totalement dans Bz. Quant à 356, que quelques mss Aa donnent à la suite de 355 (voir

¹ [Comparison with Bo throws new light on the points here discussed : for Bo makes the two Sophronius letters, 177 and 32, follow one another without interval (288 289) as well as the two letters to Nicopolis, 229 and 230 (35 36). Thus Bz took from Bo the sequence 177 32 (but disturbed it by the insertion of 178 in between the two), and from Aa the sequence 32 26 229.]

² Inter epp. Gregorii Naz., λζ' dans le Mediceus LVII. 7 (L).

vol. xxi p. 296), elle figure dans Bz sous le numéro ρλς', faisant corps avec une autre série de la correspondance Basile-Libanius, d'où l'on peut conclure que 355 manquait dans l'ancêtre de Bz, à moins qu'il n'y ait là une omission involontaire. Ce même ancêtre contenait au contraire 356, mais sans doute dans un autre ensemble que celui que nous étudions. (3°) A part certains numéros de Aa que Bz a déjà insérés ailleurs, le parallélisme très remarquable des deux ordres. Seule la présence dans ce groupe de 119 fait difficulté, car rien ne semblait devoir l'y attirer. Il est vrai qu'elle n'est pas mieux placée dans Aa, de sorte que Bz, ayant omis par oubli de la rattacher au groupe Eustathe, la place ici pour la simple raison qu'il fallait la mettre quelque part. Bz n'est pas un ordre tellement conséquent qu'une telle explication soit absolument exclue.¹

A partir de 25 (σμ' dans Aa) mise avant 242 (σλθ' dans Aa), notre colonne Aa contient surtout les *om.* Il semble que l'ancêtre de Bz devait constituer un exemplaire plus complet que nos manuscrits Aa. Entre 25 exclu et 121 exclu, Bz donne 36 lettres dont cinq seulement se retrouvent dans Aa, toutes dans les mêmes parages, et avec une suite très voisine de celle où Bz les donne ; 126 et 24 sont interverties dans Bz, ces deux lettres étant σλγ' σλβ' dans Aa.

Bz	Aa
121 Θεοδότῃ ἐπισκόπῳ Νικοπόλεως Ἀρμενίας μικρᾶς	πς'
254 Πελαγίῳ ἐπισκόπῳ Λαοδικείας Συρίας	πζ'
122 Ποιμενίῳ ἐπισκόπῳ Σατάλων	πθ'
255 Βίτῳ ἐπισκόπῳ Καρρῶν	ς'
184 Εὐσταθίῳ ἐπισκόπῳ Ἰμμερίας	ςα'
185 Θεοδότῃ ἐπισκόπῳ Βεροίας	ςβ'
132 Ἀβραμίῳ ἐπισκόπῳ Βατνῶν	ςγ'
181 Ὀτρείῳ ἐπισκόπῳ Μελιτήνης	ςδ'
253 τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις Ἀντιοχείας	ςε'
256 τοῖς . . . ἀδελφοῖς . . . Ἀκακίῳ Ἀετίῳ . . . etc.	ςς'

Nous nous dispenserons de commenter cet exemple. La concordance est absolue, elle ne peut s'expliquer par une rencontre de hasard. Il s'agit ici de correspondants différents, de sujets différents. Rien ne saurait rendre compte de l'accord des deux familles que leur dépendance d'une source commune donnant l'ordre ci-dessus. Étant donnés les exemples discutés jusqu'ici, nous croyons que cette source devait être identique à la famille Aa, ou du moins très voisine de cette famille.²

¹ [For this series of seventeen letters Bz obviously depends, as M. Bessières says, on Aa. The series in Bo shows certain points of contact (349-354 = 167-172 : 347 348 = 182, 183 : 72 225 = 207, 208), but nothing like the continuous relationship that exists between Bz and Aa. As so often where this relationship is found, it is a case of letters that occur very late in the Aa order.]

² [In this section of ten letters an occasional parallelism can be found in Bo. But the Bz order here clearly depends as a whole on that of Aa, not on that of Bo.]

Bz	Aa
186 Ἀντιπάτρῳ ἡγεμόνι	ρλ'
329 Φαλερίῳ	ρλγ'
208 Εὐλαγίῳ	ςζ'
196 Ἀβουργίῳ	ςη'
208 196 font suite dans Aa à la série précédente (255 184 185 132 181 253 256) dont Bz les sépare. ¹	

Bz (Bo-Bu 81-84)	Aa
95 Εὐσεβίῳ ἐπισκόπῳ Σαμοσάτων	ρςς'
141 τῷ αὐτῷ Εὐσεβίῳ	ρςζ'
198 τῷ αὐτῷ Εὐσεβίῳ	ρςη'
237 τῷ αὐτῷ Εὐσεβίῳ	ρςθ'

Supplément à la série adressée à Eusèbe de Samosate étudiée plus haut (p. 125). Ici l'accord des deux familles est complet.²

Bz	Aa
85 περὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν ὀρκοῦν	σκδ'
284 περὶ μοναζόντων τῷ Κηνσιτόρι	σκε'

Accord des deux familles. Encore deux lettres dont la réunion ne saurait s'expliquer sans recourir à un ancêtre commun aux deux familles.³

Bz	Aa
294 Φήσῳ καὶ Μάγνῳ	σμβ'
257 πρὸς τοὺς μονάζοντας καταπονηθέντας ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀρειανῶν	νζ'
233 Ἀμφιλοχίῳ ἐπισκόπῳ ἐρωτήσαντι	σμέδ'
234 τῷ αὐτῷ πρὸς ἄλλο ἐρώτημα	σμέ'
235 τῷ αὐτῷ πρὸς ἄλλο ἐρώτημα	σμς'
153 Βίκτορι ἀπὸ ὑπάτων	σπ.
13 Εὐσεβίῳ ἐπισκόπῳ Σαμοσάτων	ρπέ'
264 Βάρσῳ ἐπισκόπῳ Ἐδέσσης	σςζ'
267 τῷ αὐτῷ Βάρσῳ	σςη'
223 Χαλκιδεῦσι	σςθ'
221 Βεροιαίοις	σό'
220 τοῖς αὐτοῖς	σοα'
89 Μελετίῳ ἐπισκόπῳ	σοβ'
124 Θεοδώρῳ	σογ'

Ici la liste Bz suit l'ordre Aa avec quelques numéros pris ailleurs et intercalés dans cette suite, ou quelques omissions.⁴

¹ [The explanation of the insertion at least of 329 at this particular point is that 208 is followed by 329 in Bz's other source, Bo (224 225).]

² [But as Bo and Aa agree in the order of these four letters, we cannot so far tell on which of his two sources Bz was here drawing.]

³ [Bz again draws on the later material of Aa.]

⁴ [Here the Bo order throws no light on the variations of Bz from Aa.]

Il résulte de cette longue comparaison entre Aa et Bz que les deux ordres ne sont pas indépendants, mais qu'ils sont unis par un lieu de parenté assez étroit. La question d'antériorité a été résolue en faveur de Aa. Est-ce à dire qu'il y a filiation de l'un à l'autre, et que Bz est issu directement de Aa par remaniement? On peut l'admettre avec grande vraisemblance, bien qu'on n'en puisse fournir une preuve sans réplique. En tout cas on sera bien près de la vérité en disant que l'archétype auquel se rattache Bz a dû confondre en grande partie son ordre avec l'archétype de Aa s'il ne lui était pas absolument identique. Seulement Bz s'est complété par des pièces qu'ignore Aa. Nous croyons donc que l'archétype de Bz a dû être un manuscrit du type Aa, mais plus complet que les manuscrits qui composent actuellement cette famille.

Nous avons déjà fait pressentir ces conclusions en parlant de l'ordre Aa, qui nous était apparu comme quelque chose de primitif, qui s'est constitué, pour ainsi dire, automatiquement, sans plan préconçu, de manière à reproduire les caprices du récolement. Sans doute Bz est loin encore de la logique, mais on y saisit des velléités, des tendances de classement, qui supposent un copiste travaillant sur un corpus déjà constitué. Il se peut que pour le texte des lettres Bz se montre aussi conservateur que Aa; mais, en ce qui concerne leur disposition, il représente certainement un état moins archaïque que Aa.

§ III. Le papyrus de Berlin et la famille Aa.

Au surplus nous retrouvons Aa comme base du papyrus de Berlin dont il nous reste à dire quelques mots.

Ce papyrus (Mappe 154^b der Aegyptischen Abteilung) a été découvert dans le Fayoum et acquis en 1879. Il a été édité une première fois par Hugo Landwehr dans le *Philologus* tome 43 pp. 110 et suiv. avec un fac-similé. Cf. Blass *Zeitschrift für Aegyptische Sprache* 1880 p. 34 et suiv. Réédité par Carl Schmidt et W. Schubart dans *Berliner Klassiker-Texte: Altchristliche Texte* en 1910.¹ C'est cette dernière publication qu'il faut surtout consulter, car certaines erreurs de Landwehr s'y trouvent rectifiées.

Il reste 3 feuilles doubles, en partie détachées, d'un codex en papyrus dont le format était vraisemblablement de 22 x 15,5 cm.

Les feuillets étaient rangés comme suit: l'une des feuilles doubles (pages 5, 6, 7, 8) était comprise dans une seconde formée des pages 3, 4, 9, 10; les pages 1, 2, 11, 12, détachées, entouraient les deux feuilles doubles.

¹ 1 vol. in 4°; Berlin, Weidmann: pp. 21-37. [In that edition the papyrus is cited as P. 6795.]

Le papyrus est de médiocre qualité. L'écriture n'est point belle, elle penche légèrement à gauche. Elle se dénonce comme étant du ^{ve} siècle, ainsi que Landwehr l'a reconnu et prouvé contre Blass, qui pour des raisons tout extérieures datait ce papyrus du ^{vii}e siècle.

Le nombre des lettres dans la ligne est inégal. La moyenne est de 27 à 30. La page comportait une moyenne de 27 lignes. L'écriture est brunâtre; les signes, accents, esprits sont d'une main postérieure. La paragraphos sépare les extraits. L'orthographe est correcte.

Les extraits sont divisés en chapitres, dont le début est indiqué chaque fois à la marge gauche par la paragraphos accompagnée du mot βασιλ[είου], d'où l'on peut induire que cette anthologie contenait des extraits d'autres auteurs.

Nous distinguons six chapitres formés d'une dizaine d'extraits différents. Pour le détail, voir Schmidt et Schubart au vol. ci-dessus indiqué, pp. 34, 35.

Les extraits sont tirés des epp. 5 6 293 150 2. Or il est possible avec cette liste de retrouver l'ordre original que l'auteur avait sous les yeux. Cet ordre était, croyons-nous, celui de notre famille Aa.

En effet, la place qu'occupent ces lettres dans Aa est la suivante (d'après le Patm. 57): 20. 21. 47. 48. 3. Les quatre premières lettres de cette liste viennent dans Aa de telle façon que l'auteur de l'anthologie berlinoise cueillait ses extraits en feuilletant un exemplaire où les lettres lui étaient offertes dans la suite où Aa nous les donne. Reste la question de la lettre 2, qui dérange cette suite. Nous n'attachons pas grande importance à cette variante d'ordre. En effet, ce recueil de centons est divisé en chapitres; l'auteur ordonne ses extraits. Or la lettre 2, à S. Grégoire de Nazianze sur la vie solitaire, donne une suite excellente aux extraits des lettres 293 et 150. Ce sont, pour ainsi dire, des variations sur un même thème. En particulier les extraits de la lettre 2 s'adaptent bien à l'extrait tiré de la lettre 150. 'Ensuite de purifier l'œil de l'âme, afin de pouvoir, ayant une fois fait disparaître comme une chassie les ténèbres produites par l'ignorance, fixer son regard sur la beauté de la gloire de Dieu, j'estime que ce n'est pas une petite affaire, ni d'une médiocre utilité' (éd. Bénéd. III 239 DE: P. G. 32 col. 601 B C). Quel est le moyen d'aboutir à un tel résultat? La retraite et la vie solitaire, par où sont amorcés les extraits de l'ép. 2 κατέλυτον τὰς ἐν ἁστέι διατριβὰς . . . et la suite (III 71 A: P. G. 32 col. 224 A). L'auteur de l'anthologie berlinoise agence ici son auteur, en sorte que la variante d'ordre qu'il nous présente avec Aa ne semble pas être de nature à infirmer nos conclusions. Ce qu'il y a de plus caractéristique dans cette suite que nous présente le papyrus de Berlin, c'est le voisinage immédiat des fragments extraits de 293 et 150, voisinage attestant que ces deux lettres se trouvaient relativement rapprochés dans le ms.

que l'auteur de l'anthologie avait sous les yeux. Or 293 et 159 se suivent immédiatement dans Aa. Les autres familles ont séparé ces deux lettres en leur assignant des places telles qu'on n'imagine pas l'auteur de l'anthologie passant de l'une à l'autre s'il avait eu sous les yeux un exemplaire des dites familles. En conséquence son recueil d'extraits suppose l'ordre Aa.

Est-ce à dire que nos mss. Aa représentent exactement l'état du corpus primitif? Il serait excessif de le prétendre, en s'appuyant sur l'anthologie de Berlin. Il est assez probable qu'un premier noyau de lettres assez étendu a amorcé cet ordre dès l'origine, et a été complété ultérieurement par l'adjonction d'autres paquets de provenances diverses, sans plan méthodique, et au petit bonheur. En examinant la suite des lettres dans Aa on aboutit à cette conclusion que Aa précède dans le temps les autres familles. Car on ne conçoit pas le désordre sortant de l'ordre, ni l'incohérence postérieure à la systématisation, tandis que l'inverse s'impose naturellement à l'esprit. Le papyrus de Berlin tranche la question et transforme l'hypothèse en certitude.

Nous allons maintenant examiner quelques-unes des variantes significatives fournies par le papyrus de Berlin, en les comparant aux leçons des manuscrits telles qu'elles ont été relevées dans l'apparat de l'édition bénédictine. Pour plus de détails nous renvoyons à l'apparat minutieux de C. Schmidt et W. Schubart. Beaucoup de variantes sont sans portée (fautes d'orthographe, substitutions de particules, de préfixes, omissions d'articles, synonymies isolées) ; nous les négligeons ici.

Les leçons du papyrus de Berlin.

MSS de Garnier et Maran¹ (édition Bénédictine : Migne *P. G.* 32)

[famille Aa]	Vatic. 434 Paris. 334 S.
[famille Ab]	Paris. 506 = Regius (N)
[famille Ac]	Paris. 1021 S. = Coislinianus recentior
[famille Bo]	Coislin. 237 (C) Mediceus iv 14 (F)
[famille Bu]	Paris. 971 = Regius
[famille Bx]	Paris. 1020 S. = Harlaeanus

Nous négligeons les mss de Combefis, qui ne sont pas spécifiés, et dont nous n'avons pas tenté l'identification.

Ep. 5 (éd. Bén. III 78 A C : Migne 240 C, 241 A)

τίθησιν : om pap. cum Aa Ac : 'deest in tribus codicibus, nec necessarium est.'

¹ Voir vol. xxi p. 19 *supra*, et la liste des manuscrits *ib.* pp. 21, 22.

οὐδὲ πολὺς . . . ὑποδέξεται τέλος (trente-quatre mots) : om pap. cum Aa Ab Ac Bu : 'deest tota haec verborum complexio in Vat. et Coisl. recentiore et in duobus Regiis.'

Ep. 6 (éd. Bén. III 79 D : Migne 243 B)

ἀνθρωπίνῃ ζωῇ pap. cum Aa Ab Ac : ἀνθρωπίνης ζωῆς Bo Bx.

Ep. 293 (éd. Bén. III 432 A : Migne 1036 B)

συμπορευσομένην pap. : συμπορευομένην 'editi' d'après Aa et Ab : ἐμπορευομένην éd. Bén. 'sic Coisl. primus et Harl.' : ἐμπολιτευομένην Mediceus (F)

Ep. 2 (éd. Bén. III 71 C D, 72 A : Migne 224 C, 225 A B C)

πυκνά : om pap. cum Bo Bx.

τῷ ὁρατῷ pap. cum Bo ('mox tres codices τῷ ὁρατῷ') : τῷ ὀρωμένῳ éd. Bén.

κατεργγέμενον pap. ('das Ursprüngliche' Schmidt et Schubart) : συγκατεργγέμενον 'alii codices' : κατεργασμένον un ms de Combesis : κατεληγμένον éd. Bén. cum Bo : συγκατεληγμένον Ab 'nonnulli codices'.

παραλαβοῦσαι pap. cum edd. pr. : παραλαμβάνουσαι éd. Bén. cum Coisl. Vat.

δρασμός pap. cum Ab Bu Bx : χωρισμός edd. cum Coisl. et F² (Bo ?)

καταψυχθέντα pap. cum 3 codd. Combesianis et Harl.² : καταψυχθέντα Coisl.² καταψυχθέντα éd. Bén.

On voit par ces quelques exemples, les seuls significatifs, que le papyrus de Berlin confirme presque toujours, ou du moins explique, les leçons de l'embranchement A et des plus anciennes familles de B (Bu et Bx). Dans un seul cas il est d'accord avec Bo, à savoir dans celui de la leçon τῷ ὁρατῷ au lieu de τῷ ὀρωμένῳ. Encore notre appareil est-il trop indigent dans cet exemple. La leçon δρασμός est instructive relativement au Mediceus iv 14 (F). Ce ms. sert de trait d'union entre Bu qui donne la leçon ancienne et Bo qui lui substitue la variante χωρισμός enregistrée en marge dans F. Notre appareil de la lettre 46 nous conduira à la même conclusion relativement à la place de F. D'une façon générale le papyrus de Berlin étaie nos inductions antérieures touchant la généalogie des familles. Il nous reste à exposer notre dernier argument, celui des variantes, tel qu'il ressortira de la comparaison des 'lectiones variae' de la lettre 46 ad Virginem lapsam.

M. BESSIÈRES.

[The whole will be concluded in one further instalment. C.H.T.]

MARCION, PAPIAS, AND 'THE ELDERS'.

THE scholarly world will receive with exceptional interest Dr Harnack's latest contribution to the series of *Texte und Untersuchungen* (xlv, 1921). In this monograph on Marcion¹ the veteran Church historian returns to the field of his earliest studies; for to Dr Harnack, as the sub-title informs us, the study of Marcion is but an approach to that of 'the Founding of the Catholic Church'. Like other critics and historians Dr Harnack perceived from the outset the strategic position occupied by the great heretic. He adds materially to the careful work of Zahn by a new reconstruction of Marcion's text of Luke and the ten greater Epistles of Paul, and makes us much more largely his debtors by collecting the remains of the *Antitheses* in which Marcion defended his critical work. The reconstructions form the nucleus of a volume of some 650 pages octavo, and far surpass all material till now available. The chief service of the book will be its aid in enabling us to understand the work of the man upon whom the Church in the second century looked as in the sixteenth Rome looked upon Luther. If we limit ourselves for the present to the contrasted figures of Marcion and Papias it is not that we fail to appreciate Dr Harnack's guidance in other parts of the field, but that we think there is danger at this point lest the student be led astray. The present article, accordingly, is offered not so much in valuation of a work whose authorship alone is sufficient guarantee, as in the interest of caution against a certain too hasty inference of the distinguished Church historian, the adoption of which would seriously affect the issue in other important fields.

At Rome, about A. D. 140, Marcion rose up in defence of the Pauline principle of redemption by grace from the dominion of the law, resisting the tendency of the Church in his time towards neo-legalism. This Protestant revolt of the second century conducted by one born and bred a Christian in Pontus, a part of the great mission-field of Paul, led to a consolidation of the Church at large as against Gnostic and other forms of heresy, and thus gave rise to 'catholic' unity. To appreciate the immense sweep of the new movement, and the force of its reaction upon the expanding Church striving to perfect its still unformed institutions, is to gain new insight into fundamental problems of Church history, in particular the developement of the canon of the New Testament. For Marcion not only laid the foundations of a New Testament canon by giving to his own churches a Sacred Scripture of 'Gospel' and 'Apostle' to replace the inherited Bible of the Jews, but he com-

¹ *Marcion: Das Evangelium vom fremden Gott*. Eine Monographie zur Geschichte der Grundlegung der Katholischen Kirche. Von Adolf von Harnack (*Texte und Untersuchungen* vol. xlv), Leipzig, Hinrichsche Buchhandlung, 1921.

pelled his orthodox opponents to corresponding activity, forcing them first of all to distinguish between such Christian writings as might or might not be publicly read in the churches, and finally driving them by his accusations of falsification, and his efforts at textual and higher criticism, crude as they were, to anxious and diligent enquiry into the derivation of their traditionally received teaching.

Thus began, in A. D. 144, the period of systematic authentication of the apostolic tradition. A Greek and Pauline type of faith came into sharpest conflict with the Jewish strain inherited by 'catholic' doctrine in the two fields of ethics and eschatology. Polycarp (A. D. 112-115) accuses the Gnostics of (1) 'perverting the precepts of the Lord [λόγια τοῦ κυρίου] to their own lusts', and (2) 'denying the (bodily) resurrection and the judgement'. Marcion retaliated for what he considered (not without reason) a reaction towards Judaism from the teachings of Paul, and accused the older Apostles and their followers of having falsified the gospel. He based the charge on Paul's opposition in the Epistles to Peter and the Judaizers, and elaborated it in detail in his attempted expurgation of the ten major Epistles and of the Gospel of Luke. Papias came to the rescue, undertaking to vindicate the Church's teaching by tracing it back to the personal followers of Jesus. His enquiries into the origin and meaning of the Gospel tradition, written and unwritten, are of vital importance to all subsequent ages, for without them the Church would be relatively helpless before the onslaught of sceptics.

Irenaeus, who had in his hands the work of Papias, reports it as his only writing, and as consisting of the favourite number of five 'books' (or, as moderns would call them, 'chapters') of *Exegesis* (or *Exegeses*) of the Precepts of the Lord. Papias maintained that these 'commandments delivered by the Lord to the faith' in contrast with the 'alien commandments' of the false teachers had been 'compiled' (συνεγράψατο), or 'collected' (συνεράξατο), by the Apostle Matthew. He used also as a quasi-apostolic written source, trustworthy so far as it went, the *Reminiscences of the Preaching of Peter*, which a tradition authoritatively vouched for attributed then as now to Mark the companion of Paul, who in earlier times had been an 'interpreter' of Peter. For the correct interpretation of these precepts Papias 'subjoined' traditions of 'the Elders' gathered by himself at first or second hand, reporting words of the personal disciples of the Lord.

Papias was also deeply concerned to defend the Chiliastic eschatology of the Church; for Chiliasm was at that time still the orthodox view. He insisted upon the 'trustworthiness' (τὸ ἀξιόπιστον) of the Apocalypse of John, in which the dwelling of the saints a thousand years with the Lord in Jerusalem is predicted, and as Eusebius (who disliked his work

for this reason) tells us, carried with him 'many of the Church fathers such as Irenaeus, who imbibed this doctrine'. Matthew and John were therefore Papias's two written apostolic authorities against the two types of heresy; and these two names appropriately conclude his list of Apostles for whose utterances he had enquired.¹ He could also appeal to the testimony of Peter directly through First Peter which he seems to have quoted as from the Apostle, and indirectly through Mark. We have no evidence that Papias made any use of Paul, nor of the Lukan writings, though he can hardly have been ignorant of the Third Gospel, to which Marcion appealed. He also 'used testimonies' from First John, and there is good reason to suppose that he had read the Fourth Gospel, which certainly circulated in some form in Asia by this time. But the only ground for supposing that he ascribed either of these writings to the Apostle whose name they now bear is the statement of a late and legendary Latin prologue to the Fourth Gospel which earlier defenders of the tradition of Johannine authorship hesitated to adduce in its behalf, but Dr Harnack now brings into a position of critical importance by resting upon it the whole weight of his theory of an encounter between Marcion and 'the Elders of Asia' in the period of Papias's enquiries. On both accounts the question of the Latin prologue assumes now a new importance.

1. It is mainly as a defender of the apostolic tradition of the meaning of 'the commandments delivered by the Lord to the faith' as against antinomian laxity that Papias comes into consideration in connexion with Marcion. In his preface (προόμιον) he explained that he was in a position to vouch for their authenticity (διαβεβαιούμενος ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀλήθειαν) because in his earlier years (ποτέ) he had had access (at least indirectly) to a tradition not only received in unbroken succession (ζῶσα) from the Apostles, and probably in the original language, but even still 'abiding' (μένονσα) in its original home until the scattering of the mother-church at Jerusalem in A. D. 135; for Papias's enquiries were made long before the date of his book, possibly at first in Palestine itself, in the famous group of 'Elders and disciples of the Apostles' at Jerusalem. He had 'carefully stored up in memory' what he then heard, adding to it what he could subsequently learn from travellers who 'came his way' after enjoying similar privileges. In particular he 'used to enquire what was being said by Aristion and the Elder John', the members of the celebrated group who still survived at the time when these supplementary enquiries were being made.

¹ Lightfoot (*Essays on Supernatural Religion* p. 193) accounts for the placing of these names by the theory that 'as Evangelists the names of John and Matthew would naturally be connected', holding that 'on any other hypothesis it is difficult to account for this juxtaposition'. On this see the sequel.

The date of this defence by Papias of the Apostolic tradition, on which, or on the oral sources of which, all subsequent defenders of the authenticity of the Gospels depend, is unfortunately difficult to determine with exactitude; but the surest indication is still that of Lightfoot, who pointed out its relation to Marcion, Basilides, and other challengers and perverters of the Church's tradition and interpretation of the gospel 'commandment'. For defence presupposes attack. The *Exeges* must therefore be dated, if written to meet this challenge, some ten years or more after the scattering of the Church of 'the Elders and disciples of the Lord'. Harnack adopts, in fact, as the limits of date for its publication 145-160. Most scholars incline, however, to the earlier rather than the later limit, or even date it before the scattering of the Church in Jerusalem. Marcion's attack can be dated with considerable exactitude as taking place at Rome in 144, while Basilides's twenty-four books of *Exegetica*, based like Marcion's 'Gospel' on the Gospel of Luke, appeared at Alexandria about the same date, or perhaps slightly earlier.

It is a matter of prime importance for the history of the formation of the New Testament, and particularly of the Four-Gospel canon, to determine what relations, if any, subsisted between Marcion and the Churches of Asia, represented in his time by the outstanding figures of the venerable Polycarp of Smyrna and the much younger Papias of Hierapolis. To Harnack more than to others the question is vital because of his conviction that we owe both collections to the great metropolitan Church of the Pauline mission field, the Church of Ephesus. Moreover, since he identifies the body of 'the Elders' who constitute Papias's authority with those of the Churches of *Asia*, and in particular follows Eusebius in making 'the Elder John' an *Ephesian*, evidence from any source that Marcion actually visited Ephesus and came in contact with these 'Elders' would be to him most welcome. Of such hostile contact at *Rome*, where the aged Polycarp met the arch-heretic about A. D. 154, we have the concurrent evidence of many witnesses. But Harnack believes that he has found evidence of an earlier encounter. He maintains that the very structure of the sentence of Irenaeus, who first relates the encounter at Rome, indicates that its real scene was not Rome, but Ephesus, and that the statement ascribed to 'Papias' in the Latin Prologue of which we have spoken confirms this indication. Irenaeus's words are as follows:—

'Coming to Rome in the time of Anicetus he (Polycarp) caused many to turn from the aforesaid heretics (Valentinus and Marcion) to the Church of God, proclaiming that he had received this one and sole truth from the Apostles, namely that which has been handed down by the Church. [There are those also who have heard from him how John the

disciple of the Lord, going to bathe at Ephesus, and seeing Cerinthus within, rushed out of the bath-house without bathing, exclaiming, "Let us fly, lest even the bath-house collapse since Cerinthus, the enemy of the truth, is within".] And Polycarp himself replied to Marcion when he once met him and said "Dost thou recognize us (Marcionites)?" "Yes (said Polycarp), I recognize thee—as the first-born of Satan".¹

The interjected anecdote about John and Cerinthus is clearly an interruption, as we have indicated by the use of [.]. Harnack justly refuses to acknowledge it as part of the 'excellent Roman source' to which he refers the context. For not only does Irenaeus himself suggest its derivation from mere floating tradition by the introductory words: 'There are those also who have heard', but it is also related elsewhere as an encounter of Polycarp himself with Ebion, mythical founder of the sect of 'Ebionites', and in somewhat different form in Talmudic literature as an encounter of three rabbis of this same period with a *min* (Christian) in the public bath of Tiberias.² In reporting (from his source) the denunciatory outbreak of Polycarp (champion of 'the tradition handed down', *Ep. ad Phil.* vii) against Marcion, applying to the arch-heretic the term which he had borrowed from 1 John ii 22, iv 6, in an earlier warning (*Ep. ad Phil.* vii 1), Irenaeus is reminded of the anecdote about John and Cerinthus and interjects it, perhaps somewhat awkwardly. According to Harnack the mere fact that the story of Polycarp's encounter with the heretics and their leader is thus interrupted 'seems to exclude the idea' that in the case of Marcion it took place in Rome. The reasoning is difficult to follow. The 'excellent Roman source' may possibly end at the point where the two parallel anecdotes are introduced, but the second anecdote, which relates Polycarp's encounter with Marcion, is nothing more nor less than an adaptation from the well-known Epistle (*ad Phil.* vii 1), if indeed we do not extend the same verdict to the preceding context about restoring perverts by testifying to the truth received from the Apostles (cf. *ad Phil.* vii 2). Irenaeus himself indicates the really ultimate source by referring a few lines farther on to the 'very powerful Epistle of Polycarp written to the Philippians' as confirming his statements.³ But whatever the source, or the relation to it of the interjected anecdote about

¹ *Adv. Haereses* iii 3. 4.

² J. Sanh. 25 d. In the Talmudic story the rabbis encounter the *min* in the bath, who utters a spell causing the roof to fall in. The rabbis are thus made prisoners. But a more potent spell on their part releases them, while the *min* applying his enchantments to the sea is involved in the fate of Pharaoh, who sought to pursue Israel in this manner.

³ The violence of utterance and gesture recalls Irenaeus's own description of Polycarp's action under similar circumstances (*Ep. ad Florin.*, Eusebius *Historia* v 20). At least the impression made upon the lad was 'very powerful'.

John and Cerinthus, the mere fact that the encounter between John and Cerinthus takes place in another locality gives no warrant whatever for transferring the scene of what occurs between Marcion and Polycarp from 'Rome in the time of Anicetus', whether to 'Ephesus' or to Smyrna.

The theory of a preliminary encounter of Marcion with the Elders of Asia is therefore left solely dependent on the alleged evidence from Papias. It remains for us to enquire whether the proffered accession to our knowledge of this prime defender of Gospel tradition is in fact reliable and authentic, or whether it only deserves the designation applied by Harnack¹ to something for which his opponent Zahn asked similar acceptance some twenty years ago—the designation 'Pseudo-Papianisches'.

The alleged witness from Papias consists of the second paragraph (β) of a prologue, or argumentum, prefixed to the Gospel of John in three Latin manuscripts, of which two, Codex Toletanus (Tol.), and Codex Reginae Suetiae (Reg.), a Vatican manuscript of the ninth century, are edited by Wordsworth and White.² Unfortunately the text of Reg. is merely transcribed from Thomasius, but a more careful transcription, which collates that of Pitra, will be found in Zahn.³ The third form of the text, closely coinciding with Reg., was published by Corssen in 1896 from a Stuttgart codex (Stuttg.) in *Texte und Untersuchungen* xv 1-138.

Tol. has much the latest and most corrupt form of the text. This relatively late Spanish manuscript combines three of the four known forms of prologues to the Fourth Gospel, only the 'Augustinian' (an extract from Augustine's *De Consensu Evangeliorum* i 4) being absent. Under the title 'Incipit Praefatio sc̃i evangelii sc̃um Iohannem' it presents first the common, or 'Marcionite'. After this follows another headed 'Incipit Prologus Secundus'. The first two-thirds of this (Tol. 2a) is the same extract from Jerome's *De Viris Illustribus* ix used as a prologue in three other Latin codices (H © Benedictus). We may therefore call it the 'Hieronymian'. The last third of the Prologus Secundus of Tol. (Tol. 2b) is a supplement consisting of two paragraphs which in Reg. and Stuttg. form a separate prologue. This fourth prologue is attached by the scribe of Tol. without break to the Hieronymian by means of a simple 'Hoc igitur'. We may call it the 'Anti-Marcionite' or 'Vaticanus' prologue. In Tol. its text is unfortunately corrupted by the scribe's effort to supplement and improve from the two argumenta he had already copied out.

The material which thus appears as an actual Prologus in Reg. and

¹ *Zeitschrift für neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* iii (1902), pp. 159 ff.

² *Novum Testamentum Latine* i fasc. 4, p. 491.

³ *Kanongeschichte* i p. 898.

Stuttg. and as the scribe's supplement to the Hieronymian prologue in Tol. consists of two paragraphs, only one of which (par. *a*) contains anything attributed to Papias; but Harnack considers it reasonable to believe that par. *β* also, which relates an encounter between Marcion and the Apostle John (!), was also drawn from the same writer, though he of course finds it necessary to alter the text to a form which would not involve the glaring anachronism. We here reproduce Tol. 2b side by side with Stuttg.-Reg., marking its omissions by *, its insertions by (), and its variants by italics. The variants of Reg. from Stuttg. are enclosed in [].

Stuttg. (Reg.)

Evangelium Iohannis manifestatum (Reg. *add.* et datum) est ecclesiis ab Iohanne adhuc in corpore constituto, sicut Papias nomine Hieropolitanus discipulus Iohannis carus in exotericis id est in extremis quinque libris retulit. Descripsit vero evangelium dictante Iohanne.

Recte verum Marcion (Reg. Martion) haereticus cum ab eo esset (Reg. fuisset) improbatu eo quod contraria sentiebat, abiectus est a Iohanne. Is vero scripta vel epistolas ad eum pertulerat a fratribus qui in Ponto fuerunt.

Tol. 2b.

Hoc (igitur) evangelium (post apocalipsin scribunt) manifestum et datum est ecclesiis (in Asia) a* Iohanne ad*uc in corpore constituto, sicut Papias nomine *Ihero-*politanus (episcopus) discipulus Iohannis (et) carus in exotericis (suis) id est in extremis quinque libris retulit, (qui hoc) evangelium Iohanne (sub)dictante *conscribit*.

* Verum *Archinon* hereticus, quum ab eo fuisset ~~reprobatus~~ eo quod contraria senti*set, *prelectus* est a Iohanne; *hic* vero scribunt vel epistulas ad eum pertulerat a fratribus (missus) qui in Ponto *erant* (fideles in domino nostro).

In the above the left-hand column displays a practically perfect text. Reg. furnishes two slight corrections to Stuttg., the addition of 'et datum' (a simple omission by homoioteleuton after 'manifestatum'), and 'fuisset' in place of 'esset'. These are indisputably established by the testimony of Tol. The spelling *Martion* in Reg. is of course incorrect, and (if the codex actually divides as the transcript of Wordsworth and White from the edition of Thomasius represents¹) is to blame for a grammatical error which has led astray all modern interpreters, including Harnack. The attachment of the 'Recte' before 'verum', properly the first word of paragraph *β*, to the end of paragraph *a* violates the grammatical rule governing the position of 'verum', which like the corresponding English 'too' cannot when thus used begin a sentence. But we cannot ascribe the false division to the original text. This punctuation is apparently due to assimilation to the grossly corrupt text

¹ Zahn (*Kanongeschichte* i p. 898) transcribing Thomasius and Pitra places a full stop (.) after 'recte'. He also gives the spelling 'adhuc' above adopted.

of Tol., which omits the 'recte' altogether,¹ and makes complete nonsense of the clause. Whether the assimilation be ascribed to the English scholars, or to Zahn, Pitra, Thomasius, or to some still earlier hand, the case is unaffected. With proper punctuation, and the spelling Marcion for 'Martion', Codex Reginae Suetiae presents an unexceptionable text fully supported by the parallels.

No further words need be wasted on the commonplace additions and stupid corruptions of Toletanus. The original Latin text is now sufficiently established, and we may turn to questions of date and origin.

Among the features which up to the present have been generally accepted by students of the Vatican Prologue is its composite character. According to Westcott 'It seems to be made up of fragments imperfectly put together'. Lightfoot remarked that 'it seems to be made up of notices gathered from different sources', and pointed out that the statement ascribed to Papias was probably taken from some Greek author because of its phraseology ('adhuc in corpore constituto' = ἐτι ἐν τῷ σώματι καθεστῶτος). Harnack himself admits that the material has been 'translated from the Greek, and has passed through many hands'. Also that the writer who refers to the five books of Papias's Ἐξηγήσεις as 'Exoterica' can have had no more direct knowledge of the work itself than the would-be corrector who attaches the explanation 'id est extrema'. He who first made the reference stands behind both. Harnack also admits that the statement that the Gospel was dictated by John to Papias is 'incredible', and that it 'cannot have stood in Papias'. Nevertheless he maintains not only that something corresponding to the statement that the Gospel 'was revealed and given to the churches by John while yet in the body' must have really stood in Papias, a belief in which he has no small following, but even that paragraph β also with its anecdote regarding John's encounter with Marcion, which makes no claim to be derived from Papias, is in reality derived from the same source, though only in a form which Harnack endeavours to restore by conjecture. It still remains to be seen whether he will find any followers in this attempted restoration of 'Papianisches'.

2. We may begin with this paragraph β on the evidence of which Harnack would rest a hitherto unknown episode in the life of Marcion, of vital importance to our conception of the formation of the Four-Gospel canon, to say nothing of its bearing on the difficult question of Papias's own date. His argument is as follows:—

'That this information, perhaps the oldest that we possess regarding Marcion, really stood in Papias is as good as certain, because we can identify it (and in fact already in the altered form that Marcion was

¹ Probably by homoioteleuton after 'conscripsit'; cf. 'descripsit vero' in Stuttg., Reg.

cast out by *John*) in a source of Filastrius. This writer states (*Haer.* 45): "(Marcion) devictus atque fugatus a beato Iohanne evangelista et a presbyteris de civitate Efesi Romae hanc heresim seminabat". Here, it would seem, one can observe the very growth of the corruption: "a presbyteris" was the original reading, and "a beato Iohanne" has been added. But the use of the term "a presbyteris" confirms the derivation of the whole report from Papias, for the "presbyteri in Asia" are the speciality of Papias. In my judgement nothing stands in the way of the credibility of the report. It will then follow that Marcion, already cherishing his heterodox teaching, left Pontus and turned to Asia seeking recognition. As to the "brethren" who sent him and gave him letters of commendation, one can only conjecture that he was commended by men of his own way of thinking.¹

The motto 'Back to tradition' has value when applied to the sifting over of ancient material too lightly discarded, as more careful miners have won gold from the tailings and dump-heaps of their predecessors. Overbeck, Westcott, Lightfoot, Zahn, Harnack himself, Corssen, and more recently Clemen and the present writer have all discussed and rejected this testimony, and even Harnack himself only ventures to advance it again by virtue of an emendation for which he offers only the support of Philastrius, a writer certainly later than the text, and if not directly dependent on it, dependent (as Harnack himself points out) on the form which Harnack claims to have been 'altered', 'that Marcion was cast out by John'. The addition of 'a presbyteris' in Philastrius's version is to Harnack in itself alone sufficient proof that this was 'the original form of the text, and "a beato Iohanne" has been added'. As if 'John and the Elders', or 'Elders of Ephesus', or 'in Asia' were unfamiliar terms in Philastrius's day, which no one would employ unless by direct dependence on Papias! In A.D. 480 they had long ceased to be 'a speciality' of any writer. Readers of Irenaeus, Tertullian, Eusebius, and Jerome could easily supply 'John' to co-operate with 'the Elders', or 'the Elders' to co-operate with 'John', wherever acts of the Church in Ephesus were concerned. But in the present case, as we shall see, a whole group of earlier authorities certify to the act as that of 'John'. Is it really probable that the addition of the words 'et a presbyteris' in a single writer, admittedly later and dependent upon the 'altered' form, is due to his consultation of some unknown more authentic form of the text?

In reality this alleged preliminary encounter with the great heretic at Ephesus, and his condemnation there by 'the Elders', is not only difficult to reconcile with the positive statements of Tertullian regarding the reception accorded him at Rome and his own zeal and devotion to the orthodox faith for some time after his coming; not only is there not even

¹ P. 11*.

a pretence in the text itself of derivation from Papias, but we can even determine with a high degree of probability the very source, or sources, whence the statement is derived. For in the work of Tertullian, the author of all others to whom writers of this sort of material would most naturally resort, we actually find the substance of what is related in paragraph β of the Prologue; not, however, in the form of an absurd anachronism, but in that of a very apposite and distinctly Tertullianesque thrust at Marcion as the 'Antichrist' of whom 'John' had written 'in his Epistle'. For, properly rendered, paragraph β of the Vatican Prologue is nothing more nor less than the scribe's reproduction of that striking phrase of Tertullian, echoes of which linger even in the 'Hieronymian' prologue and are clearly traceable in the words italicized in the extract made below from Jerome's *Commentary on Matthew*. One has only to read the passages in Tertullian to see the true sense of the seemingly strange expression of the Prologue: 'Improbatus eo quod contraria sentiebat'. The statement of Jerome was that John in his *Epistle* ('in epistola sua') denounces as 'antichrists' those who (like Marcion) 'deny that Christ is come in the flesh' (1 John ii 18-26; iv 2 f). Tertullian, in his *De Carne Christi* iii, reproaching Marcion for his rejection of the truly apostolic authorities in favour of inferior sources, had declared: 'If thou hadst not *rejected the Scriptures which were contrary to thine own opinion, the Gospel of John* would have confounded thee.' In his refutation of the heretic (*Adv. Marc.* IV vi), speaking of Marcion's arbitrary excisions from the Gospel, he wrote: 'He has erased everything that was *contrary to his own opinion*, whilst everything that *agreed with his own opinion* he has retained.'¹ The latter charge follows almost immediately after Tertullian's reference to the 'letter' delivered by Marcion himself to the church authorities at Rome, at the time of his arrival from Pontus, or shortly after (*Adv. Marc.* IV vi). But shortly before (*Adv. Marc.* III viii), in speaking of his docetism, Tertullian had reverted to the passage of 1 John which had become a *locus classicus* for this purpose since its employment by Polycarp, and declared that 'The Apostle John designated as antichrists those who denied that Christ was come in the flesh', while in his *Praescriptio* xxxiii he expressly declares that Marcion is the heretic 'designated Antichrist' by John 'in his Epistle', for the reason that he 'denied that Christ was come in the flesh'; whereas Ebion was made the object of the same epithet, because he on his part denied 'that Jesus is the Son of God'. This is obviously a mere adaptation to Tertullian's purpose of the application made by the

¹ 'Contraria quaeque sententiae suae erasit . . . competentia autem sententiae suae reservavit.' Cf. *De Carne Christi* iii 'Si scripturas opinioni tuae resistentes non . . . reiecisses . . . confudisset te in hac specie Evangelium Iohannis.'

ecclesiastica historia quoted by Jerome, in which the denunciation of 1 John iv 2 f is made to apply to 'Cerinthus and Ebion'.¹ In short, to quote from my own previous discussion of this subject²: 'The clause (beginning paragraph β of the Prologue) would express Tertullian's essential meaning very tersely and epigrammatically: Marcion the heretic, who rejects John's Gospel merely because it does not agree with his own opinion, has himself been rejected by John (that is, in the Epistle).' Heedless of the implied anachronism the writer of the Prologue takes the rejection of Marcion not as a prophetic condemnation written in 1 John iv 2 f, but as a literal denunciation of the heretic to his face by the Apostle. Apart from this natural misunderstanding he reproduces quite as faithfully as the *ecclesiastica historia* or Jerome the real meaning of Tertullian.

A faithful rendering of the first clause of paragraph β of the Prologue would then be as follows:—

'Properly, too, has Marcion the heretic been cast out by John, seeing he (John) had been rejected by him (Marcion) just because he held a different opinion.'

Indeed the scribe's blunder would scarcely be suspected even to-day by any accurate translator using the authentic text had he not appended a further item, also derived from Tertullian, and from the chapter next but one to that the language of which he here borrows. It is where Tertullian speaks of the 'letter of his own' which Marcion had presented on his arrival in Rome from Pontus, in spite of which he had been cast out. Unfortunately Tertullian omitted to state in this connexion whether the delivery of the 'writings, or letters' (Harnack himself is somewhat doubtful whether Tertullian means a letter of commendation from the Church in Sinope, or a composition of Marcion's own) and Marcion's rejection together with his gift took place at Rome or elsewhere. It is only in *Praescriptio* xxx that it is plainly stated to be at Rome. The Prologue-writer betrays his misunderstanding by inserting in his statement the seemingly harmless words 'to him':—

'Moreover he had brought to him (*ad eum*) writings, or letters, from the brethren who were in Pontus.'

The encounter having thus been transferred from the account of the church authorities at Rome to that of the Apostle John it was the simplest of commonplaces for Philastrius to add the traditional group of 'the Elders' in 'the city of Ephesus'.

Nothing more, then, is required to account for the whole second paragraph of our Prologue, exactly as it stands in the most authentic

¹ Cf. also *Adv. Praxeas* xxviii.

² *Journal of Biblical Literature* XXXII iii (1913) p. 211.

text, than the two statements of Tertullian (1) as to the condemnation of Docetists like Marcion in 1 John iv 2 f; (2) as to Marcion's letter presented to the *Roman* Church. Moreover, what appears, in the construction placed on its statements by Harnack, a rather arbitrary reason for John's casting out of the heretic ('cum ab eo (*sc.* Ioanne) fuisset improbatus eo quod contraria sentiebat') turns out in the proper rendering to be the well-chosen language of Tertullian himself quite justly applied to the arbitrary rejections indulged in by Marcion. Thus vanishes the whole episode of Marcion's encounter with the Ephesian elders, which plays so large a part in Harnack's reconstruction of the history, but is so curiously without all trace or reference till this legendary prologue. Rome, and Rome alone, is the scene of the memorable encounter, so pregnant with momentous results for the history of the Church and the formation of its canon of the New Testament. We have no evidence whatever to controvert the positive and reiterated statements of Tertullian and other well-informed witnesses that Marcion, when he came from Sinope in Pontus to Rome, was as free from taint of heresy and as zealous for the orthodox faith as the Church declared when it received his letter (or letters) and his gift of 200,000 sesterces.

3. Whether the declaration that John's witness is true and authentic attached in an Appendix to the Fourth Gospel (John xxi 24) should be regarded as a testimony of the Church in Rome, or of the Church in Ephesus, is another question, which involves a return to paragraph a. The ground for attributing the alleged encounter of Marcion with the *Ephesian* elders to 'Papias' was the statement of paragraph a of the Prologue that the Gospel of John was 'revealed' and 'given to the churches' by John 'while yet in the body', accompanied by the declaration that this fact was recorded in the five 'exoteric' books of Papias, who 'wrote down the Gospel at the dictation of John'. The long-debated question of the authorship of the Fourth Gospel is here raised again. It is admitted that at least the closing statement of the paragraph is 'incredible'; that neither the writer who attempts to explain 'exoteric' by adding 'id est extremis', nor his predecessor who used this strangely corrupted title could have had any direct knowledge of the *Exegeses* of Papias to which he intends to refer; that, in short, the statement has 'passed through many hands' to reach us in this distorted form. Nevertheless it is still maintained (and not unreasonably) that somewhere behind this jargon lies a real utterance of Papias. Clemen and Harnack go so far as to maintain that this utterance, however distorted in transmission, was an actual testimony by Papias himself to the Johannine authorship of the Fourth Gospel, though with Lightfoot they acknowledge the impossibility of so plain a declaration

having escaped the careful scrutiny of Eusebius, who twice promises his readers to report any utterance of the kind, and who particularly searched the pages of Papias for references to 'John'. Lightfoot, who went beyond Clemen and Harnack in regarding the utterance as not only truly contained in the pages of Papias, but as also true to the fact, suggested a form which he believed was sufficiently inconspicuous to have escaped even the keen eye of Eusebius. He suggests that

'Papias, having reported some saying of St John on the authority of the Elders, went on somewhat as follows:—"And this accords with what we find in his own Gospel, which he gave to the churches when he was still in the body (ἐτι ἐν σώματι καθεστῶτος)."'

Since scholars such as Clemen and Harnack think this possible, or possible with some further obscurity, writers of less authority will gain nothing by expressing their incredulity. But the supposed case does not meet the issue. It is not the mere silence of Eusebius which must be explained, but that of his predecessors also. For Irenaeus, who also had the work of Papias in his hands, relying chiefly on it for the vindication of the authenticity of the Gospels, and especially that of the Fourth Gospel against those whom Epiphanius calls the Alogi, is only one of a whole group of contemporary defenders, some of whom, such as the writer of the Muratorianum, and Hippolytus, were almost certainly dependent upon Papias as their chief authority. It is incredible that so plain a testimony as that imagined by Lightfoot or his followers as the real utterance of Papias could have escaped the search not only of Eusebius but also of these keen and zealous controversialists during a century and a quarter of vehement debate.

Let us then first of all define clearly the object of search. There is no difficulty at all in the supposition that Papias, like his successor Apollinaris, was acquainted with the Fourth Gospel. We know from Eusebius that he 'used testimonies' from 1 John, not improbably the same denunciation of the false teachers as 'Antichrist', the use of which by Polycarp his earlier contemporary had set the echoes ringing (*ad Phil.* vii 1=1 John iv 2 f). It is also quite possible that he used as one of the sayings of the Lord 'In the things of my Father there are many mansions' (John xiv 2; cf. Irenaeus *Haer.* V xxxvi 2). Papias's *knowledge* of the Fourth Gospel is not in question. If he wrote in Asia after the attacks of Marcion, he can hardly have failed to have some knowledge of it. The question is: Did he explicitly ascribe it to the Apostle John? The difficulty in Papias's case is the same as in that of his contemporary Justin, who almost certainly knows the Fourth Gospel, but never appeals to it as the work of an Apostle, nor makes any such use of it as we should expect if he so believed. For his doctrine of the

thousand years in Jerusalem Justin does indeed emphatically appeal to the authority of 'John, an Apostle of the Lord, who testified this in a vision granted to him'. Not so in regard to his own Logos doctrine, however like that of the Fourth Gospel, nor even with reference to any of the great number of teachings of the Lord which he quotes. To Justin the Apostle John is the supreme authority as prophet and seer, but as evangelist he appears unknown. He uses the Fourth Gospel to about the same extent and in the same anonymous manner that he uses the *Acts of Pilate*. All that we know as to Papias, apart from the statement now in question, tends to precisely the same result, if indeed Justin is not directly borrowing his statement regarding the authorship of the Apocalypse from Papias who 'testified to its ἀξιόπιστον'. The difficulty with the statement of the Prologue is the improbability of Papias's having made an equally positive statement as to the apostolic authorship of the Gospel.

Again, we are not primarily concerned with the Prologue-writer's explanations of who Papias was, and how connected with John. The ultimate source of his mis-information about Papias as a 'dear disciple' (*discipulus carus*) of John is manifestly Irenaeus. The same mistake is not likely to have been made independently by two or more individuals. There may have been several intermediate links between Irenaeus and the Prologue. Some are indeed demanded to account for the later exaggerations and blunders. For we have seen how Papias is advanced from the position of a disciple of John to that of an especially dear one, and finally to that of amanuensis of the Gospel (*descripsit dictante Iohanne*). The developement is parallel to that of the tradition of Peter's relation to the Second Gospel. At first Mark is merely a former 'interpreter' of the Apostle, recording 'what he remembered' of Peter's discourses after his death. Next he is said to have written while Peter was still living, but without the Apostle's intervention. Finally, to clothe the Gospel with complete apostolic authority, Jerome declares it to have been written by Mark 'Petro narrante et illo scribente'. From the description of Papias as John's disciple, author of the *Exegeses*, given in the fifth book of Irenaeus, it was easy to draw the inference that Papias was in like manner the amanuensis for John's Gospel, even without the aid of the statement in the second book that 'the Gospel (of John) and all the Elders who had converse with John in Asia bear witness that John delivered this same thing (that is, the story of the Lord's age) to them ("id ipsum tradidisse eis Ioannem")'. It is perhaps conceivable, but certainly not probable, that 'id ipsum' might be taken to refer to the Gospel just mentioned.

But the insertion of intermediate links between the Prologue and Papias (and we have seen that at least two are required to account for

the jumble 'in exotericis, id est in extremis quinque libris') does not affect the main result. Irenaeus remains responsible for the carrying back of Papias a generation earlier than he belongs to relatively to the Apostle, and this is the first point for consideration. The Prologue-writer stands at several removes from Papias, for even if we assume some other unknown writer, misled after the same manner as Irenaeus by the homonymy of 'the Elder' whose 'traditions' (*παραδόσεις*) he found quoted in the *Exegeses*, this would not bring our Prologue-writer any nearer. All he has to tell about Papias rests ultimately on the error which Eusebius in the case of Irenaeus so thoroughly, yet vainly, exposed.

There remains, however, the principal statement of the Prologue, the Johannine authorship of the Gospel. The statement is unlikely to have been derived from Irenaeus even through the distortion of intermediate forms. The tradition from which it is drawn ascribed it to Papias. Can we determine what modicum of truth (if any) lies behind this tradition?

The curious mode of expression, attributing the Gospel to John 'while yet in the body', as if he could be supposed to have taken this action after his death, has often been pointed out. It is doubtless the ground of Westcott's remark that 'the general tenor' of its account of the origin of the Gospel is that given in the Muratorian Canon; for apart from the reference to 'revelation' (*manifestatum*) and the possibly implied denial of an imputation of posthumous origin under the name of John there is certainly no resemblance between the two whether in language or in substance. The Muratorianum, it will be remembered, gives the following:—

'John, one of the disciples, when his fellow-disciples and the bishops he had ordained (*episcopis suis*) were urging him, said "Join with me in a three days' fast from to-day, and whatever shall be revealed to any one of us let us relate it to one another". The same night it was revealed to Andrew, one of the Apostles, that John should write all things in his own name, all the rest authenticating (*recognoscentibus*).'

The ultimate source of this legend is generally recognized to be the statement of John xxi 24 f: 'This is the disciple that beareth witness of these things and wrote these things, and *we know* that his witness is true.' According to Zahn it came to our Prologue-writer through the medium of the Leucian *Acts of John* (c. 175?). In any case it was certainly not derived from Papias for reasons already stated in connexion with the Prologue, which in the case of this account of the origin of the Gospel would apply with still greater force. The date of the Muratorianum is variously placed from 180 to 200. To what extent it influenced the traditional account of the origin of the Gospel may easily

be seen from the subjoined extract from Jerome's *Commentary on Matthew*, in which he expressly quotes as his authority the 'ecclesiastica historia' so plainly revealed by Corssen.¹ It is this extract which constitutes the first two-thirds of the Prologus Secundus of Toletanus (Prologus Hieronymianus). As will be observed, its first statement is the well-known adaptation made by Tertullian of Polycarp's application to Marcion of 1 John iv 2 f, to which Jerome merely adds that Paul also applies the whip in many places. The rest repeats in substance just what the Muratorianum relates.

From Jerome's *Matthew* (Tol. Prol. 2 a).

'Is (Ioannes) cum esset in Asia et iam tunc haereticorum semina pulularent Cerinthi, Ebionis, et caeterorum qui negant Christum in carne venisse, *quos et ipse in epistola sua Antichristos vocat* et apostolus Paulus frequenter percutit, coactus est ab omnibus paene tunc Asiae episcopis et multarum ecclesiarum legationibus de divinitate salvatoris altius scribere, et ad ipsum, ut ita dicam, dei verbum non tam audaci quam felici temeritate prorumpere; *ut ecclesiastica narrat historia*, cum a fratribus cogeretur, ut scriberet, ita facturum se respondisse, si indicto ieiunio in commune omnes deum deprecarentur, quo expleto revelatione saturatus in illud prooemium caelo veniens eructavit: In principio erat verbum, &c.'

As already noted, the opening sentence after 'in Asia' down to 'percutit' represents simply Tertullian with Jerome's own brief addition. The remainder merely repeats the account of Muratorianum with the added representation of the Gospel as having been given in a burst of divine inspiration like that of Ezra in the legend of 2 Esdras xvi 39 ff. This addition would undoubtedly account for the strange expression 'manifestatum' in the Prologue, but unfortunately for any claims to an early date this idea not only forms no part of the story in the Muratorianum, but is also entirely alien to the expressions applied by Papias to the writing of a Gospel (*συνέταξε, ἔγραψε, σύνταξιν ποιῆσθαι*). The period and mode of thought to which this embellishment of the *ecclesiastica historia* belongs may best be realized by a comparison of the account of the origin of the Gospel given in the *Acta Ioannis* of Prochorus (c. A.D. 500):—

'And after two days I (Prochorus) went forth again to him (the Apostle John) and found him standing and praying. And he said to me: "Take the papyrus sheets and the ink and stand on my right hand." And I did so. And there came great lightning and thunder so that the hill was shaken, and I fell to the ground on my face and remained (as it were) a corpse. But John took hold of me and raised me up and

¹ *Op. cit.* p. 77. The *historia* itself, reconstructed from the ten authorities who employ it, is printed with the extracts attached on pp. 78-82.

said to me: "Sit here on the ground at my right hand." And I did so, and again he prayed, and after the prayer he said to me: "My child Prochorus, whatsoever thou hearest from my mouth write down on the papyri." And John opened his mouth, and standing and looking up into the heaven he said: "In the beginning was the Word". . . . So just as it follows in the remainder he uttered the whole standing, and I was writing seated.¹

If any room is to be found in Papias for a statement corresponding to that of our Prologue the 'revelation' (*manifestatum* cannot properly be rendered 'published') must be understood in some other sense. Let us see if a really appropriate sense can be found.

According to Harnack (*Marion* p. 9*) the meaning of the statement is that 'Contrary to the belief inferred from John xxi 23, 24 that the Gospel had been published by others after the death of John, Papias says in a passage of his five books of *Exegetica* (or, in the fifth book of the same)² that John himself gave out his Gospel to the churches in Asia, after the Apocalypse'. We have already seen that the words 'in Asia' and 'after the Apocalypse' are no part of the true text, but mere expansions of the scribe of Toletanus. Omitting these the Prologue-writer according to Harnack will have intended to say: 'It has been inferred from John xxi 23 f that the Gospel was published posthumously.' But this is contrary to the testimony of Papias who refers to it as 'revealed and given out to the churches by John himself while yet in the body'.

Of the supposed inference from John xxi 23 f we have *in antiquity* no evidence whatever. The theory of posthumous publication is a favourite in modern times and may be quite correct. But the inference drawn in antiquity from the verse in question was that of the Muratorianum as given above. John is supposed to be living in Asia surrounded by a group of his fellow-apostles, including 'Andrew', and the bishops he has ordained (e.g. Polycarp and Papias). It is before the arrival of Paul in Ephesus, for Paul in writing by name to seven churches only is 'following the example of his predecessor' John, who addressed letters to the seven churches of Asia (in the Apocalypse). Whether the existence of a community of disciples of 'John' in Ephesus before the coming of Paul (Acts xix 1-7) had anything to do with this strange chronology we will not attempt to decide. In any event there is no trace whatever in this second-century document of the supposed inference from John xxi 23 f. The Muratorian fragmentist merely infers from the 'we know' that John's 'fellow-disciples and bishops' added their 'revision' or 'endorsement' (*recognoscentibus*) to his writing.

¹ *Acta Iohannis*. Th. Zahn, Erlangen, 1880, p. 155.

² Harnack regards this conjectured reading as a possible one.

The impossibility of the Muratorian account being derived from Papias is generally acknowledged for the reason stated. Any utterance of Papias on a point of such sensitiveness as this had reached at the close of the second century is most unlikely to have remained unnoticed for two hundred years of controversy.

Contrariwise there was another writing explicitly claiming Johannine authorship (as the Gospel and Epistles do not) about which there was controversy before we have any trace of dispute concerning the Fourth Gospel. In the period of Papias, Justin, and Melito of Sardis, nothing whatever is said about John as author of a *Gospel*; but his alleged support of the doctrine that 'the saints shall dwell with the Lord a thousand years in Jerusalem' in the 'vision that was granted to him', was the very central bulwark of the Chiliasts from Papias down to Irenaeus. And in spite of the reluctant admissions of Eusebius and his disparagement of the man and his doctrine, Papias was a chief supporter of this Chiliastic doctrine. Moreover, he defended it, as we are expressly told by Andreas of Caesarea, who had the work in his hands and quoted it 'word for word' (*ἐνὶ λέξεως*), in the assurance of the credibility (*τὸ ἀξιόπιστον*) of the statements of the so-called Apocalypse of John.

Could there, then, be two opinions as to the date of Revelation, so that it should become necessary for those who built upon its direct apostolic authority to insist that its publication was not posthumous, but by John himself 'while yet in the body'?

The surest of all dates in the chronology of early Christian writings, apart from the great Epistles of Paul, is (as Harnack has clearly perceived) that given us by Irenaeus for the Revelation. 'The apocalyptic vision was seen' (*εὐράβη*), he tells us, 'towards the end of the reign of Domitian' (*Haer.* V xxx 3). But this date may not have been altogether easy to reconcile with the tradition which Papias reported 'in his second book' that 'John and James his brother were put to death by Jews'. The date for John's martyrdom cannot well be later than 62, when James *the Lord's* brother 'and certain others' were killed by the mob in the streets of Jerusalem, as Josephus relates. Papias would be compelled to choose between a date for the Revelation like that of the Muratorianum, where John is the 'predecessor' of Paul at Ephesus, or a date for the death of John like that of Irenaeus, coming down to 'the reign of Trajan'. Had he been a modern critic he would certainly have fallen back upon the composite character of the book, which gives convincing evidence of double date, the substance of the book being exclusively concerned with Palestine in the days of the great tribulation, the rebellion against Rome and the treading down of Jerusalem, *except the inner sanctuary* (xi 1 f), by the Gentiles; whereas the outer envelope, prologue, introduction, and epilogue

(i 1—iii 22, xxii 8–21), simply adapts this material (with the aid of some minor changes in the central parts) for circulation at a later date among ‘the churches of Asia’.

But Papias was no higher critic. If he accepted a book as apostolic he took it as a whole. It was either ‘trustworthy’ or the reverse. And he read in Rev. i 9–11

‘I John, your brother and partaker with you in the tribulation and kingdom and patience which are in Jesus, was in the isle that is called Patmos, for the word of God and the testimony of Jesus. I was *in the Spirit* on the Lord’s day, and I heard behind me a great voice, as of a trumpet saying, *What thou seest, write in a book, and send it to the seven churches*: unto Ephesus, and unto Smyrna, and unto Pergamum, and unto Thyatira, and unto Sardis, and unto Philadelphia, and unto Laodicea.’

Having this before his eyes Papias unquestionably believed that the Apostle John not only received this command while ‘in the Spirit’, but (the book being actually current) that he carried it out ‘while yet in the body’. But did he state his belief? Our Prologue declares it to be his testimony that John did indeed write out what had been ‘revealed’ to him in the Spirit (*manifestatum*) and send it ‘to the churches’ (of Asia). But this is applied not to the Revelation but to the Gospel. In the absence of direct testimony *a posteriori* the question, Did he state his belief? can only be answered *a priori*. Was there any special occasion for Papias to express his conviction that the Apocalypse, which alone of the ‘Johannine’ writings claims to be written by John, was ‘worthy of belief’?

Our Prologue, like the modern world both learned and unlearned, takes little interest, if any, in the apostolic authorship of Revelation. As the extract from Tertullian shews, in its time, as now, debate centred on the authorship of the Gospel and the Epistles, which are anonymous, but were known to be derived from the same region and the same period as the Apocalypse, and by about A.D. 175 had begun to be attributed to the same author. It appears to be extraordinarily difficult, even for eminent critics of to-day, to realize that a generation before this, in the time of Polycarp, Ignatius, Papias, and Justin, yes, even as late as Melito, the state of feeling was completely different. Not a fragment exists from this period to indicate that any one, in the Church or out of it, took the slightest interest in the question of the authorship of the Gospel or Epistles now ascribed to John. On the other hand the question of the authorship of the Revelation was in hot dispute, and quite naturally, since from the time of Polycarp down, denial of the (bodily) resurrection and the judgement had been

one of the principal indictments against the 'false teachers'.¹ Chiliasm, the doctrine of the visible rule of the returning Christ for a thousand years in a glorified Jerusalem, was the faith contended for as that once for all delivered to the saints. Papias was its primary champion, and the Apocalypse of John its divinely inspired and apostolic authority. If Papias took pains to authenticate the sources for his 'Interpretation of the Lord's Oracles', there was ten times as much occasion for his stating his belief as to the authorship of the Revelation.

And if we put first this *a priori* probability for an attestation for the Revelation from Papias, it is not that witness *a posteriori* is altogether lacking, even apart from the declaration of our Prologue. That very little should survive the hostility of Dionysius and Eusebius is natural enough. Exclude Eusebius and those dependent on him and how much attestation should we have for any of the disputed books? But we have already seen that Andreas of Caesarea, whose witness is unimpeachable because he actually cites 'word for word' from Papias a passage not known elsewhere,² directly affirms the fact. The expression is guarded, as if Papias would state no more than he could personally vouch for, the currency in Asia of the Revelation as the work of John, and his own acceptance of its statements as 'worthy of belief'. But it shows distinctly where Papias would rest his authentication, the relevant passage being that already quoted embodying the very language ascribed to Papias in our Prologue.

Again, whence comes the confident assertion regarding the 'manifestation' as of

'John, one of the Apostles of Christ,' who 'prophesied in a revelation that was made to him, that those who believed in our Christ would dwell a thousand years in Jerusalem; and that thereafter the general, and in short the eternal resurrection and judgement of all men together would take place'?

This is the statement of Justin,³ the later contemporary of Papias, himself converted at Ephesus; and the substance of it will have been repeated by Melito of Sardis, whose interest in the authentication of the Old Testament Scriptures was sufficient to impel him to make the journey to Palestine, the home of the 'living and abiding' apostolic tradition even after the scattering of the mother church. For Melito also wrote a treatise on the Apocalypse of John, though we hear nothing

¹ Justin in his chapters in defence of Chiliastic belief (*Dial.* lxxx-lxxxi) repeats the expression. The false Christians 'blaspheme the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (cf. Matt. xxii 32) and say that there is no resurrection of the dead'.

² Frag. XI. Lightfoot (*Essays on Supernatural Religion* p. 201 n. 3) erroneously differs from Routh (*Rel. sacr.* i p. 41). The quotation ends 'their array came to nought'. The remainder is transcribed by Andreas from Rev. xii. 9.

³ *Dialogue* lxxxi.

of any utterance from him regarding the Gospel. Justin's use of Papias is made probable by his adoption of the very expression of Papias in speaking of the Gospel of Mark as the ἀπομνημονεύματα of Peter. He reproduces in the same chapter we have just quoted (*Dial.* lxxxi) the very passage from Isaiah (lxv 17 f) which Papias elaborated according to the explicit testimony of Irenaeus (*Haer.* V xxxiii 3, 4) and which in the *Epideixis* (lxi) he tells us was thus applied by 'the Elders'. Finally there is Irenaeus himself, who not only takes his Chiliastic ideas from Papias, as Eusebius easily perceived, but discusses at length the variant readings 616 and 666 in Rev. xiii 18 with circumstantial reference to 'the men who saw John face to face', whom he only knows through the writings of Papias. Whence, we ask, did all these derive their positive assurances regarding the origin and authenticity of the 'vision' for the reliability of which they contend, if not from Papias? Or shall we be told again that Eusebius cites from Papias no 'testimonies' from this 'disputed' book, and that therefore Papias did not use it?

It is quite true that Eusebius does not refer to 'testimonies' in Papias taken from Revelation, although (as a work of supererogation, since he had not undertaken to cite 'testimonies' from the homologoumena) he does inform us that he 'used testimonies' from 1 Peter and 1 John, thus implying perhaps that none appeared from the antilegomena. But it is not altogether true that we have a right to expect notice from Eusebius of whatever he found quoted from Revelation in Papias, because Revelation is not counted by him among the antilegomena concerning which he made this promise. By supererogation, as in the case of First Peter and First John, he mentions the fact that Theophilus of Antioch in works now lost 'used testimonies from the Apocalypse of John'. But this hardly establishes the rule. The truth is that Eusebius's treatment of this book is completely *sui generis*. He yielded to those who maintained its canonicity so far as to record direct statements of its Johannine authorship, such as that of Justin; for Eusebius admitted that *if* apostolic it must be classed among the homologoumena; but personally he inclined to the opinion of Dionysius of Alexandria, who rejected it as the work of another, unknown 'John'. In this case it must be classed, said Eusebius, among 'spurious' books (νόθα). His real interest, therefore, was only in positive witness for or against its apostolic authorship. If his dislike of the book did not lead him into positive unfairness in the statement of the evidence Eusebius must have regarded the testimony referred to by Andreas as no more than Papias's acknowledgement of his own acceptance of the book, which of course had no bearing on the main question.

But the reader is not really left in the dark by Eusebius on the point

now at issue. He makes no concealment of Papias's *use* of Revelation. Indeed he could not. On the contrary he tells us explicitly that along with 'certain strange parables of the Saviour' (cf. the fragment in Irenaeus *Haer.* V xxxiii 3, 4) Papias related

'certain other rather fabulous things, *among which he asserts that there will be a certain period of a thousand years after the resurrection from the dead, when the kingdom of Christ is to exist in bodily form upon this earth.* I believe that he adopted these views from the narratives handed down from the Apostles, not understanding that the things related by them (τὰ πρὸς αὐτῶν) were spoken in symbolic language parabolically (μυστικῶς). For he evidently was a man of very small intelligence, as is manifest from his own words. However, he is responsible for the adoption of this doctrine by very many of the Church fathers after him who espoused a like opinion, having regard for the antiquity of the man; for example Irenaeus, and all the rest who exhibit these ideas'.

Whether by oversight, or because of his dislike of the materialistic eschatology of the Chiliasts, Eusebius here passes lightly over the self-evident fact that the doctrine here imputed to Papias as its prime instigator is taken almost verbatim from Rev. xx 4 ff. The fact is self-evident. The oversight, if such it be, is due to Eusebius's concern about the 'strange parable of the Saviour' related 'as from the Apostles' which may be read in the context of the above-cited passage of Irenaeus, to whom Eusebius explicitly refers. The 'parable' is indeed unauthentic, being in reality a Jewish interpretation based on the Hebrew text of Gen. xxvii 28 found also in *Ethiopic Enoch* x 19 and *Apocalypse of Baruch* xxix 5. The Elders combine with this apocalyptic promise of the miraculous fertility of the Holy Land in the Messianic age the song of the grape harvest of Isa. lxxv 8, in which they sing of the ripe clusters 'Destroy it not for a blessing is in it'. Like the interpretation of the parable of the Sower, and that of the Banquet with its triclinium, at which the guest who shows humility is bidden to 'Come up higher', also derived from 'the Elders',¹ these allegorizing applications of passages from the Hebrew text of the Old Testament, mingled with teachings of the Lord, to the expected glories of a transfigured Jerusalem ('the City') and Palestine-to-be were properly taken by Eusebius with a generous dose of salt. They are as unlike the true teaching of Jesus as they are characteristic of Jewish *midrash* of the beginning of the second century. They throw much needed light on the question who these 'Elders' were, and whence Papias derived his Chiliastic ideas; but as related to the actual teaching of Jesus they only prove how low even the 'living and abiding voice' of the most authentic oral tradition had fallen at the time when Papias received

¹ Irenaeus *Haer.* V xxxvi 1, 2.

them. The 'reports (διηγήσεις) of parables of the Saviour' handed down from the Apostles (cf. the τῶν τοῦ κυρίου λόγων διηγήσεις referred to a few lines below as derived from Aristion) are to Eusebius the most serious concern, and most of what he has to say relates to these. Indeed, it is not without interest to observe how this Isaian chapter on the New Jerusalem, the glorified land of Palestine and the Holy Mountain where even the wild beasts cease from ravening, passes down through Justin's Chiliastic chapter, in which he quotes Rev. xx 4 ff as an utterance of the Apostle John (*Dial.* lxxx), to Irenaeus (*Haer.* V xxxiii 3 f; xxxvi 1 f and *Epideixis* lx) and still later writers.

But while Eusebius pays no special attention to Papias's assertion 'that there will be a certain period of a thousand years after the resurrection from the dead, when the kingdom of Christ is to exist in bodily form upon this earth', it would be absurd to suppose he expected his readers not to observe its connexion with Rev. xx 4 ff. This was the *locus classicus* of the whole controversy, passing down, as Eusebius himself makes plain, from Papias to Justin, and from Justin to Irenaeus. While we may perhaps justly accuse him of slighting the testimony to a book whose doctrine he disliked, accepting it only on condition that it be interpreted *μυστικῶς*, he does not stand in the way of our acceptance of the statement of Andreas.¹ He rather confirms it, while indicating that Papias went no farther than to declare that the statement of Rev. i 9-11 was 'worthy of belief'.

As an utterance of Papias concerning the *Revelation* the testimony of our Prologue that it was 'revealed and given to the churches (in Asia) by John while yet in the body' is therefore worthy of all acceptance. It is even possible that we still have a trace of the true placing of this testimony in another argumentum as remote as possible from those of the Latin succession. Among the subscriptions to *Revelation* given on the last page of Tischendorf's Editio Major will be found the following from the London Polyglôt:—

'*Aeth.* Hic finita est visio Iohannis Abucalamsis. Amen. Quod est dictum: Quam vidit in vita sua, visio: et scripta fuit a beato Iohanne evangelista dei eius.'

The Ethiopic text is based upon the Arabic, which accounts for the monstrosity *Abucalamsis* = Ἀποκάλυψις. We may render: 'Here is

¹ Lightfoot (*Essays on Supern. Rel.* p. 214 n. 4) agrees that the suspicion thrown on the testimony of Andreas because of Eusebius's failure to 'directly mention' Papias's use of Revelation is unjust. He supposes 'that Eusebius omitted any express mention of this use because he had meant his words to be understood of the Apocalypse, when, speaking of the Chiliastic doctrine of Papias higher up, he said that this father "had mistaken the Apostolic statements"'. This explanation overlooks the distinction between the written work and the τῶν τοῦ κυρίου λόγων διηγήσεις.

ended the vision of John, the Apocalypse. Amen. That is to say, that vision which he saw *in his lifetime*; and it was written by the blessed John the evangelist of his God (= ὁ θεολόγος).¹ Is not this another attempt in still more distorted form to record the testimony of Papias that John 'while yet in the body' wrote and gave out to the churches the vision which he had seen?

4. The identification of a new fragment of Papias, however small, is an event of prime importance to New Testament criticism, especially if the discovery bears upon the origin of the Johannine writings. In the present instance if our conclusion is correct it has a twofold importance: first negatively, in dispelling a false impression which, with Clemen's *Entstehung des Johannes-Evangeliums*, 1912, had obtained strong reinforcement, and through the present work of Harnack seemed likely to attain general acceptance; second positively, in making clearer our conception of what the name of the Apostle John really stood for in the minds of protagonists of the Church, especially the churches of Asia, in the first half of the second century.

Probably there is no great danger that the world of scholarship will be misled into accepting Harnack's idea of a preliminary rejection of Marcion by the 'Elders of Asia', before his coming to Rome, now that the true origin of paragraph β of the Vatican Prologue stands revealed. But there is real danger of a misapplication of paragraph α . Harnack's insistence that a real utterance of Papias underlies the statement of this paragraph is justified. But the utterance relates to the origin of the Revelation, not of the Gospel of John. This was found not only *a priori* probable, but to some extent borne out by corroborative witness from other sources. The argument from silence against any such utterance of Papias regarding the Gospel was found to be much stronger than had been allowed for even by Lightfoot, who in view of it frankly acknowledged that 'no weight can be attached to the evidence of the Prologue'. Were this evidence really admitted (in however emended a form), it is not too much to say that it would 'outweigh in importance all the rest of the external evidence for the Fourth Gospel put together'.¹ The reason is simple. It is no longer the *date* of the Gospel with which criticism concerns itself. It is the authorship; the date and place of origin have become matter approximately of common consent. And the alleged statement of Papias, if actually made, would stand absolutely alone in the first four-fifths of the second century, ante-dating by a full generation the ascription of the Gospel to John by Theophilus of Antioch. To quote the exact language before

¹ From the article 'Latin Prologues of John', by the present writer in *The Journal of Biblical Literature* xxxii 3 (1913), pp. 197 and 207 f.

employed, acceptance of the statement as an authentic testimony of Papias to the Fourth Gospel

'will imply the currency in Asia early in the second century of this Gospel, *including the appendix* with its covert suggestion of Johannine authorship (xxi 19-24). And this suggestion, however non-committal, has always proved plain *enough* for the purpose in view. If this is Papias's testimony regarding the Fourth Gospel the "ab Iohanne" will have to be understood with reference to John xxi 24, as Zahn says.'

We have seen the extreme improbability that so direct a statement in the chief authority for questions of the kind could have passed unobserved through two centuries of controversy over this very point. For, once the claim of Johannine authorship was put forward (our first knowledge of it is in 181), it met immediate denial, arousing controversy which did not cease for generations. When Gaius at Rome in the last decades of the second century met the claims of the Phrygian Montanist Proclus with a denial of the whole canon of Ephesian writings, Epistles, Gospel, and Apocalypse together, as falsely attributed to the Apostle John, and was himself later counter-argued by Hippolytus the disciple of Irenaeus, conditions had changed. At Alexandria for special reasons the Revelation alone was brought into renewed dispute. The Gospel and Epistles remained unchallenged. But at Rome all five writings were challenged, and the Gospel was the principal subject of dispute. What wonder if in Rome attestation by Papias to the authenticity of one of the group should be taken as equivalent to attestation to all.¹ If Hippolytus in his defence of the Johannine writings against Gaius (of which we possess only a few fragments relating to the Apocalypse) referred somewhere to Papias's guarantee of its ἀξιόπιστον, pointing out that thereby Papias affirmed implicitly, if not in so many words, that the book was 'revealed and given to the churches by John while yet in the body', would it be difficult for a Prologue-writer of the third or fourth century to take this as applicable to the Gospel also? Few scholars acquainted with the ways of scribes of this class will see any difficulty in the supposition.

Taking the new fragment, then, as intended by Papias to apply to the Apocalypse and not to the Gospel of John, the atmosphere becomes clearer around this primitive defender of the Chiliastic faith. Like Tertullian, modern critics have talked as if the apostolic authorship of the Fourth Gospel had been at issue in the days of Marcion and Papias; whereas we can clearly trace the development of this conflict to inferences from the Appendix, this supplement being itself an outgrowth of the effort to authenticate the impugned apostolic tradition of the

¹ On the solidarity of the group in current estimation see Lightfoot, *op. cit.*, pp. 214-216.

Lord's teaching, whether we date it at Ephesus or at Rome, in 110 or 140. Scholarship will see clearer when issues developing from the Montanistic controversy in the last quarter of the second century are better discriminated from such as grew out of the Chiliastic debates of its first quarter. It will no longer be affirmed that Papias (if not 'the Elder John' himself) in his criticism of 'the order' of Mark, had probably in mind as standard the order of the Fourth Gospel!¹ As if Papias himself did not imply that of Matthew when he explains that Mark

'was not himself a follower of the Lord, but afterwards, as I said, of Peter, and Peter . . . *had no design of making a σύνταξις of the Lord's words*'.

For 'making a σύνταξις of the Lord's words' is precisely the part ascribed by Papias to Matthew (συνεράξατο τὰ λόγια). Naturally enough when apostolic authority began to be claimed for the Fourth Gospel its difference of order became a matter of dispute. The question seems to have played a great part in the *Dialogue of Proclus and Gaius* (180),² and Irenaeus and Hippolytus have marvels of harmonization to reconcile John with his predecessors. But in the times of Marcion and his orthodox opponents, such as Papias and Justin, the attempt to claim apostolic authority for the Johannine order would be an anachronism. Matthew is 'the' Gospel for writers of this period, whether as respects 'order' or completeness of record. Even later, when the 'Ammonian' sections were introduced as a means of indicating Gospel parallels, Matthew's order was made the basis.

It is time that critics realized the difference between the second and the fourth quarter of the second century as respects the writings ascribed to John. The apostolic authorship of the Revelation, so emphatically claimed by the book itself, seems to have been disputed from the beginning.³ In Papias's time there is unbroken silence as to the authorship of the Fourth Gospel. It is not even used on anything like a parity with the Synoptists, much less attributed to 'the disciple whom Jesus loved'. Papias probably knew it, for he used the First Epistle, and possibly considered John xiv 2 a genuine saying of Jesus. Polycarp does not use the Gospel, though he certainly knew the

¹ So even Wernle in his admirable *Synoptische Frage* p. 207.

² Cf. Eusebius *Historia* III xxiv 7-13. The defence of John by harmonizing his order with 'the chronology of Matthew' should be compared with Hippolytus's *Heads against Gaius*.

³ According to the *Cheltenham Canon* (ap. Zahn *Kanongeschichte* ii p. 144), 'the Elders' equated the twenty-four elders of Rev. iv 4 with the canonical writers of the Old Testament. The item is probably from Papias, but if 'the Elders' used Revelation it need not have been in the form current in Asia.

Epistle. On the other hand, while later tradition quite credibly declares that he had seen and heard 'John', the report is communicated only by one who stands convicted in a parallel case of confusing the Apostle with another John, probably one of 'the Elders the disciples of the Apostles'. Ignatius, if he makes any use at all of the Fourth Gospel, never mentions the name of John. Justin, converted at Ephesus, and keenly alive to the need of apostolic authentication for the Gospel tradition against the accusations of his opponent Marcion, has no thought of appealing to a 'Gospel' of John. To him, as to Papias, John is witness for the Revelation. In the *Dialogue* and *Apolo-
gies* Matthew and Peter (through Mark) are the 'Apostles' who with their 'companions' stand sponsor for the Gospel tradition. The whole onslaught of Marcion and all the rest of those who 'perverted the oracles of the Lord to their own lusts' in this great period of controversy from Polycarp to Melito did not elicit a single mention of John as an evangelist. That appeal began at Rome in the last quarter of the century under the circumstances that we have seen.

Criticism has fixed the date and place of origin of the Fourth Gospel. It should not continue to confuse this result with questions of the date and place of origin of the debates about its apostolic authority. Papias had nothing to do with these.

B. W. BACON.

NOTES ON JUSTIN MARTYR, *APOLOGY* I.

NOTE I.

Ch. 14, p. 61 D. Βραχεῖς δὲ καὶ σύντομοι παρ' αὐτοῦ λόγοι γεγόνασιν· οὐ γὰρ σοφιστὴς ὑπῆρχεν, ἀλλὰ δύναμις θεοῦ ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ ἦν.

I suppose these words are generally taken to mean something as follows: 'His speech was short, concise, clear, simple, practical, not like that of your tedious and longwinded sophists.' Otto's note is 'nota sophistarum loquacitas'. It may be so, but I cannot help feeling that there is something more delicate than this. In considering the sense in which Justin uses the term 'sophist', we have to remember that he lived at the height of the 'Second Sophistic'. The sinister meaning familiar to us in Plato and Aristotle, never perhaps so predominant as we are apt to think, had in a great measure given way before the movement, which had popularized rhetoric, in the sense of an eloquent and cultivated exposition of practical life where ethical, aesthetic, and intellectual considerations were evenly balanced.¹ As applied to the distinguished lecturers, preachers, professors, who in the eyes not only of the schools, but of the educated public, represented the highest ideal, it was a very complimentary term. The bad sense still remains side by side with the good, and Justin himself uses it thus in the *Trypho*. Still I doubt whether in writing officially to the Emperors, he would use any other sense than that which it had in Philostratus's *Lives of the Sophists*, and that in accordance with which the great chair of rhetoric at Athens, sometimes called *par excellence*, the chair, was officially known as *θρόνος σοφιστικός*. True there is an antagonism, to which Justin appeals—the eternal antagonism between philosophy and rhetoric even in this higher aspect; but it is a very different and less bitter antagonism compared with that which we find in Plato.

Again *βραχεῖς* and *σύντομοι* may not be such simple terms as they appear. In this age when all such terms are carefully, though not always consistently, defined, they were naturally examined by writers of rhetorical treatises. In these we have some attempts to distinguish the two, but on the whole they appear to be almost synonymous. We find *βραχύτης καὶ συντομία* discussed as a single phrase, and characteristics, ascribed to *βραχύτης* in one writer, are ascribed to

¹ These words are more or less a reminiscence of Arnim's 'Dio von Prusa', the best account I know of the 'Second Sophistic'.

συντομία in another. We are told that there is a *συντομία πραγμάτων* and a *συντομία λέξεως*, and that the marks of the latter are such things as the avoidance of epithets, short and unjoined sentences, and the like. The rhetorician does not discard all this. It is one of his tools which he carries about with him as a golfer does his clubs, to be used in particular emergencies. He employs *συντομία λέξεως* perhaps about as frequently as the golfer does a 'left-hand niblick'. It is particularly recommended in *διήγησις*, that is, when the speaker in the course of an exposition or argument has to give an account of certain facts. But the use of it is only occasional. The general style of the Sophist is fuller and more periodic, while *συντομία* is the normal characteristic of the philosophical style. Any one, I think, can verify this by reading a page of (say) Aristides or even Dion Chrysostom¹ beside one of Epictetus or better still Marcus Aurelius. Take, for instance, this well-known passage (*Meditations* iv 23):

Πᾶν μοι συναρμόζει, ὃ σοι εὐάρμοστόν ἐστιν, ὃ κόσμος· οὐδέν μοι πρόωρον οὐδὲ ὄψιμον τό σοι εὐκαιρον. πᾶν μοι καρπὸς ὃ φέρουσιν αἱ σοὶ ὥραι, ὃ φύσις. ἐκ σοῦ πάντα, ἐν σοὶ πάντα, εἰς σέ πάντα. ἐκείνος μὲν φησὶ πόλι φίλη Κέκροπος· σὺ δὲ οὐκ ἐρεῖς· ὃ πόλι φίλη Διός;

This is a fair but by no means extreme case of philosophical *συντομία*, and I suggest that 'rough and rugged' would give the meaning of the epithets better than 'short and concise'.

Further it is to be remembered that style like music was to the ancient mind more a matter of morals and less a matter of taste than it is to us. When the Cynic or Stoic adopted *βραχύτης καὶ συντομία* as his mode of expression he did not do it as a matter of literary judgement. It was rather a form of asceticism—a definite renunciation of one of the most dazzling delights of the world.²

It seems to me then quite possible that the thought in Justin's mind is not so much what I suggested above as being the usual view, as something like the following. 'Jesus had no eloquence. He was not one of your professional lecturers—no Herodes Atticus or Dion the Golden-mouthed. His style was the rough and abrupt style of the philosophical preacher. But you will not reject it for that, but rather see moral value

¹ Dion is perhaps in thought half way between philosopher and rhetorician, but in style and manner belongs rather to the latter.

² There is a good illustration of this in Quintilian xi 1. 33. He is dealing with the point *eloquentiae genus aliud alios decet*. One example given is '*philosophiam ex professo ostentantibus parum decori sunt plerique orationis ornatus*'. He adds '*compositio numerosa tali proposito diversa*', i. e. rhythmical arrangement, by which he largely means 'well-rounded periods', does not agree with such principles or views of life (*propositum* almost = creed). The audience hearing such periods from the mouth of a philosopher apparently felt as some people at some times in this island would have felt at seeing a minister of religion taking part in theatricals.

in the style as well as in the substance.' Justin has at the back of his mind a contrast of two figures, familiar in that age in every city. One is the lecturer-orator talking to great fashionable audiences and drawing the income of a *prima donna*. The other is the thread-bare Cynic missionary, addressing knots of rather eccentric people in the side streets, and it is with this one that he wishes to range Jesus as a teacher in the eyes of the Royal Philosophers.

NOTE 2.

Ch. 23. 3, p. 68 C. Καὶ πρὶν ἢ ἐν ἀνθρώποις αὐτὸν γενέσθαι ἄνθρωπον, φθάσαντές τινες διὰ τοὺς προειρημένους κακοὺς δαίμονας διὰ τῶν ποιητῶν ὡς γεόμενα εἶπον, ἃ μυθοποιήσαντες ἔφησαν, ὅν τρόπον καὶ τὰ καθ' ἡμῶν λεγόμενα δίσσφημα καὶ ἀσεβῆ ἔργα ἐνήργησαν.

The clauses *φθάσαντες . . . ἔφησαν* seem almost hopeless as they stand. Three corrections seem to have been proposed.

(1) (Maran) Substitute λέγω δέ for the first *διά*. The main objection to this is that this periphrastic way of speaking of the *δαίμονες* as *τινες* is very strange, and ἃ *μυθοποιήσαντες ἔφησαν* seems otiose.

(2) Omit *διά* before τῶν ποιητῶν, and take it 'some of the poets, &c.' Here we have the same meaningless repetition in ἃ *μυθ. ἔφ.* The position of *τινες* is odd, and a further difficulty arises. As the subject of *ἐνήργησαν* is clearly *δαίμονες*, we should expect the same subject to *εἶπον* or *ἔφησαν* or both.

(3) Substitute τὰ τῶν ποιητῶν for *διά τῶν π.* The meaning then will be that some (i.e. the *μυθολόγοι*) reproduced the mythological stories of the poets. The only objection I see to this is that we still have the difficulty about the subject of *ἐνήργησαν*.

(4) I should myself prefer to transfer *διά τῶν ποιητῶν* to after ἃ. The clause will then run *φθάσαντές τινες διὰ τοὺς προειρημένους κακοὺς δαίμονας ὡς γεόμενα εἶπον ἃ διὰ τῶν ποιητῶν* (sc. οἱ δαίμονες) *μυθοποιήσαντες ἔφησαν*, and the sense will be 'some persons under the influence of the demons proclaimed as real occurrences (cp. the contrast of *γεόμενα* and *γεγραμμένα* in the MS text ii 15) the myths which the demons had uttered through the mouths of the poets'. This avoids the difficulty of the change of subject, for though there is a change from *εἶπον* to *ἔφησαν* it is far less awkward. Otherwise the sense is the same as (3), and both concur in the assertion that there are two stages of demonic action—one the invention of the myths through the poets, the other the working by which the 'mythologists' (cf. *ποιηταὶ καὶ μυθολόγοι* in a very similar context ii 4) are induced to lay them before the public. In this statement, if we waive the question of demonic agency, Justin is perfectly true to history. For the 'mythologists' are none other than the *grammatici*. This succession of literary men, one of the greatest powers in the ancient world,

was undoubtedly the agency by which Homeric and other myths were popularized. They had indeed many other functions and might resent the emphasis here laid on this particular one. But they did do this work and without them the poets would have had a far more restricted hearing. Nor is Justin wrong in his chronology as expressed in *φθάσαντες*. The work of the great *grammatici* in collecting and interpreting was mostly done before our era. Didymus, the most famous of all, nicknamed *χαλκέντερος*, and *βιβλιολάθας* because he forgot in one of his 3,500 works what he had said in another, was a contemporary of Cicero.

Besides their purely professorial and literary work the *grammatici* were much in request with adults. But the main body were schoolmasters, and to this Justin refers in two passages. One is in ch. 54 οἱ δὲ παραδιδόντες τὰ μυθοποιηθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν ποιητῶν οὐδεμίαν ἀποδείξιν φέρουσι τοῖς ἐκμανθάνουσι νέοις, καὶ ἐπὶ ἀπάτῃ καὶ ἀπαγωγῇ τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου γένους εἰρησθαι ἀποδείκνυμεν κατ' ἐνέργειαν τῶν φαύλων δαιμόνων. The other is in ch. 21 where he says of the tales of the so-called sons of Zeus εἰς διαφορὰν καὶ προτροπὴν τῶν ἐκπαιδευομένων ταῦτα γέγραπται· μμητὰς γὰρ θεῶν καλὸν εἶναι πάντες ἡγοῦνται. In this we might be at first inclined to accept the correction *διαφθορὰν καὶ παρατροπὴν*. But the clause that follows forbids this. Nor is there any real contradiction between the two passages. *εἰς διαφορὰν καὶ προτροπὴν* gives the motive of the *grammatici*; *ἐπὶ ἀπάτῃ καὶ ἀπαγωγῇ* that of the demons. Otto is, I think, quite wrong in saying that the former phrase is ironical. Justin does not wantonly question the motives of the educationists. They are right in thinking it good to imitate the divine; but the demons have misled them as to what the divine really is.

NOTE 3.

Ch. 28. 4, p. 71 C. Εἰ δέ τις ἀπιστεῖ μέλειν τούτων τῷ θεῷ, ἢ μὴ εἶναι αὐτὸν διὰ τέχνης ὁμολογήσει, ἢ ὄντα χαίρειν κακίᾳ φήσει, ἢ λίθῳ εὐκόστα μένειν καὶ μηδὲν εἶναι ἀρετὴν μηδὲ κακίαν, δόξῃ δὲ μόνον τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἢ ἀγαθὰ ἢ κακὰ ταῦτα ἡγεῖσθαι.

The general sense of this passage, that a denial of God's care for men involves either a denial of His existence or of His moral nature, or of moral distinction in general, is clear enough; but the words *διὰ τέχνης* seem to have misled the editors, and the emendation *ἀτεχνῶς* was perhaps tempting. [By the way Otto prints this as *ἀτέχνως*, which bears quite a different meaning, and also translates *plane*. But *ἀτεχνῶς* here would mean *omnino*—'He denies that God exists at all.'] But the genuineness of *διὰ τέχνης* is settled by *Trypho* 54 where, speaking of the prophetic phrase 'he shall wash his raiment in the blood of the grape', he adds *διὰ τῆς τέχνης δεδήλωκεν ὅτι αἷμα μὲν ἔχει*

ὁ Χριστός, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐξ ἀνθρώπου σπέρματος, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ δυνάμεως. In our passage Blunt translates 'He will by some artifice deny his existence', which conveys no meaning to me. Otto also translates *quodam artificio*, and notes with approval Maran's statement that these virtual atheists or materialists 'astute profiteri' quod totidem verbis efferre non audent'. But obviously we cannot apply this phrase to Jacob who uttered or Moses who recorded the prophecy of the grape. And there is no need to read any thought of motive into our passage. Τέχνη merely means 'a rhetorical method' or perhaps better 'a special form of speech' and covers both 'tropes' and 'figures'. In the Genesis passage it is a 'trope', for 'blood of grape' does not literally mean 'non-human blood'. Thus again in *Τρυφή* 57 Justin explains that the merest novice in *τροπολογία* will understand that, when we speak of angels eating, literal eating is no more meant than when we speak of 'fire devouring everything'. In our passage the τέχνη is a σχῆμα διανοίας or 'figure of thought'. The words do mean what they say, but they mean something more. This particular figure is 'emphasis' 'cum ex aliquo dicto aliquid latens eruitur' (Quintilian ix 2. 64). If we translate 'by implication' or 'this is only another way of saying' we shall really get the meaning.

In *Τρυφή* 114 the practice of the prophets in speaking of future events as present or past is also called τέχνη. This device, which is of course a very familiar one, would be a σχῆμα λέξεως or figure of speech.

NOTE 4.

Ch. 32. 6, p. 73 E. Πῶλος γάρ τις ὄνου εἰστήκει ἐν τινι εἰσόδῳ κώμης πρὸς ἄμπελον δεδεμένος.

It will be remembered that Justin makes this statement to shew that Gen. xlix 11 was a prophecy of Christ. There is indeed no absolute need to assign any source for the statement beyond tradition. Yet I cannot help thinking that he may have been misled by the Marcan ἀμφόδον. I do not suppose that if he actually read ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀμφόδου in Mark xi 4 he would mistake it for ἐπὶ τῆς ἀμπέλου or rather for πρὸς ἄμπελον. But when we remember (1) that Justin was in the habit of hearing the Gospels read at the Eucharist, (2) that copies of Mark appear to have been rare, (3)¹ that he shews no detailed acquaintance with the text of Mark, it seems to me very probable that the ear may have misled him, or his informant. Most authorities appear to hold

¹ Τέκτονος (*Τρυφ.* 38) and Βοανεργές (*ib.* 106) might also be reminiscences of what had been heard and did not require a copy for verification. Moreover evidence of acquaintance with Mark in the Dialogue does not really affect the argument, as Justin in that work 53, while quoting the prophecy, does *not* allege this historical fulfilment. Very possibly during the interval he had found out his mistake.

that ϕ was at this time sounded as p - h rather than as f , and the labio-dental d is near akin to the labial l . The case will become much stronger if, remembering the connexion of both Justin and the Second Gospel with Rome, we suppose him to have heard the word there. In that bilingual society the oral reading of the Greek Scriptures by persons whose native speech was Latin of some sort must have led to much confusion. Quintilian notes that even in the upper classes the simultaneous study of Greek and Latin led to Greekish pronunciation of Latin, and the tendency in a lower stratum to import a Latinish pronunciation into Greek must have been considerably stronger. Now the Greek sounds which gave most trouble to the Italian were the aspirates, which had no proper Latin equivalents. Even literary Latin for a long time sounded ϕ as p , and though later on educated people were particular on the point, vulgar Latin seems still to have been 'unable to frame to pronounce it right'. Thus $\kappa\omicron\lambda\alpha\phi\omicron\varsigma$, though rendered in literary Latin as *colaphus*, is *colpo* in Italian.¹ The Greek d did not present the same difficulties, but there are various signs of Italian tendencies to modify it to l , and it is an odd coincidence (if it is a mere coincidence) that this tendency has been specially noted in words whose second syllable ends in d , and first in p or some labial. Thus *tepidus* in the Neapolitan dialect is *tiepolo*.² In fact in many readers' mouths the two words may have been undistinguishable. The difference of gender would no doubt act as a corrective, but on the other hand Justin's preconceptions would lead him if in doubt to accept $\alpha\mu\pi\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\upsilon$ rather than a word which, though the papyri shew that it was not so rare as Liddell and Scott lead us to think, was so far alien to the context that neither Matthew nor Luke reproduced it. Altogether a confusion between the two is on much the same level as the confusion of Semoni Sanco with Simoni Sancto, in ch. 26.³

NOTE 5.

Ch. 66, p. 98 A. Οὐ γὰρ ὡς κοινὸν ἄρτον οὐδὲ κοινὸν πόμα ταῦτα λαμβάνομεν, ἀλλ' ὃν τρόπον διὰ λόγου θεοῦ σαρκοποιηθεὶς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν καὶ σάρκα καὶ αἷμα ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας ἡμῶν ἔσχεν, οὕτως καὶ τὴν δι' εὐχῆς λόγου τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ εὐχαριστηθεῖσαν τροφήν, ἐξ ἧς αἷμα καὶ σάρκες κατὰ μεταβολὴν τρέφονται ἡμῶν, ἐκείνου τοῦ σαρκοποιηθέντος Ἰησοῦ καὶ σάρκα καὶ αἷμα ἐδιδάχθημεν εἶναι.

In this passage I wish to discuss only the words ἐξ ἧς αἷμα καὶ σάρκες κατὰ μεταβολὴν τρέφονται ἡμῶν. I have been surprised to find that the majority of the critics whom I have read (Otto, Blunt, *Dict. Chr. Biog.*, s.v. Justin) take μεταβολὴν to refer to the change effected in the con-

¹ Lindsay *Lat. Lang.* pp. 57-59.

² *ib.* p. 82.

³ I suppose there is no doubt that Justin really did confuse these two.

secrated elements. To me it seems clear that the μεταβολή is merely the ordinary conversion of food into constituents of the human body which takes place whenever we eat, and that his point is that the change in the consecrated elements is analogous to this. I have been glad to find that both Professor Bethune-Baker and Bishop Gore take this view. I should read, however, into the words a subsidiary thought, which neither of these writers notes, viz. that this everyday wonder makes the eucharistic miracle more credible. In dealing with Baptism (62) Justin takes a similar analogy, namely, our natural birth from water or ὕγρὰ σπορά. And though neither there any more than here does he dwell on the wonder of these processes, we know from ch. 25 that he felt that the marvel of natural reproduction made the bodily resurrection credible.

If any are still inclined to doubt that κατὰ μεταβολήν refers to the natural processes of digestion and assimilation, I think they may be interested, if not convinced, by a study of the Περὶ φυσικῶν δυνάμεων of Justin's great contemporary, Galen. Here, the conversion of food called τροφή, σιτία, and once at least ἄρτος, into αἷμα is dwelt on at length and with full anatomical explanations. The word, perhaps, most frequently used is ἀλλοίωσις, but we also find μεταβολή, e. g. 89 τὴν πέψιν ἀλλοίωσιν τιν' ὑπάρχειν καὶ μεταβολήν τοῦ τρέφοντος εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ τρεφεμένου ποιότητα (cf. 155).

I was primarily led to this treatise in the hope of finding there some evidence as to whether κατὰ μεταβολήν could properly apply to digestive assimilation, a point on which Stephanus throws little light. But in the course of reading two special points emerged. One is that Galen teaches that this conversion of food is primarily into blood, the formation of flesh from blood being a secondary process (σάρκα μὲν γὰρ ἐξ αἵματος γένεσθαι ῥᾶστον (21)). It seems to me exceedingly probable that Justin is aware of this belief and is speaking with physiological precision, and that this is the reason why while in speaking of the divine body he follows the usual order of σὰρξ καὶ αἷμα, he reverses the order when speaking of the human body. The other point is concerned with a passage (4) which seems to me specially interesting, and which I transcribe at length :—

ἀλλ' ὅτι μὲν ἐξαλλάττεται καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν καὶ πρὸς τὴν γεῦσιν καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀφὴν αἷμα γινόμενα τὰ σιτία συγχωροῦσιν· ὅτι δὲ καὶ κατ' ἀλήθειαν, οὐκέτι τοῖς ὁμολογοῦσιν οἱ σοφισταί· οἱ μὲν γὰρ τινες αὐτῶν ἅπαντα τὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν ἡμετέρων αἰσθήσεων ἅπασας τινὰς καὶ παραγωγὰς νομίζουσιν ἄλλοτ' ἄλλως πασχοῦσων, τῆς ὑποκειμένης οὐσίας μηδὲν τούτων οἷς ἐπονομάζεται δεχομένης, οἱ δὲ τινες εἶναι μὲν ἐν αὐτῇ βούλονται τὰς ποιότητας ἐξ αἰῶνος εἰς αἰῶνα, καὶ τὰς φαινομένας ταύτας ἀλλοιώσεις τῇ διακρίσει τε καὶ συγκρίσει γίνεσθαι φασιν.

Galen goes on to say that he cannot afford time to refute these other

views at length, but refers the supporters of them to what Aristotle and Chrysippus have said on the question of change in οὐσία generally (περὶ τῆς καθ' ὅλην τὴν οὐσίαν ἀλλοιώσεως). From all this it appears that there was a controversy amongst scientists on the nature of this process of food-transformation. It was admitted that something took place which made the digested food appear to the sight, taste, and touch, as blood. But was this a mere illusion, or was there a real μεταβολὴ τῆς οὐσίας or a σύγκρισις τῶν οὐσιῶν? A modern Justin might almost be inclined to see here the working of the λόγος σπερματικός foreshadowing future controversies; for one Greek phrase is the literal equivalent of the later *transubstantiatio*, and the other of *consubstantiatio*. But, fancy apart, have we not here something which afforded a basis for eucharistic thought? Analogies, misleading as they are, are a very potent instrument in shaping thought, and they are particularly potent when they have been the subject of controversy, and have emerged from it with increased force and colour. Justin does not give us any positive indication, as in the case of αἷμα καὶ σάρκες above, that he knew this controversy. But he may well have had it in mind, and we may perhaps expand his meaning into something like this. 'In the natural process food is changed into blood, and ultimately into flesh—changed I say κατ' ἀλήθειαν and κατ' οὐσίαν. For though some philosophical opinion has declared this to be impossible, our best scientific authorities have declared it to be the fact. Is it then an incredible thing that this should be repeated in another and higher sphere?'

NOTE 6.

Ch. 67, p. 98 D, 99 B. Καὶ τῇ τοῦ ἡλίου λεγομένη ἡμέρᾳ . . . συνέλευσις γίνεται . . . τῇ γὰρ πρὸ τῆς κρονικῆς ἐσταύρωσαν αὐτὸν καὶ τῇ μετὰ τὴν κρονικὴν, ἥτις ἐστὶν ἡλίου ἡμέρα, φανεῖς . . . ἐδίδαξε ταῦτα.

In addition to its importance in the history of Christian worship, this chapter has the interest that it forms a landmark in our knowledge of the planetary or astrological week.

The story of the growth of week-observance presents some curious features. A sequence of this sort running on without relation to other divisions of time or natural phenomena could hardly, one would think, maintain itself unbroken, unless either it enters into the life of the community as it does with us, or has some strong religious sanction behind it, as it had in the Jewish Diaspora. The planetary week, as we first find it in the Roman Empire, certainly was not in the former position, and therefore must have been in the latter. Though oddly enough it does not seem to have had much influence on official astrology—at least I can see no trace of it in Manilius or Firmicus Maternus¹—it must

¹ There is some allusion to it, but very casually so far as I understand it, in the astrologist Vettius Valens, a contemporary probably of Justin.

have had behind it a great fund of astral mysticism, which gradually acquired force and volume, so much so that it ultimately imposed itself upon the barbarian tribes behind the Rhine and Danube, who, as we know, adapted the Roman names of the planets to their own deities, leaving, however, Saturn unchanged.¹

The first day of the planetary week was the *κρονική*, and this, whether by accident or design, synchronized with the Jewish sabbath. If Cumont is right in saying that the planetary week does not date earlier than the second century B.C. one may conjecture that the synchronism was deliberate, the devotees being impressed by the resemblance of the sabbatical observances to their own cult of the planet.² However this may be, the *κρονική* seems to have been recognized by the general public as identical with the sabbath. There appear to be only two allusions to the planetary week in general literature prior to Justin. In both of these (Tibullus i 3. 18, and Frontinus ii 1. 17) we hear only of Saturn's day, and it is a mere synonym for the Sabbath. Plutarch, indeed, a specialist in obscure cults, wrote a treatise (*Symp.* iv 7) on 'why the order of the planetary days differs from the accepted order of the planets'.³ Only the title survives, but it is noteworthy that it follows a discussion on the Jewish Sabbath.

It is a fair assumption that, for a prolonged period, all that the general public knew of the system was that it ran concurrently with the Jewish week with a special day sacred to Saturn identical with the Sabbath, and that the other days were distributed amongst the other six 'planets'

¹ When did this happen? Grimm thought about A.D. 300. From the names one may say almost with certainty before the triumph of Christianity. When one considers the extraordinary prevalence of Mithraism in the army and the undoubted fact that Mithraists observed the week (Cumont *Textes et Mon.* i 118), is it not possible that it was due to Mithraistic propaganda?

² This is rather a guess. I know no positive evidence that the planetists observed Saturday as a *dies nefastus* earlier than Tertullian. But it would naturally follow that the malign planet's day would be unlucky for enterprise and work, like our sailors' Friday.

³ I have found this so little understood that it may be well to state the facts (as given by Dion Cassius 37. 18). The accepted order of the planets in ancient and mediaeval astronomy (e.g. in the *Paradiso*) is Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Sun, Venus, Mercury, Moon. Now start with Saturn on the 1st hour of Saturn's day and give one hour to each planet in turn. Saturn will have the 8th, the 15th, and 22nd. The 23rd will belong to Jupiter, the 24th to Mars, and the 1st of the next day to Sun. Hence Sunday. The Sun will have besides the 1st, the 8th, the 15th, and 22nd. The 23rd will go to Venus, the 24th to Mercury, and the 1st of the next day to the Moon. Hence Monday. In other words always miss out two planets, and you will get our order, Saturn, Sun, Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus. It follows from this that the week is really a cycle of hours rather than days. The idea of the hours did not die. It apparently is found in Paulus Alexandrinus, an astrologist of the fourth century (Ideler *Chronologie* i p. 179),

in some topsy-turvy order. People do not trouble themselves about other people's calendars unless the observance really affects their own lives, as the Jewish Sabbath evidently affected the Gentile world. There are many Roman and Anglo-Catholics who observe Corpus Christi, and a great many non-catholics who know that there is such a day, but probably not one in a hundred of these last could tell when or how it falls.

Justin's words entirely agree with this view. Though Saturday has no connexion with his subject, he takes it as his standard of week-measurement. He is aware that the next day is the Sun's day, but by the addition of *λεγόμενη* he hints that it is not so familiar a name as *κρονική*. Friday he does not name at all. It has been suggested that he wished to avoid any mention of the impure Aphrodite. But Cronus, whose day he names freely, was not a particularly pure deity. The probable explanation, I think, is that like most other people he was ignorant of, or hazy about, the other days.

The remarkable passage in Dion Cassius xxxvii 18 is quite compatible with this. He has been speaking of the Jews, and how they dedicated the day of Cronus to the *ἀρρητος καὶ αἰδῆς θεός*, and takes the opportunity for a digression about the planetary week and the strange order of the days. The fashion began in Egypt and is now universal, but is not 'ancient to speak generally' (*οὐ πάλαι ποτὲ ὡς λόγῳ εἰπεῖν ἀρξάμενον*). Now it is the regular fashion (*ἐπιχωριάζει*) even at Rome, and is, indeed, *πάτριον τρόπον τινά*. As Dion wrote from sixty to eighty years after Justin it is quite possible that this attribute of *πάτριον*, by which I suppose he means that in spite of its recent origin it had now all the sanction of an ancestral practice, may have grown up in the interval.

The evidence then, such as it is, seems to me to point this way. But it is of course meagre. Justin's omission to name Friday may be accidental, and Dion's language is vague. It is possible that from the first the Church may have been well acquainted with the planetary week-system. I do not know whether the Christ-myth theorists have suggested that Sunday was from the first really Sun-day, and that the story that Jesus rose on that day was an aetiological myth. It would be much more plausible than other suggestions I have seen. But without going so far, speculative persons may, without doing any certain violence to chrono-

and the next place where I know of its cropping up is a thousand years later in *The Knight's Tale* (line 2217). Still it was only natural that the planet which began the day and gave its name to it should be, as Paulus calls it, *κύριος* of that day. Thus we find Apollonius (Philostratus *Vita Ap.* iii 41) wearing seven jewelled rings, in each of which the jewel symbolized a planet and which he changed according to the day. Another thing which follows is that monumental representations of the Seven in the week order (some of them belong to the first century A. D.) are a sign of week observance.

logy, indulge in the fancy that from the first the Church was attracted by the significance of the coincidence—as quite probably Justin was—and that he who was in the Spirit on the Lord's Day and saw the vision of One whose face was 'as the sun shining in his strength', had some thought of other mystics, who held the day sacred to the chief of the 'seven stars'.

This raises the question—at whatever date the Church came into everyday contact with the planetary week-system, what was her attitude? So far as the evidence I have seen goes, not one of active hostility, and this would be *prima facie* probable. Many, no doubt, would see in the institution definite planet-worship, and Tatian's play of words on *πλανῆται δαίμονες* was obvious.¹ But Matth. ii is in itself enough to shew that a belief in astral influences need not mean worship of the stars. The employment of the names of pagan deities may have been a stumbling-block, though Clement actually presses this into his own use, and shews that the Christian fasts on Hermes's day against covetousness, and on Aphrodite's day against lust.² But I take it that on the whole people felt that, though the planets were named after deities, they were not the deities, and indeed a precisian could avoid the difficulty by using the earlier and alternative set of titles.³ In fact, the general attitude may be seen from the history of the names. Where Christian or Biblical associations predominated, they could carry the names with them, and thus the pair of planetary names which is the first to appear in literature is the pair which ultimately disappeared. Over the whole of Latin Europe *Dominica* and *Sabbatum*⁴ have ousted *Solis Dies* and *Saturni Dies*. On the other hand, where there were no such strong associations, the planetary names triumphed. Even *Parasceue* had no chance against *Veneris Dies*.

I may add that I have never been able to find any good monograph on the week. The facts and suggestions here given have been pieced together from many different quarters, and are put forward quite as much in the hope of eliciting information as of giving it.

F. H. COLSON.

¹ Εὐαριστοῦσι δὲ αὐτοῖς οἱ ἐπὶ πλανῆται . . . ἡμεῖς δὲ . . . ἀντὶ πλανητῶν δαιμόνων ἐν τῇ ἀπλανῇ δεσπότῃ μεμαθήκαμεν (*Ad Graec.* 9). It should be remembered, however, that worship or honour paid to the Seven does not necessarily mean week-observance.

² *Strom.* vii 12.

³ Φαῖνον = Saturn, φαέθων = Jupiter, πυροίς = Mars, φωσφόρος = Venus (this of course always held its ground), στίλβων = Mercury. These are used by Martianus Capella, concurrently with the others, in the fifth century A.D.

⁴ *Samedi* (dialectically *sabedi*) is certainly *sabbati dies* quite as much as the Italian *sabato*.

THE SERVANT OF THE LORD IN THE TARGUM.

THE Targums, as is generally recognized, seem at first to have arisen in connexion with the public reading of the Hebrew Scriptures in the synagogues. In order to make the Hebrew intelligible to the congregation it was accompanied by a running translation into Aramaic, the then vernacular of the non-Hellenistic Jews. When these translations or Targums assumed a stereotyped form is uncertain, as also is the date when they passed from oral tradition and became fixed in writing.

The date of the Targum on the Prophets is not easy to determine, but the following investigations may throw some light on the subject.

This Targum is associated with the name of Jonathan bar Uzziel who flourished in the first century B. C., and it is known as the Targum of Jonathan. Some portions of it, however, which are quoted in the Talmud are attributed to Rabbi Joseph bar Chija (c. A. D. 300). It is usually taken to have attained its present and final form not later than the fifth century A. D.

Generally speaking, the Targums do not provide much that is of value to any but the textual expert. Except in certain of the books of the Hagiographa, they consist, for the most part, of a more or less literal translation of the Hebrew of the O. T. into Aramaic. Every translator, however, has to be to some extent an interpreter of the meaning of what he translates. The Targums tend more to interpretations than do any other of the translations of the O. T. These interpretations are often of no little interest as embodying the historical, religious, and theological conceptions in vogue during the period when the Targums came into being.

We propose now to examine in the Targum the more important passages dealing with the Servant of the Lord, to see how these were viewed in what may prove to be the earliest interpretations of them extant. Of these Isaiah lii 13–liii 12 is by far the most important, not only as being a crucial passage but also because the Targumic treatment of it is abnormal.

A. The Targum of Isa. xl–lxvi shews that on the whole the Targumist has kept fairly close to the Hebrew text except for certain habitual Targumic periphrases and occasional paraphrases. Isa. lii 13–liii 12 is a notable exception to this, evidently because it was difficult, if not impossible, to reconcile the passage as it stood in the Hebrew with current Jewish hopes.

In any case the Targumist not only set his own distinctive interpretation on the text, but also somewhat elaborately twisted it to make it suit his own views, and in so doing preserved for us what was in all probability the accepted interpretation and views of the Jewish scholars of his time. Origen, in a well-known passage,¹ tells us how the Jews of his day (early third century) regarded this prophecy, and how they held what is now sometimes called the 'collective theory', viz. that the prophecy did not really refer to an individual person but to the chosen race, represented as this individual.

He says, 'Now I remember that on one occasion at a disputation held with certain Jews, who were reckoned wise men, I quoted these prophecies (viz. Isa. lii 13–liii). To which my Jewish opponent replied that these predictions bore reference to *the whole people regarded as one individual* as being in a state of dispersion and suffering, in order that many proselytes might be gained, on account of the dispersion of the Jews among numerous heathen nations. And this is the way he explained the words "Thy form shall be of no reputation among men"² and "a man under suffering"³. Many arguments were employed on that occasion during the discussion to prove that these predictions regarding one particular person were not rightly applied by them to the whole nation. And I asked to what character the expression would be appropriate, "this man bears our sins and suffers pain on our behalf", &c.⁴ But we seemed to press them hardest with the expression, "Because of the iniquities of *my people* was he led away to death".⁵

When we turn to the Targum, we find that it hardly accords with this Jewish interpretation, except to this extent, that it does represent the Jewish people as being in a state of dispersion and suffering.

We find, in the first place, that the sorrows and sufferings attributed to the mysterious personage or personified community of the passage are in the Targum systematically interpreted away, and made to light elsewhere. This transference and distribution of the sorrows of the Servant is made as follows:—

(a) In particular the sufferings are represented as falling on the unfortunate Jews, the reference being for the most part, not so much to the past calamities that had befallen their race, as to their present

¹ Orig. *Contra Celsum*, Bk. I, ch. lv.

² liii 3 R.V. 'He was despised and rejected of men'.

³ liii 3 R.V. 'A man of sorrows'. In both these cases Origen is quoting LXX with considerable freedom and some inaccuracy.

⁴ liii 4 R.V. 'Surely he hath borne our griefs and carried our sorrows'.

⁵ liii 8 R.V. 'For the transgression of my people was he smitten'. Again Origen is quoting the LXX, which here represents a slightly different Hebrew text from the M.T. of the Hebrew from which the R.V. is taken. Origen's argument rests on the words 'of my people', which are in both the Hebrew and the Greek.

unhappy condition. E. g. 'He was despised and rejected of men, a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief, he hid as it were his face from us, he was despised and we esteemed him not' is rather violently turned into 'Surely the glory of the whole Kingdom *is despicable* and come to an end: we (?) are feeble and wretched, yea *like a man in pain and appointed to sickness: and even* as we were when the Shekinah went up from us, *we are despised and of no reputation*'. Similarly, 'We did esteem him, stricken smitten of God and afflicted' is turned into 'We were esteemed as beaten, stricken from before Jahveh and afflicted'.¹

(b) In one instance the sufferings are interpreted as those which befell the Temple. liii 5, 'But he was wounded for our transgressions' reappears as 'And He will build the Holy House, which was violated on account of our sins, and profaned on account of our iniquities'.

(c) At other times again the sufferings of the Servant are transferred to the Gentiles, e. g. 'As a lamb that is led to the slaughter and as a sheep that before her shearers is dumb, yea he opened not his mouth' becomes 'The strong ones of the Gentiles he will deliver up like a lamb for slaughter and as a sheep dumb before her shearers: and there is none who opens his mouth against him to speak a word'. Similarly liii 8, 'He was cut off out of the land of the living' is transformed into 'For he will wrest the power of the Gentiles from the land of Israel'.

(d) Lastly, the pains and penalties are made to light on the wicked in general, e. g. liii 9, 'And they made his grave with the wicked and with the rich in his death' becomes 'And he shall deliver up the wicked to Gehenna, to mortal perdition, and the rich in "goods" who have played the oppressor'.

In one way or another then, the predictions of suffering are interpretatively transferred from the 'Servant' of the Lord to the Jewish people, or else distributed in other quarters. But on the other hand, and this is a most important point, nowhere in the passage is the Servant identified with the chosen race. Instead, the distinction between the two is more clearly drawn in the Targum than in the original Hebrew. That is to say, even if the Jews of Origen's time were rightly understood by him to have held the 'collective' interpretation of the 'Servant' in this particular prophecy, it is ruled out in this Targum.

In the next place we find what is even more remarkable, that *the Servant is specifically identified by the Targumist with the Messiah*.

In lii 13, where the R.V. following the Hebrew renders 'Behold My SERVANT shall deal wisely, he shall be exalted', &c., the Targum has 'Behold MY SERVANT THE MESSIAH shall prosper, he shall be exalted', &c.

What follows right to the end of the fifty-third chapter is what is quite

¹ Cf. also liii 10, &c.

clearly taken to be a prediction of the career of the Messiah, from which, however, all hint¹ of sufferings and death has been carefully eliminated in the manner illustrated above.

According to this interpretation, the Messiah is to be exalted among the nations and the national prestige of the Holy People is to be bound up with His (lii 13–liii 2). Apparently with this desired consummation in view, He will intercede with God on behalf of the chosen people, and for His sake their sins will be pardoned. ('Surely for our guilt *He* (אֵלֹהִים) will intercede and on his account our sins will be forgiven', liii 4.) His prayers will prevail mightily with God. ('He prays and he is answered; and before he has opened his mouth, he is accepted', liii 7 (a).)

He will rebuild the Temple, and through His teaching peace and forgiveness will come to the people. ('And he will build the Holy House which was violated for our sins and profaned on account of our iniquities, by his teaching peace will be multiplied upon us, and when we give ear to his word our sins will be forgiven us.')

He it is who will bring back the Dispersion ('From chastisement and from retaliation he will bring our captivity', liii 8), and He will likewise rid the Holy Land of Gentile Dominion ('For he will wrest the power of the Gentiles from the land of Israel', liii 8).

He will judge the wicked and give them their portion in Hell ('And he will deliver up the wicked to Gehenna', liii 9).²

It may possibly be suggested that this identification of the Servant with the Messiah is not continued throughout. But the remote possibility is dismissed by the fact of a second specific mention of the Messiah by name near the end of the chapter. 'They shall see the *kingdom of their Messiah*, they shall multiply sons and daughters, they shall prolong their days', liii 10.

After this follows a brief *résumé* of the triumphant redemptive career of the Messiah, who will 'bring deliverance from bondage to the Gentiles', 'will bring many into subjection to the Law and make effective supplication for "rebels"'. ('From bondage to the Gentiles he will deliver their souls', liii 11. 'By his wisdom will he conquer the conquerors, bringing many to subjection to the Law', liii 11. 'He will make supplication for many sins and the rebels will be forgiven for his sake', liii 12.)

We find, then, that this, which is probably the earliest extant Jewish interpretation, clearly identified the hero of this passage with the Messiah and nowhere with the Jewish race, but instead holds the two elaborately distinct from one another.

¹ With one notable exception which is examined later.

² It is not clear that this refers to the Judgement.

It seems inconceivable that this specific identification can have been made and officially accepted by the Jews after Isa. liii came into the forefront of the Christian apologia, which it apparently did almost at once after the first Pentecost (e.g. Acts viii 32-35). For it gives the case for a Suffering Messiah into the hands of the Christians. It is true that, in the Targum, there is elimination and transference of the Sufferings, but the original Hebrew and the LXX in which the sufferings of the Servant were plain enough could not be got rid of. In any case the identification of the 'Servant' with the Messiah remained.

If the Targum was still in the making and not yet in an officially recognized fixed form when the propaganda of the early Christian Church began, the only course for the official exponents of Judaism, from whom assuredly the Targums emanated, was to refuse to make any such identification, and instead, if they made any attempt at all to interpret the passage, to do like Origen's opponents and most later Jews, and identify the Servant here at least with the persecuted nation.

But as we have seen, the Targum goes out of its way to take the opposite course. If, however, the Targum was already in existence, the intense conservative loyalty to what had become the recognized order of things, would have prevented, and apparently did prevent, any change being made, even though here it gave a most inconvenient handle to Christian controversialists.

It might be held that the elimination of the sufferings attributed to the Servant had been done in the interests of anti-Christian polemic; but this, so long as the identification remained on the one hand and the original Hebrew on the other, would have been like locking the stable door after the horse had been stolen.

The dislike of attributing suffering and calamity to the Messiah, the difficulty of even conceiving of it, and on the other hand, the desire to represent Him as utterly triumphant, would have been as natural in the first century B. C. as it was in later times.

We may therefore conclude with some certainty, (a) that the Messianic interpretation of Isa. lii 13-liii 12, which we find in this Targum, was officially recognized and popularly held at least as early as the time of our Lord. This identification of the Servant of the Lord and the Messiah would then be known to our Lord and His circle.

(b) We may further conclude that this part of the Targum on the Prophets had become unalterably fixed well before the formation of the Christian Church. The reference to 'wresting the power of the Gentiles from the land of Israel' points to a date later than the Roman occupation. So we may date the Targum on Israel at least as having assumed its present form somewhere between about 50 B. C. and A. D. 30.

There is one more point to be noticed in connexion with this passage.

We have seen that the sufferings of the Servant-Messiah have been carefully turned away from him, so as to represent, not a suffering, but a wholly Triumphant Messiah. There is, however, an extraordinary omission which undoes all the careful expurgation by the Targumist.

In the very last verse the Targum runs, 'Therefore will I divide for him (i. e. the Messiah) the spoil of many peoples; the goods of many strong cities he will divide as plunder *because he delivered up his soul to death* and made rebels subject to the Law'.¹ How this came to be left when all else kindred to it had been interpreted away it is difficult to say. It does not seem likely that it can have been accidentally overlooked. However that may be, the fact remains that though the Targum elsewhere does away with the Suffering of the Servant-Messiah, it actually leaves a statement that the Messiah had submitted to death.

B. Turning to the other prophecies of the Servant of the Lord, we do not find much that calls for detailed comment. As a rule, the immediate context does not leave much doubt that the Servant must be identified with Israel.

(i) In xlii 1, however, we find the same identification of the Servant with the Messiah as in Isa. lii 13 :—

'Behold my Servant *the Messiah* whom I will bring
My chosen in whom my Word² is well pleased.'

In the rest of the passage the Aramaic follows the Hebrew fairly closely, the only verse which is at all expanded being v. 7. 'To open the eyes of the *house of Israel* who are as blind to the law.' Again we have to note that rightly or wrongly the 'collective' interpretation of the Servant is not set forth.

(ii) In xliii 10 also, where it seems rather forced, Servant and Messiah are once again identified.

'Ye are witnesses before Me, so also is (lit. and) my servant *the Messiah* in whom I am well pleased.' One would have thought it fairly obvious that the prophet meant to say 'Ye are my witnesses, and ye are my Servant', &c. The Targumist apparently did not think that the Servant was to be equated with the witnesses. He evidently thought that the witness of the Messiah was to be added to that of the children of Israel.

(iii) In the Servant Song in chapter xlix there is nothing special to

¹ There is just the bare possibility that the Aramaic should be rendered '*instead of delivering his soul up to death and of making rebels subject to the law*'. This, however, makes very poor sense. ܠܡܬܬܢܝܬ is ambiguous, and, like the corresponding phrase in the Hebrew, its exact meaning has to be determined by the context.

² A common Targumic periphrase for 'נפשי' 'my soul' when applied to Jahveh.

remark. There is no reference to the Messiah ; perhaps *v.* 3 precluded such reference.

(iv) The Targum of the song in l. 4 sq. is more worthy of note. In it the Servant is identified with the Prophet. So that the sufferings and contumely there portrayed present no special difficulty. It may be worth while to quote a portion of this song verbatim, partly in order to shew the difference between the way in which the clauses dealing with suffering are treated here, and the way in which they were treated in chapter liii ; partly because in it is a considerable section which has no equivalent in the Hebrew M.T.

l. 4. 'Jehovah God gave to me a teacher's tongue to make me know how to teach wisdom to the righteous who labour (lit. pant) at the word of the Law. Therefore morning by morning he rose early to send his prophets if perchance the ears of sinners might be opened and they might receive teaching.' *v.* 5 : 'My back I have given to the smiters and my cheeks to them that pluck out hair, my face I have not hid from humiliation and spitting.' *v.* 10 : 'Who is there among you worshippers (or fearers) of Jahveh who has hearkened to the voice of *his Servant the prophet* ; who has obeyed the Law in adversity, like a man who walks in darkness and has no light? Let him hope in the name of Jahveh and stay upon the salvation of his God.'

[The Gentiles replied before him, 'Our Lord (Ribbona), it is not possible for us to labour in the Law, for all the time we are contending with one another in warfare and when one of us conquers another we set fire to their houses, capture their little ones and their goods ; and in this manner our days are spent, so it is not possible for us to labour in the Law.' The Holy One, blessed is he, answered and said to them] *v.* 11 : 'Behold all ye that kindle a fire, that temper a sword, go ye and fall on the fire that ye have kindled and on the sword ye have tempered. This have ye had of my word, ye shall return to your scorching.'

(v) The last passage which may be a Servant song is lxi 1 sq. This passage one would have naturally expected to find treated as Messianic, especially in view of *v.* 1 (*b*), 'because Jahveh hath *anointed* me', which gives a more obvious opening for Messianic interpretation than anything else in Isaiah. The Targum, however, specifically identifies the speaker with the Prophet, and changes 'anointed' to 'reared'.

'Thus said the prophet, the spirit of prophecy from before Jahveh God is upon me

'Because Jahveh hath reared (רִבֵּי) me.'

None of the other passages referring to the Servant contains anything noteworthy.

This ends our investigation of the treatment of the Servant of the Lord passages in the Targum.

C. It may be worth while to append a translation of Isa. lii 13–liii 12 *in extenso* as there are still a good many minor points of interest in it which have not been specified. It should be noted that though it seems to have departed far from the original Hebrew, yet actually the Targum has stuck remarkably close to the letter of the Hebrew. There is hardly a particle in the Hebrew which has not some equivalent in the Aramaic, and very little in the Aramaic that is not represented in some way in the Hebrew. The liberties that have been taken are in reality much slighter than they appear by a comparison of the English translations :—

‘Behold, my Servant the Messiah shall prosper, he shall be exalted and increase and wax exceeding strong : for as many days as the House of Israel have thought that their appearance among the Gentiles was obscure and their splendour (hidden) from the sons of men. So shall he scatter many nations, kings shall be silent at him, their hands shall they put upon their mouths ; for that which hath not been told them have they seen, and that which they have not heard they have understood.

‘Who has believed this good news of ours, and to whom has the strength of the mighty arm of Jehovah been revealed ?

‘The¹ Righteous (race)² shall be glorified ; behold like a sucker which sprouts, and like a tree which puts forth its roots by streams of water, so shall the Holy Family multiply in the land where it has been in poverty. Its appearance shall be extraordinary, and its splendour shall be a holy splendour to which all who behold it shall give recognition. Surely the glory of the whole kingdom is despicable and come to an end : we³ are feeble and wretched, yea, like a man in pain and appointed to sickness ; and, even as we were when the Shekinah went up from us, we are despised and of no reputation.

‘Surely for our guilt *he* will intercede, and on his account our sins will be forgiven ; yet *we* are thought to be smitten, stricken from before Jehovah and afflicted.

‘And *he* will build the Holy House which was violated on account of our sins and profaned on account of our iniquities ; and by his teaching peace will be multiplied upon us : and when we give ear to his word our sins will be forgiven us.

‘All of us like sheep have been scattered abroad, each of us has gone into exile his own way ; but it is the good pleasure of Jahveh to forgive

¹ Omitting ‘and’.

² lit. ‘righteous one’.

³ Hebrew ‘they’, but probably error for ‘we’

the sins of all of us for his sake. He prays and he is answered ; and before he has opened his mouth he is accepted.

‘The strong ones of the Gentiles he will deliver up like a lamb which is for slaughter, and like a sheep dumb before her shearers. And there is none which openeth his mouth against him to speak a word.

‘From chastisement and from retribution he will bring our captivity, and the wonderful things which will be done for us in his days who can relate? For he will wrest the power of the Gentiles from the land of Israel, and [take away] the sins which my people have sinned before he come to them.¹

‘And he will deliver up the wicked to Gehenna and to mortal perdition, and the rich in goods who have played the oppressor ; so that the doers of sin shall not abide nor speak deceit with their mouth.

‘And it has been the good pleasure of Jahveh to refine and purge the remnant of his people, so as to purify their souls from sins. They shall see the kingdom of their Messiah, they shall multiply sons and daughters, they shall live to a great age,² and they shall prosper by his good pleasure.

‘From bondage to the Gentiles he will deliver their lives³ : they shall behold the punishment of them that hate them, they shall be satiated with the spoil of their kings. By his wisdom will he conquer the conquerors⁴ and bring many into subjection to the Law ; and for their sins *he* shall make supplication.

‘Therefore will I divide for him the spoil of many nations. And the goods of the strong cities will he divide as plunder, because he delivered his soul to death and brought rebels⁵ into subjection to the Law, and he will make supplication for many sins and rebels⁵ will be forgiven for his sake.’

ROBERT A. AYTOUN.

¹ Reading *ממ* for *ממ*, which makes nonsense.

² lit. ‘prolong days’.

⁴ Or ‘justify the just’.

³ lit. ‘souls’.

⁵ Or ‘transgressors’.

ROBERT GROSSETESTE ON THE PSALMS.

OF Grosseteste's commentary on the Psalms very little appears to be known: so far as I can see, information is summed up in Tanner's note (*Bibl. Brit.* p. 349):

'*In duas quadragenas Psalmorum* lib. ii. "Psalmorum libri, Graece Psalterium." MS Bononiae in bibliotheca Praedicatorum. *Super psalmos* usque ad centesimum inclusive. Gascoigne "Psalterium postillavit usque ad medium, nec ulterius licuit ob vitae terminum". Wharton *Angl. Sacr.* ii 3 Dominus Rob. Grost. super Psalterium manu sua propria scriptum—opus est Oxoniae inter fratres Minores. Tho. Gascoign. *Diction.* voce *Christus*'

In effect, no account of this work has ever been published, and I have found no reference to any manuscript save that (of Tanner) to the copy at Bologna. There is, however, a manuscript of it in the library of Eton College. When I made the catalogue of the MSS there, many years ago, I did not know that the work was so rare, and I passed it over with only the briefest description. At various times since then, and of late in particular, I have examined it, and I think that the chief results of my reading of it deserve to be recorded in print.

The salient fact about it is that Grosseteste, in the latter part of it at least, cites a number of Greek fathers of whose works there were, in his day, no Latin versions.

The Eton MS (no. 8) is a handsome folio of the fifteenth century, decently written in double columns. The scribe is not very intelligent, uses many tiresome abbreviations, and leaves many blanks, especially in the earlier part of the book: these are usually of one or two words only. There are no old marks of ownership, save that in the first initial the letters *t*, *b*, in gold, appear at the sides: in the centre is *ihc* in gold.

There is no original title: *Ro Grosthed in centum psalmos* is written on the first leaf in a hand of the sixteenth century at earliest. The structure of the commentary is curiously irregular, though it begins regularly enough.

There is first a prologue:

'Psalmorum liber Grece psalterium ebrayce nabla latine organum dicitur (agreeing with the *incipit* given above). Vocatur psalmorum liber quod uno propheta canente ad psalterium chorus consonando respondet.

Titulus autem in psalmis ebrayce est ita sephēcchilin (*sic*) quod interpretatur volumen ymnorum.'

The book (he goes on) is not by a single author: ten or more contributors are named. It has an allegorical meaning, referable specially to Christ. Esdras put it into its present shape, but the order is not strictly historical, e.g. the fiftieth psalm is prior in time to the third.

There is next a discussion of the 'psalterium decachordum' of the decalogue: Augustine de x chordis is referred to.

On fol. 1 b the psaltery and cithara are interpreted as signifying by their shape the inhabited part of the world. Several other topics are introduced; Cassiodorus is quoted.

The commentary begins at the end of fol. 1 b:

'*Beatus vir* etc. Solus dominus noster Ihesus Christus mediator dei et hominum non abiit' etc.

The only other part of this psalm which is expounded seems to be v. 4, *Et folium eius non defluet*.

We then find ourselves at ii 6. '*Mons* significat dominum' (fol. 2 b col. 2), a long disquisition on mountains and what they typify, e.g. '*Sunt autem quidam montes aurei ad quos accedere (non) possunt homines propter dracones et gryphes et immensorum hominum monstra*.' These words recur on fol. 171 a col. 2. The subject of mountains is continued to 4 a. On the same page is an exposition of iv 9, then of iv 3 on *mendacium*. The next passages to be treated are vi 3, vii 3 (the lion), vii 16, viii 5 (the moon), perhaps xiii 3 (the asp), passages in xvi-xviii, xx. Then on 14 a col. 2 is a section beginning '*Aqua spiritus sanctus est*', in which the marvellous properties of many fountains, rivers, and lakes are described and expounded. Subsequent sections deal with the Cross, the eye, the heart, &c. On 23 a col. 1 a section occurs '*Posuit os meum dominus ut gladium acutum*', which is avowedly a sermon on St John Baptist. On 23 b col. 2 we arrive at xlv 6, '*Ascendit deus in iubilatione*', followed by comments on xlv 2, liv 7, lv 4, l 9, 19.

On 32 a col. 2 begins a tract on stones. '*Idem eciam est lapis in terra quod os in carne*.' The twelve stones of the Apocalypse are discussed at length.

At 37 b col. 2 the comments resume on lviii 12, l 20?, lvii 2, lix 5, and so on, up to the end of lxxix, fol. 73 b. So far the text has been broken up into sections of varying length, each headed with a few words in large letters, and the exposition has been by no means consecutive or complete. With the beginning of lxxx, *Exultate*, a fresh start is made. Each psalm has but a single heading, viz. the first words, in large letters, and the whole text is expounded. This system is continued to the end of Ps. c, *Misericordiam et iudicium*, with which the work ends. The exposition is far more copious—twenty-one psalms occupy 130 leaves—and a completely fresh series of authorities begins to be quoted. Hitherto

we have had none but Latins, Augustine, Gregory, Cassiodorus, Bernard, Rabanus; the only trace of 'learning' has been an occasional Greek etymology. Now, though Augustine, Gregory, and Bernard are still very copiously used, and Jerome more sparingly, there are many citations of other writers.

At 80 *a*. 'Iohannes damascenus in sentenciis' (this from the Latin version, no doubt).

82 *b* col. 1 *fin*. 'hebraica veritas'. This, which is often cited, is Jerome's *Hebraicum*.

85 *b* col. 2 *fin*. 'Aristoteles in libro animalium'. Again, on 182 *a* col. 2, the fifth, seventh, and eighth books are quoted at some length on the subject of spiders, probably from Michael Scot's version, but this I have not tested.

91 *a* col. 1. 'Ioh. Crisostomus omelia I super Iohannem.'

93 *b* col. 1. 'Crisostomus in libro de compunctione cordis.'

94 *a* col. 2 (on lxxxv 5 'Mitis'). 'Mitis vero est peccata dimittendo, unde Aquila et Theodosion posuerunt propiciator (ἱλαστήσ¹) simachus vero dimissor (ἀφίων)'. This would be either from Eusebius or Theodoret. It is the first trace I have detected of the use of a clearly Greek source. Such traces soon begin to increase in frequency.

On 106 *b* col. 1. 'Secundum Origenem Ire et terrores intelliguntur dei ...'

On 107 *a* col. 1 ('Elongasti a me amicum' lxxxvii 19):

'Cyrillus vero exponit hic de fidelibus recolentibus peccata sua et dicentibus quod posuerunt me demones in profundi fovea peccati, qui ante peccatum erant mihi familiaris (-es), angeli videlicet boni amici etc.'

This is the first (I believe) of a very large number of quotations from 'beatus Cyrillus'. The next is on 112 *b* col. 1 ('Aquilonem et mare' lxxxviii 13):

'Vel secundum Cyrillum per hec quatuor nomina intelliguntur quatuor mundi climata, per aquilonem pars septentrionalis, per mare intelligitur pars vespertina, per Hermon que est mons in heremo Syna pars australis, per Thabor qui est mons in Galilea pars orientalis. exultauerunt autem montes isti, Hermon videlicet baptizato domino, Thabor vero transfigurato domino, et ambo exultauerunt domino in ipsis desuper testificato. apud Hermon quoque est Naim ciuitas, in qua dominus filium vidue resuscitauit. hec est expositio ad litteram beati Cyrilli. Dicit quoque consequenter idem beatus Cyrillus quod oportet (?) quod aspicientibus nobis ad orientem contra faciem est oriens et ad dorsum occidens, in dextra vero aquilo, in sinistris auster. Sed hec verba Cyrilli videntur falsa, quia versa facie nostra ad orientem auster est in dextra, aquilo in sinistra. Sed forte exemplar falsum est et cor-

¹ The Greek equivalents are added by me.

ruptum, nisi forte ipse vellet intelligere quod aquilo esset in dextra, non manu, sed mundi, et auster e conuerso.'

This extract is worth quoting, because it seems to shew that Grosseteste was himself translating the words of Cyril from a manuscript that lay before him

Meanwhile, on 109 *a* col. 1, there has been a note from Athanasius 'quod ideo Dauid legitur iurasse dominus, quia et Dauid primo iurauit se non daturum requiem sibi donec inueniret locum domino, tabernaculum deo Iacob.'

117 *a* col. 1 ('veritas mea et misericordia mea' lxxxviii 25):

'Congruentius vero intelligitur hoc de Christo, cum quo est veritas et misericordia patris. Secundum Theodoricum veritatem hic dicit in spiritu et veritate adoracionem quam Christus nobis induxit, quam et ipse deus et pater recepit cum filio et spiritu sancto.'

This is the first citation of Theodoret by name: quotations from him are, in the sequel, second in frequency to those from Cyril, and he is often used without being named.

ibid. 'Vel sicut supra expositum est super illum versum *Misericordia et veritas obuiauērunt sibi* potest et hoc intelligi secundum Eusebium quod misericordia sit diuina natura habens potestatem dimittendi peccata, veritas vero humana natura, secundum quam non inuentus est dolus in ore eius et quod ipsam naturam suscepit non fantasticam et quod euangelium non tradidit in ripis (*sic*: ? typis) sed in manifestacione veritatis.'

It will not be necessary to give many more extracts, but another sample from Theodoret shall be quoted:

121 *b* col. 2 ('Diripuerunt eum omnes transeuntes viam' lxxxviii 42):

'Historice dicit Theodoricus, Moabite, Amonite, Alofilii, Idumei, Assirii, Babilonii et simpliciter gentes omnes vicine diripuerunt populum Iudeorum et bona eorum, et ita facti sunt in depredacionem quod eciam quiuis inermis vie transitor eos diripuit.'

Another interesting class of passages are those in which Grosseteste quotes Greek words or readings. The scribe has so mangled the Greek letters that I do not attempt to copy his version of them. Examples are:

151 *a* col. 2 ('insipiens' and 'stultus' xci 7)

'In greco enim codice pro insipiente ponitur *αφρων* quod significat proprie priuatum prudencia, ab *α* quod est sine et *φρονησις* fronesis quod est prudentia; pro stulto vero ponitur *ασυνετος* quod significat priuatum intellectu, ab *α* quod est sine et *συνεσις* sinesis quod est intelligentia.'

191 *b* col. 1. 'in greco habetur *οπωσ* opos quod significat qualiter.'

On 153 *a* col. 1 is a disquisition on the palm, à *propos* of xci 13 'Iustus ut palma florebit.' In this, Pliny 'in libro 13^o naturalis

historie' is quoted, and also Aristotle 'in libro de vegetabilibus', and Basilius 'in exameron omelia 5'. This last citation has a curious incidental interest: we happen to know that Grosseteste procured a copy of Basil's Hexameron (in the old Latin version) from the monks of Bury St Edmunds and gave them in exchange for it a volume which is now MS 8 in the library of Pembroke College, Cambridge, and in which the transaction is noted.

Basil is cited in one or two other places as expounding texts in the Psalms, but I have not tried to discover whether the Hexameron is being used, or some of his homilies on Psalms.

Besides the writers already named, I have seen one mention of 'Gregorius Nicenus' (Nyssen), 156 *a* col. 1, and one of 'Maximinus', 154 *a* col. 1. Cyril, Theodoret, Eusebius, Athanasius, Origen furnish almost all the material with which I am concerned, and the quotations of the two first outnumber all the rest.

Proof has been given above that Grosseteste had a Greek Psalter before him when he wrote this commentary: that he possessed such a thing we knew before, for we have one of his at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. Did he also possess manuscripts of works by Cyril, Theodoret, and the rest, in Greek? I imagine not. I believe that all his quotations from them can be accounted for if we suppose them to be taken from a Greek Catena on the Psalms. I have not as yet examined the edited Catenae, but it is obvious from the lists of authors made by Fabricius that, in the Catena printed by Corderius, Cyril and Theodoret are quoted on almost every page. I have therefore no hesitation in adding to Grosseteste's Greek Library a Catena on the Psalms. From the fact that he does not appear to make any use of it before he reaches the eightieth Psalm we might be inclined to suppose either that he acquired it late, or that it was imperfect. Neither supposition is necessary, for the earlier part of the commentary is so fragmentary and irregular as to point to a complete change of plan on the part of the author after he had made some progress; perhaps there was an intention, frustrated by his death, to rewrite the first portion on a larger scale.

It may be worth noting that no mention of other Greek books which we knew Grosseteste to have read—Suidas, Dionysius the Areopagite, the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs—is to be found in this commentary, and that the greater part of it seems rather diffuse, occupied to an overwhelming extent with allegorical interpretation, homiletic in tone, and containing practically no references to events or conditions of the author's own day.

M. R. JAMES.

UBERTINO DA CASALE AND A VARIANT READING.

UBERTINO DA CASALE is well known to all students of Franciscan history as one of the leaders of the 'Spirituali' or 'Zelanti', who held to the strict observance of St Francis's Rule of poverty and thereby found themselves in opposition to the majority of the Friars and to the Church authorities generally. His book, the *Arbor Vite Crucifixe*, was written in 1305: in 1311 he was the spokesman of the Spirituals at Avignon, replying to the various charges brought against them at the Papal Court.¹

One of the accusations was that Friar Petrus Johannis Olivi, a leader of the Spirituals during the latter half of the thirteenth century, had taught heresy by asserting that our Lord was pierced by the lance of the soldier before He was dead. Ubertino replies that Petrus only considered the question by way of hypothesis, and quotes from what he takes to be a work of St Bernard to shew that he had done the same. He then goes on to say (*ALKG* ii 404):—

'Moreover St Jerome, who corrected the Gospels at the command of Pope Damasus, as appears from the Epistle which he writes to that Pope, and says that in Latin codices there were many things defective and superfluous, shews in that Epistle the marks and references (*signa et cotationes*) by which his correct edition (*correctio*) is recognized. And in a Gospel of Matthew containing his corrections and references set out according to the aforesaid Epistle this text is here given word for word in the xxviii chapter, as we extracted it from the very ancient book itself, though indeed it is found in a great many other copies: *Et circa horam nonam clamavit Ihesus uoce magna, helii helii la maza² batani, hoc est deus meus, deus meus ut quid dereliquisti me. Quidam autem illic stantes et audientes dicebant, Eliam uocat iste. Et continuo currens unus accepta spongia impleuit aceto et imponit arundini et dabat ei bibere. Alius autem accepta lancea pupugit latus eius et exiuit sanguis et aqua. Ihesus autem clamans uoce magna emisit spiritum. Et ecce uelum templi scissum est, etc.*

'And in the aforesaid book according to the notation (?)³ of the whole book we saw with our own eyes (*oculata fide*) the figures of the numbers in black and red according to Ten Canons, which Jerome explains in the Epistle prefixed, and by these figures it clearly appears according to St Jerome, to whom more than to other Doctors credit is given about accuracy of the text, that this text quoted above ought to be in the Gospel of Matthew about the wound in Christ's side between

¹ All the documents are excellently edited by Dr Ehrle in *Archiv f. Literatur und Kirchengeschichte* (*ALKG*), vol. ii.

² Ehrle has 'maça', but Italian 'z' in the 14th cent. is exactly like 'ç'. *Lama zabatani* is the form commonly found in 13th-cent. MSS of the Vulgate.

³ *iuxta signationem*. I do not quite understand what Ubertino means; possibly the Tables of Canons (see the last paragraph of *Novum Opus*).

His two exclamations according to his (St Jerome's) own true copies, which he translated and corrected by the command of the aforesaid Pope; and this very thing is found also in many [corrected]¹ books. As for the cause why it is not contained in many books, he sufficiently explains that in the above-mentioned Epistle.'

It is much to be wished that other and earlier statements of ecclesiastical writers about readings found in MSS were as clear and instructive as this of Ubertino's. It is concerned, of course, with the famous interpolation in Matt. xxvii 49, which is found in N and B and has actually been given a place in the text between double brackets by Westcott and Hort. The Latin attestation for the interpolation is what is called Hiberno-British: I give it here according to its geographical distribution.

IRELAND: D Q R r₂ *Mulling Dimma Harl.* 1023 *Corp. ox.* 122

ENGLAND: L (S. Wales) B.M. Add. 9381 (St Petroc, Cornwall)

Reg. 1 E vi (Canterbury)

CONTINENTAL IRISH: *S. Gall* 51 *Berne* 671

CONTINENTAL ENGLISH: *Würzburg* 61 *Echternach margin* (Fmg)

SCHOOL OF TOURS: *Gat* E

LATER FRENCH: B.N. 9386 (Chartres, ix^o), B.N. 342 (xiii^o), B.N. 16262 (xiii^o).

It does not seem very likely that Ubertino's MS was any of these. His MS evidently had an elaborate Table of Canons, like B.M. *Reg.* 1 E vi (the 'Canterbury Gospels', of the 8th cent.). It was probably at Paris that he saw it, in his student days, and the case of B.N. 9386, of the 9th cent., formerly at Chartres, shews that the existence of such a MS at Paris is not to us surprising.

The interest of the question does not, however, lie in the region of textual criticism, but in the support that the modern science of textual criticism gives to the good faith and intelligence of Ubertino da Casale. Ubertino elsewhere refers to lost and otherwise unknown MSS of the greatest interest, to 'rolls' written by Brother Leo the companion of St Francis, and to various traditions that he had heard from the mouth of other of the earliest Friars. It becomes therefore important to know with what degree of accuracy he speaks.²

For this reason it has seemed to me worth while to set out the Latin evidence for the aberrant text of Matt. xxvii 49 in full. Neither Ubertino nor his judges could have had any clear idea of the history of the text of the Latin Bible, or what were the limits of variation in mediaeval MSS. Modern scholars would be, I suppose, unanimous that the interpolation is as foreign to the true text as set forth by Jerome as it was to the text current in Ubertino's day. But MSS

¹ *coreptis*, read *correctis*.

² See e. g. the discussion in P. Sabatier's *Speculum Perfectionis*, pp. cxl ff.

containing it did exist, some of them very ancient and splendid copies. It says a great deal for Ubertino's intelligence that he noted this reading together with other peculiarities of the old codex, and that then he had a reference to it ready when he wanted it many years later. His statement about the old codex which he reports *oculata fide* is credible to the specialist now, more credible than it must have seemed to Papini about 1820 or to the Papal Court at Avignon in 1311, and therefore it seems reasonable to believe his statement about Brother Leo's *rotuli*, which he also claims to have seen.

As for the degree of accuracy to which Ubertino attains, we may note that his quotation from Matt. xxvii drops a certain number of words and clauses *per incuriam*. Thus the old codex no doubt had *dicens* before *helii*, and *ex eis* before *currens unus*, and it almost certainly did not omit after *bibere* the clause *Ceteri uero dicebant sine uideamus an ueniat Elias liberans eum*. Probably also it read *aqua et sanguis*, with all the authorities except *Gat*. But these things do not affect the main issue, which is that Ubertino is not romancing, but giving an intelligent and intelligible account of something that he had really seen. The only thing that remains with me as a permanent surprise is that this champion of the strictest poverty should have managed to remain so well provided with documentary evidence. He was surely a very well learned man.

F. C. BURKITT.

ON A PLACE IN ST AUGUSTINE'S *RULE*.

IN the JOURNAL vol. xx p. 355, the present writer pointed out that the editor of the Vienna text of St Augustine's *Epistolae*, the veteran scholar Dr Alois Goldbacher, who at the ripe age of over eighty-four is still active and productive, has altered the reading in one all-important sentence so that it can no longer be used, as it was by earlier critics, to fix the date at which the *Rule* was written. *Apud* Goldbacher, this sentence (*Ep.* 211. 4) now reads:—

cogitate, quid mali sit, ut, cum de deo natis in unitate gaudeamus, interna schismata in monasterio lugeamus.

deo natis] *Donatistis* m. [= Ed. Maur.].

That *Donatistis* is right and ought to be restored, it is the aim of this note to shew.

(1) The antithesis in the last two members of this sentence and the emphatic position of *interna* surely imply that the 'rejoicing in unity' is over those who, though external to the *monasterium*, were Christians before this time, though separate in communion. The rejoicing is caused, not by their conversion, but by their ceasing to be schismatics;

the phrase 'in unitate gaudere' is employed elsewhere (e.g. *Psalm. c. p. Don.*, 160) over the return of Donatists; *unitas* itself, much like *Catholica*, is employed, during the Donatist controversy, in the semi-technical sense of *Ecclesia catholica* (see Petschenig's Index to C.S.E.L., vol. liii). The sense points then to the Donatists as being the source of the 'rejoicing in unity'; this itself is a weighty argument for *Donatistis*.

(2) For what can *deo natus*¹ here mean? Does it mean 'born of God'? In classical Latin certainly it does; Livy has the very phrase: *Deus deo natus* (i 16. 3). But 'born of God' as Scripture is not *Deo natus*, but either *natus ex Deo* (ἐκ) or *natus de Deo* (see Sabatier *ad locc.*)² If Augustine here means 'converts', he has employed an unscriptural and unusual phrase: he very seldom (never, I might almost say) employs a bare ablative after *nasci*. Can *Deo* here be dative? Consider one or two analogous datives.

Nasci with dative is employed throughout all Latin in the sense 'born to, destined for': TERT. *de paenit.*, last sentence: *nec ulli rei nisi paenitentiae natus*; CARM. DE IONA PROPH. 3 *solis oculis nascentia poma*. COMMODIAN *Instr.* 2. 10. 7 is different: *in aluo recurrant | nascenturque quasi denuo suae matri de uentre*. *Mori peccato* (*peccatis, legi*) (dative) is Scriptural, and supplies such parallels as *saeculo mori* (e.g. to name only one or two that are at hand, PS.-HIER. *Ep.* 19. 15 *init.*; 19. 20 *non nos mundo, sed mundus nobis mortuus est*; 'An Ancient Homiliary' in JOURNAL xvi (1914) p. 317 *mortuus saeculo* and *mortuus mundo*)³; TERT. *Resurr. Carn.* xix has *homo mortuus Deo*. *Viuiere Deo* (dative) is Scriptural, and frequent (AVG. *In Ioan. Eu.* 26. 13 *uiuat Deo de Deo*; PAUL. NOL. *Carm.* in *Ep.* 7, line 107 *uiue, precor, sed uiue Deo*)(*uiuere mundo*, cf. *Ep.* 23. 21). Such phrases as these were soon paralleled: TERT. *Resurr. Carn.*, *ut supra*, has *redanimatus et reuiuificatus Deo*; PS.-HIER. *Ep.* 27. 1 (*P. L.* xxx 223 A, B) has an interesting collection: *perire sibi existimans (diabolus) quidquid Christo saluatur, et mori Synagogae suae quidquid Ecclesiae uiuificatur*. In Augustine the following datives are analogous: *Conf.* 12. 14. 17 *sic amo eos occidi sibi ut uiuant Tibi*; *In Ioan. Eu.* 60. 3 *timeat ne pereant homines Christo, contristetur cum perit aliquis Christo; . . . timeat et sibi ne pereat Christo*; *C. Gaud.* 2. 4. 4 *perire quemquam Christo*; and with the uncommon word *repuerasco*: *ab his ad seipsam colligat (anima) et repuerascat Deo*, *Quant. An.* 28. 55.

But does Augustine employ *nasci* with the dative? In the MS

¹ The *de* is to be taken, of course, with *gaudeamus*, as e.g. in the refrain of the *Psalmus*: *omnes qui gaudetis de pace. . .*

² Pontius *Vit. Cypr.* 2. 1 has *natus Deo*, but it is not easy to say whether *Deo* is ablative or dative; probably it is abl., the *ex* being omitted for euphony after *ex quo*.

³ Cf. *Aug. Ep.* 10. 3 *amori corporeo animus moritur*.

Concordance to St Augustine¹ prepared by the great P. Odilo Rottmanner, O.S.B., I find two examples, to which I can add only one:—

Pecc. Mer. ii 24. 38 ut Deo nascerentur ex Deo, qui prius nati fuerant ex carne saeculo. (*vid. sqq.*)

C. Iul. vi 2. 4 propter quod [*sc.* peccatum] omnis homo prius mundo, non Deo nascitur, et ut Deo nascatur, de mundo eligitur . . .

Nupt. et Concup. i 19. 21 mundo, non Deo nascitur; Deo autem nascitur cum *ex aqua et spiritu* renascitur.

These examples, all I know in Augustine, shew clearly that when Augustine does use *Deo nasci* (dative), he employs it in a context which prevents all obscurity, and in apposition with *mundo* (*et sim.*). We may conclude that, while *Deo nasci* is Augustinian, neither the first reason advanced nor this second allows it the place Goldbacher has given it in this sentence of the *Rule*.

Non otiose, as St Ambrose says so often, have I put forward this grammatical discussion: it serves to introduce a more weighty matter, namely, another point of view of Regeneration. The dative with *nasci* carries further the often-quoted *fecisti nos ad Te* (*Conf.* i. 1) and illustrates his frequent *Deo adhaerere, inhaerere*. Regeneration has not only God as source (*ex Deo*) but God as aim and end: we are born again *to* or *unto* God, a fact borne out by experience. A regenerate (if the word may be used) is usually less conscious of God as the *source* of his new-found life, than of the God he has discovered as Friend.

To sum up, the reasons given above are unanimous in recommending the restitution of the Maurist *Donatistis*, which Goldbacher ejected on the testimony of his manuscripts. The earliest of these, for this introductory section, is thirteenth-century, so their authority need not count much against reason. If *Donatistis* was given by the archetype, as seems certain, the omission of the second group of similar letters (*Dona-tis-tis*) easily explains the corruption. A similar error occurs in *De Baptismo* iii 1. 1 (p. 197. 1 Petschenig): *pro Donatistis esse proponendam*, where L (Sangall. 158, saec. ix) gives *Donatis*.

J. H. BAXTER.

P.S.—Since writing, I have come upon several similar datives, of which the most interesting is Ps.-AVG. *Hypomn.* i 2. 3 Deo dormiunt quos diabolus perisse putabat.

¹ The use of which I owe to the kindness of Abt Bonifaz Woehrmueller, O.S.B., of Munich, who has put it into my hands for combining with my own large collections into a vast Augustinian *Index Rerum et Verborum*, which, helped by Professor Souter's extensive lexicographical collections during a quarter-century, will some day, I hope, see the light. Meantime I shall be glad, as will Dr Souter, to consult our respective collections for any scholar interested.

'THE SOLUTION OF THE SYNOPTIC PROBLEM'.¹

MR ROBINSON SMITH comes before the world with a peculiar Solution. He holds that the Gospels were written in the order Mark, Matthew, John, Luke, and that they were written between A.D. 105 and 150, 'Luke in any case later than 132'. And further, Mr Smith holds that he has given a demonstration of his thesis; his book is a chain of connected argument, or what passes for such. A chain depends on its links: if I begin to examine Mr Smith's statements in certain matters of detail, my excuse must be that his remarkable conclusions depend in the last resort upon sweeping statements upon controversial and difficult questions, which can only be accepted from those whose word is shewn to be exact and trustworthy in matters verifiable.

I will begin with his treatment of the Sinai Palimpsest of the Old Syriac Version of the Gospels. Mr Smith has the greatest respect for this venerable monument of Christian antiquity: 'in moot-points it is nearly always right' (p. viii). I do not suppose I could ever be charged with undervaluing syr. *S*, but my estimate is more restrained than Mr Smith's: at least, I distinguish between the witness of *S* when it really leaves out disputed passages, and its non-witness when a passage is not found in *S* because *S* in its present state happens to have lost a leaf. Yet this is what Mr Smith does not do. I must quote fully to make it clear that I am not misrepresenting. Mr Smith is talking of the town Nazareth: he says (p. 49, note *)

'Mt. found the phrase there [i. e. in the Gospel acc. to the Hebrews], —He shall be called a Nazoræan (Nazoraïos)—made it prophetic, and interpreted it to mean "from a city called Nazareth"; although no such town or village is known outside of the Gospels and later Christian literature until the fourth century. Jn., Lk., and Acts merely followed Mt. So did Mk., since the only place where Nazareth is mentioned in Mk. (i 9) is a late accretion, the first eleven verses of Mk. not being in the Sinaitic Syriac, which for so many other reasons commends itself to us as the earliest of texts.'

Had Mr Smith got his information about the Sinaitic Syriac from any first-hand source he would have known that there is no reason whatever to suppose that Mk. i 1-11 was not once an integral part of the Sinai

¹ *The Solution of the Synoptic Problem; sources, sequence, and dates of the Gospels and Epistles and the consequent Life of Christ: a study in methodology*, by Robinson Smith, Watts & Co., 1920.

text. Like almost all palimpsests, not all the leaves of the original MS were used by the later scribe, and the leaves (Quire 5, leaf 2, and its conjugate Quire 5, leaf 9) on which Mt. xxviii 7^b—Mk. i 12^a, Mk. v 26^b—Mk. vi 5^a were written are among the seventeen missing leaves. The space is exactly right for the missing text: whether in Mt. xxviii 19 the Trinitarian baptismal formula was given, or whether in Mk. i 1 any title was added in syr. *S* beyond 'Jesus the Messiah', is of course unknown. But that syr. *S* contained a text of Mk. i 1-11 different from that of all other authorities is wholly improbable: there is nothing in the palaeographical facts to suggest it.

Yet Mr Smith refers to the absence of Mk. i 1-11 from syr. *S* again and again (pp. viii, 229 note ^f) as if it were a case of real omission from a text, like the absence of Mk. xvi 9-20 from syr. *S* and other authorities.

Again, on p. 45 we read the following foot-note: 'The idea of the application of a Transfiguration to Jesus apparently came (with the phrase, This is my beloved Son) from 2 Peter i 17-8. In the Sinaitic Syriac and in the Curetonian the Transfiguration appears only in Lk., so he may have been the first to adopt the idea.' The facts are that syr. *S* is not extant for Mt. xvi 15^b-xvii 11, but the Curetonian is extant; in Mark ix the Sinaitic Syriac is extant but the Curetonian is not extant (as is the case for almost the whole of Mark). In Mk. ix 2, 3 syr. *S* reads 'he was transfigured before them, and he became gleaming and his clothing became whitened as the snow'—for this reading, see the Old Latin *a n*. Had Mr Smith verified his references, he would have seen that his suggestion that the Transfiguration was absent from any text of the Old Syriac in Matthew or Mark is absolutely gratuitous.

On pp. 71, 72 we find that Mr Smith actually regards syr. *S* as representing a document itself earlier than, and the original of, our Greek Matthew. This is an old, old opinion, originally started (with reference to the Peshitto) by its first editor Widmanstadius in 1555, and afterwards revived in a modified form by Cureton in his edition of the 'Curetonian Syriac'. It is surprising to find in our days any one defending the priority of a text like the Old Syriac (of which the Sinai Palimpsest is one representative) over the Greek. If any one has any lingering doubts on the subject, I would suggest a comparison in the Syriac and the Greek of Mt. xix 12^b, xxvi 50 (ἐφ' ὃ πάρει;), and xxvii 8 (the Field of Blood): it is surely evident in these passages that the Syriac is a mere translation.¹

¹ I would add also Mt. xxii 13, where syr. *S* supports the 'Western' text, which omits all mention of 'binding'. Ordinary external and internal considerations are here very evenly balanced, but what seems to me decisive in favour of a

In the same note that I have quoted from above (p. 49, note ³) Mr Smith derives 'Nazorean' from the Hebrew word Nêțser (נֶצֶר) a 'Branch'. Unfortunately he twice gives as his authority Zech. vi 12 'Branch shall be his name' (p. 238, note ¹², quoted again p. 264, note ¹⁴). It is a pity for the argument that Zechariah uses the word *Ṣemaḥ* (צֶמַח) not *Neșer*. The fact is that no one is ever called 'Nêțser' in the Old Testament. Isa. xi 1 says there will be a shoot (*neșer*) from Jesse, but for the man called 'the Branch' the word used is not *neșer* at all.

Another specimen of Mr Smith's method and feeling for language may here be given. On pp. 44 and 52 he is concerned to assert that Luke's wording of the Parable of the Prodigal Son came partly from the Gospel according to the Hebrews, especially the phrase 'riotous living'. 'The phrase "riotous living" (ζὼν ἀσώτως, the latter word not occurring elsewhere in the New Testament) Lk. found (ἀσώτως ἐξηκότος) in the original of the Parable of the Talents (Eusebius *Theophania* 22, quoting *The Gospel acc. to the Hebrews*)'—so Mr Robinson Smith, p. 44. And again, p. 52: 'the Greek word for "riotously", "insalvably", found both in the Hebrew Gospel and Lk., is an extremely rare word, occurring, for instance, only here in the New Testament'.

Mr Smith quotes Mai's 22nd fragment quite fairly on p. 252 (note ^{ok}), from which the attentive reader of his book can see that Eusebius is not quoting at all, but only giving a summary of the contents of the Parable in the Hebrew Gospel. 'The Gospel that has come to us in Hebrew characters', says Eusebius, 'has directed the threat not against him that concealed but against him that had lived riotously': he would be a bold man who from this sentence would assert for a certainty that the Greek translation of the 'Gospel in Hebrew characters' accessible to Eusebius or his authority contained the word ἀσώτως at all. And is it such a rare word? It comes in Josephus (*Ant.* xii 4, 8); ἄσωτος occurs in Prov. vii 11, and the noun ἀσωτία occurs three times in the New Testament and twice in the Old.

On page 54 Mr Smith remarks, 'Barabba in the Aramaic means "son of his or the father". It is therefore meaningless unless added to a circumcision name.' This sounds plausible, but is Mr Smith prepared to extend his argument to all the names in Bar, such as Barnabas and Bartholomew and also Bar Cochba? Bar Abba is a curious patronymic, but not more odd than Ahab or the Syriac Aḥudemmeḥ, and in any case was borne by a well-known personage Rabbi Ḥiya Barabba. The habit of speaking of these persons by what

mention of 'binding', in accordance with the text of **N** B and of Westcott and Hort, is the evidence of Enoch x 4 (Δῆσον τὸν Ἀσάη ποσὶν καὶ χερσὶν καὶ βάλε αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ σῦτος). It is difficult to think that the imagery of Mt. xxii 13 is independent of this passage.

we may call their surname is possibly Greek, but the case of Barnabas shews that it really was the habit: Luke very properly introduces him to us as Joseph Barnabas and then goes on to speak of him as Barnabas only, but St Paul never mentions his circumcision name. The fact that the robber had the curious name of 'Fathersson' does not make it any more necessary to add the circumcision name also.

I venture to think this preliminary examination of Mr Robinson Smith's standard of scholarship and accuracy is not uncalled for, when so much of his work consists of oracular statements about the dependence of one ancient literary work on another. It is now time to consider the bases of some of the more peculiar positions that he has taken up.

In my opinion, however, the most faulty position, or rather attitude of mind, is one that he shares with a good many other writers on the Gospels. He writes as if the successive Evangelists were so many Scribes or Rabbis, editing, explaining, or (if need be) contradicting their predecessors. Thus (p. 26) 'Mk. (14. 3) says that Mary¹ poured the ointment on Jesus's *head* (an unusual thing to do),² although in Mk. (14. 8) Jesus states that she had anointed his *body* aforehand for the burying. Jn. (12. 3) corrects Mk.'s first statement by saying it was the *feet* of Jesus that were anointed.' Is there anything in the New Testament, or in early Christian history generally, to suggest that early Christian writers really practised this kind of verbal criticism?³ Is it not clear that the writers of our Gospels felt themselves at perfect liberty to tell their stories with whatever verbal changes they thought fit, and further that they had no idea that their work was destined to live side by side with their predecessors? To a certain extent they copy from one another—at least, Matthew and Luke copy from Mark—but this is not proved by their divergences, but by their agreements. However much you may feel at liberty to tell a tale in your own words, it is still easier to copy what is before you, and therefore we find in Matthew and Luke many of the expressions of Mark and still more of the construction of Mark's narrative. But where the Gospels differ they may differ for quite a number of different reasons.

On pp. 27-29 Mr Smith draws up a list of seventeen points in which he thinks it clear that Luke has been influenced by John, not *vice versa*. As an instance take no. (6):—

'Jn. (13. 2): "During supper, the devil having already put into the heart of Judas Iscariot to betray him. . . ." Lk. (22. 3): "And Satan

¹ How does Mr Smith know the woman's name *from Mark*?

² Yet see Psalm xxiii 5, cxli 5, Lk. vii 46.

³ Mr Robinson Smith (p. 61) 'watches the Epistles, like the Gospels, built up painfully verse by verse taken from existing literature'. If this were the process, the result is miraculous.

entered into Judas who was called Iscariot." The Mk.-Mt. narrative, which Lk. is following, is without any reference to the devil at this point.'

And he suggests in a foot-note that 'Lk. gets the exact phrase from Jn. xiii 27.'

It seems to me, to use the phrase of Matthew Arnold, that it is to consider too curiously to consider so. It is quite true that Mark does not attempt to give a reason for the treachery of Judas, and that Matthew follows him, only hinting that it was in accordance with prophecy (xxvii 9). But is it really improbable that other Christian writers, whether telling the tale with Mark as a basis or otherwise, should independently ascribe it to Satanic agency? Of course, if in their narrative two writers are otherwise very close to one another, either in their language or their peculiar views, such a coincidence is of considerable weight, as shewing their dependence either on each other or on a common source, but Luke and John do not shew such coincidence in language or presentation. A list of seventeen points, none of them in my opinion more cogent than the above, does not make out even a *prima facie* case, when we consider the immense difference of style and spirit between the Gospel according to Luke and the Gospel according to John.

One argument of Mr Smith's to prove that Luke is posterior to Matthew as well as to Mark deserves particular consideration. On pp. 10-11 is a list of twenty-two passages from Mark, part of each of which is reproduced in Matthew and part in Luke. Mr Smith prints the part reproduced in Matthew in heavy type and that by Luke in italics, thus:

1. **At even** *when the sun did set* (Mk. i 32).

18. Simon, *sleepest thou?* **Couldst thou not watch one hour?** (Mk. xiv 37).

He then argues 'A few of these duplicated phrases (they have never been listed at all completely before)¹ have been used to shew that Mark was the source of both Matthew and Luke; but do they not shew us still more? Do they not shew that Matthew had "first choice", as it were; that he chose before Luke, and that therefore Matthew was written before Luke?'

This sounds like an argument, yet I venture to think there is very little in it, because it fails to take account of the numerous passages where Mark has a full phrase, or pair of phrases, of which the same portion is retained both in Matthew and in Luke. Thus in Mk. ii 27

¹ The full list is Mk. i 32, iii 7, 8, v 24, v 38, v 40, vi 34, ix 12, ix 31, x 29, x 33, 34, x 38, xii 3, xiv 1, xiv 12, xiv 61, xiv 65, xiv 71, xv 42; Mk. i 42, xiv 30, xiv 37, xv 26. In the last four Luke reproduces the first part of the Marcan phrase.

we have the saying that the Sabbath was made for man, and in ii 28 that the Son of man is Lord of the Sabbath. Mt. xii 8 only reproduces the latter saying; so does Lk. vi 5. Similarly the sayings about the kingdom divided against itself are introduced by Mk. iii 21 ('He is beside himself') and by iii 22 ('He hath Beelzebub'); only the latter verse is chosen for reproduction in Mt. xii 24 and Lk. xi 15. Similarly in Mk. x 22 we read that the rich man's *countenance fell* and that he went away *sorrowful*: the latter word is represented in Mt. xix 22, Lk. xviii 23, but the former word in neither.¹ If, as Mr Smith suggests, Luke in his choice of words to be rejected from the redundancies of Mark aimed at omitting other phrases than those omitted by Matthew, these passages call for explanation from him.

It would be useless to go through the various passages in Jewish and classical literature alleged by Mr Robinson Smith to be the sources of various passages in the Gospels and Acts. Some of them have been often brought forward before, some are new; some have real weight, some seem to me quite pointless. What I miss is any sort of criterion as to what kind of parallelism constitutes a valid reason for believing that a passage in one work is an actual adaptation from a passage in another. I will conclude with a quotation from the chapter called 'Non-Biblical Sources of Gospels and Acts', in which these alleged sources are arranged in alphabetical order. Between 'Ignatius' and 'Josephus' comes a paragraph on p. 240 labelled 'Inscription (*ca.* 138 A. D.).' It runs as follows:—

'Jn. 9, the healing of the blind man. Compare the inscription on a marble tablet said to be later than 138 A. D., probably fixed on the temple of Asclepius in Rome, given by Dittenberger *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum* (Leipsig (*sic*), 1900) No. 807. 17 f: "To Valerius Aper, a blind soldier, the god revealed that he should go and take blood of a white cock together with honey, and rub them into an eye-salve and anoint his eyes three days. And he received his sight and came and gave thanks publicly to the God." See also Deissmann *Light from the Ancient East*, pp. 132 ff. If the above date is correct and Jn. 9 is dependent upon this inscription, Jn. would be later than 138 A. D., and Lk. later than Jn. but before Marcion, whose date may be as late as 150 A. D. Papias (*ca.* 130) mentions Mk. and Mt., but not Lk., and not at all certainly Jn. The "and" construction in the above passage and Jn. is very marked.'

Certainly there is much virtue in an 'if'.

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¹ Of these passages I have noted Mk. i 41, ii 19, 27, iii 21, iv 39, v 39. x 14, 21, 22, xi 10^a, 16, xiv 20, and the list might be considerably extended.

TWO INSTANCES OF *KHIL'AT* IN THE BIBLE.

In both the Old and the New Testament there occur frequent references to gifts of raiment, robes of honour, and clothing. They occur, indeed, throughout literature on Oriental subjects, and though at times there would appear to be no political significance in the gift,¹ beyond perhaps ordinary friendship, some do belong to the class known as *Khil'at*.² My attention was attracted to this aspect by the following passage in Niccola Manucci's *Storia do Mogor* (ed. W. Irvine) vol. ii p. 44 :—

'For the King of Balkh, he [Aurungzēb] sent as a remembrance many pieces of costly brocade, . . . and nine costly and beautiful sets of robes, with the whole of which the envoys were much satisfied.

'Ignorance made them thus satisfied, for they were not aware that the King of the Moguls sends *sarāpās* (sets of robes) to subjects only. To send a *sarāpā* to any one is to declare him to be a subject. If he submit to this, no further present need be added. . . .'

The whole passage from pp. 36–45 is of interest as shewing that while it was impossible to conquer Balkh by force, diplomatic symbolism succeeded.

Now the Persian word *sarāpā* merely means 'from head to foot' (*cap-à-pie*) and is descriptive of the manner in which it is worn. Its Arabic equivalent *Khil'at* describes its nature.³ *Khil'at* is derived from the verb *khal'aa* (he took off), and we have definite cases where additional honour was shewn by the king or prince *taking off* his own coat and putting it on the subject he wished to honour.⁴ There would seem, then, to be some significance underlying the idea of the robes having been worn by the donor, for it would seem clothes could not only transmit disease,⁵ but also authority⁶ and healing power,⁷ and in addition, if Manucci is to be believed, could assert suzerainty.

Of the two cases I wish to examine one is taken from the Old Testament (2 Kings v), the other from the New Testament (Matt. xxii 1–22). When Naaman the Syrian decided to visit Elisha he brought

¹ e. g. 1 Kings x 25.

² Cf. Gen. xli 41–42, Isa. xxi 121, Num. xx 28, and the Mantle of Elijah, 2 Kings ii 8, 13, 14.

³ Vullers *Lexicon Persico-Latinum* ii 257, also s.v. *khil'at* 'proprie—vestis quam aliquis e corpore suo exutam dat'. Cf. Lane *Arabic Lexicon* Bk. I ii p. 789.

⁴ v. A. von Kremer *Culturgeschichte des Orients* i. 154; and Sir John Shore's visit to the Mughals at Benares, Feb. 7, 1797 (*Life of Lord Teignmouth*, by his son, i 404–405). Cf. H. M. Chadwick *Heroic Age* pp. 340–341 and references.

⁵ e. g. Lev. xiii 47–59. Cf. E. W. G. Masterman *Hygiene and Disease in Palestine* p. 41.

⁶ e. g. the mantle of Elijah, 2 Kings ii, Num. xx 28.

⁷ e. g. Mk. v 25, vi 56, Acts xix 11, 12: but *not* Matt. xxvii 35 which has no significance relevant to these notes.

with him 'ten changes of raiment' (v 5). His arrival sorely troubled the King of Israel, who saw in the mission but an excuse for war (v 7), and shortly after the visit 'the King of Syria warred against Israel' (vi 8). Hence it may be supposed that relations between the two kingdoms were strained, and I suggest a political significance in the mission, as the King of Israel imagined, for the following reasons.

1. The word *hāliphōth* used for changes of raiment is a derivative of the verb *halph*, which means 'to pass on' and is akin to the Arabic *Khalafa*, the root of *Khilāfat*, the succession.¹ Hence 'changes of raiment' is equivalent to 'raiment to be passed on', which was the function of the *Khil'at*. That the 'changes of raiment' here had the essential characteristic² of the *Khil'at* is shewn by the fact that Gehazi caught Naaman's leprosy by accepting garments which Elisha more wisely refused, recognizing what they were. The use of the word *hāliphōth* here is an interesting parallel to an intimate connexion which may exist between the *Khilāfat* and *Khil'at* in Islām.³

2. The rebuke to Gehazi, 'Is it a time to receive money and to receive garments?' (v 26), combined with the political factors already noticed, suggests that Elisha's firmness in refusing the garments, as well as Naaman's pressure on him to accept the garments,⁴ was due to political considerations. For it would seem that Gehazi had thereby become a subject of the King of Syria, a vassal of Naaman, and a traitor to the King of Israel. The writer takes advantage of the infection of leprosy⁵ to enhance the prophetic reputation of Elisha. Gehazi was smitten with Naaman's leprosy, but Elisha only proclaimed the fact, it was no prophecy (v 27).

3. Having succeeded in imposing a *Khil'at* on a subject of the King of Israel, the King of Syria proceeded in his attempt to convert the implied proclamation of suzerainty into a reality (2 Kings vi 8).

This inner meaning of the change of raiment appears to have been lost mainly because the Septuagint translator does not appear to have realized its significance. ἀλλασσομένης στολάς hardly conveys the idea of succession, although ἀναβόλαιον (used in Isa. iii 22 Symm.), if the force of ἀναβάλλω—to put off—be pressed, might contain the meaning, and εἴματα ἐξημουβά (*Odys.* viii 249) seems still more close. The idea must

¹ I am indebted to Dr S. A. Cook for help in the matter of Hebrew philology, and I wish here to acknowledge his kindness in looking over this paper.

² v. n. 3 *supra* p. 197.

³ I suggest that a clue may be found in the Assyrian meaning of *halph* (to *don*, to *get into*) taken in connexion with *Khal'aa* (to *put off*): in the continued use of the *Khil'at* in bestowing office in Muslim countries; and in the case of the insignia of the Caliph. V. Prof. D. S. Margoliouth's essay on 'The Sense of the Title Khalifah' in the forthcoming *Essays to Professor E. G. Browne* pp. 322 and 326.

⁴ v 16. 'And he urged him to take it; but he refused.'

⁵ v. n. 5 *supra* p. 197.

have been known in Greece, as is shewn by the eagerness to get possession of the fallen enemy's arms in the battle scenes of the *Iliad*¹ as well as in the New Testament, 'he taketh from him his whole armour wherein he trusted and—[then]—divideth his spoils' (Lk. xi 22).² The Vulgate reads *mutatoria vestimenta*, which is equally vague.

The second case is the Parable of the Wedding Garment in Matt. xxii 1-14. Commentators³ seem to miss the real significance of this parable by their unwillingness to face the really serious *crime* involved in the omission to put on the *ἐνδυμα γάμου* which was provided by the king. They are content to leave the omission as a mere breach of etiquette or bad taste and then to gloss over the gross injustice of the sentence of the king with allegorical interpretations.

Now, if *acceptance* of a *Khil'at* is an acknowledgement of suzerainty, neglect or refusal to wear it is a denial of suzerainty and act of treason. The host, it should be remembered, is the king of the country; the guests are his subjects, and he who had no *ἐνδυμα γάμου* was guilty of an open rejection of his sovereign, in his sovereign's presence. He knew quite well the nature of his offence, for he had no defence to offer when taxed with a question couched in friendly terms. The dramatic effect is raised by placing the 'casting out' as a punishment even more severe than the punishment of the murderers. Matthew appears to use Luke's parable as an introduction to his own version, to shew that indifference was as nothing to treason.

The parable, indeed, is a hard blow levelled at the Pharisees, and the shaft went home. It is a direct charge of high treason against God, the Heavenly King; that it was understood in this sense is shewn by the verses following. The Pharisees 'took counsel how they might ensnare him in his talk' (v 15) into high treason against Caesar, the earthly king, by a discussion of tribute, the subject's duty, the counterpart of the king's grant of a *Khil'at*. Again the answer is based on a normal form of allegiance—the acceptance of the king's coinage.

In conclusion, I would suggest that the two examples quoted are two specific instances of a very prevalent association of the psychological effects of physical contact, direct and indirect. The idea is common throughout the East and there seem to be traces of it in the New Testament. In the two cases with which I have dealt, however, appears most clearly the extraordinary political importance attached to the custom.

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¹ H. M. Chadwick, loc. cit.

² Cf. Isa. iii 22, Zech. iv 4, where *hal'a* would appear to be the root of the participle used.

³ Particularly Trench (*Parables*, ed. 1886, pp. 219 ff) where he would have otherwise been saved much wasted apologetic. Matt. xxii 1-14 deals with treason, if my interpretation be accepted; Luke xiv 16 ff deals with 'a certain man', *not* a king.

REVIEWS

STRACK'S 'INTRODUCTION TO THE TALMUD'.

Einleitung in Talmud und Midraš von H. L. STRACK. (Fifth edition: G. H. Beck, München, 1921.)

So familiar to students is Strack's 'Introduction to the Talmud' that for many years past it has been unnecessary to cite it by more than the opening word of the German title. First published in 1887 as a reprint from the *Real-Encyklopaedie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, it has gone through several editions in its volume form. Each edition was an improvement on its predecessor, and with the appearance of the fourth edition in 1908 the work seemed to have reached a point of definitive excellence. But the author has disposed otherwise. He has now so revised and enlarged the book that the old title no longer suffices. What used to be known as the *Einleitung* will remain the *Einleitung*. But it is now 'Einleitung in Talmud und Midraš' while it used to be 'Einleitung in den Thalmud'. The change is due to the addition of a long and valuable section on the Midrash. This is an entirely new feature.

Strack's book needs neither review nor description. Indeed a review of a classic would almost be impertinent. Not that every reader would agree with every one of the author's statements and conclusions. Thus I cannot persuade myself that what Justinian prohibited as *Deuterosis* in his famous rescript of the year 553 was the Mishnah. The whole context (*Nov.* 146) indicates that the emperor was referring to the use of Bible translations in the Synagogue, and that while advocating the LXX he permitted Aquila but absolutely forbade the Targum. Still, Strack has the weight of authority on his side. So he has with regard to the problem of the commission of the oral traditions to writing. I entirely agree with his view that this must have begun at a relatively early date, and that assuredly the Mishnah was written as well as compiled by Judah the Patriarch c. A. D. 200. Strack at every point provides the necessary references to materials for the decision of all such problems. Thus the literature of Sherira's Letter is fully given. Sherira in 987 addressed his famous epistle to Kairuan in which he discussed the history of the Oral Tradition with a critical acumen rare for his age. The curious thing about the Letter, however, is that it has survived in two recensions, the 'Spanish', which represents Sherira as favouring a written text of the Mishnah, the other the 'French', in which an

opposite view is recorded. So up to date are Strack's bibliographies that he mentions in advance Dr B. Lewin's elaborate Haifa edition which only saw the light of publication many months after Strack's reference to it. Lewin's book is to be dated 1921, not 1920. While speaking of the bibliographies in Strack's *Einleitung*, it is interesting to note how rapidly literature on the Talmud grows. Thus since Strack came to hand there have been published (among other works) A. Cohen's excellent English translation of the Talmudic tractate *Berakot* (Cambridge University Press), B. Halper's fine *Anthology of Post-Biblical Hebrew Literature* (Philadelphia, Jewish Publication Society of America), and a very competent and useful *Short Survey of the Literature of Rabbinical and Mediaeval Judaism* by Oesterley and Box (S.P.C.K.). To this must be added the same Society's series of Mishnah (and Tosefta) tractates in English (in which the most recent volume is Dr Lukyn Williams's *Berakoth*), and Dr Greenup's *Sukkah* in the Hebrew text. Naturally enough there are gaps in Strack's lists of English publications since 1913. The war sadly interrupted the flow of literature from land to land, and the marvel is not that some things are lacking but that so very many are included. Strack's industry and care are beyond praise.

The *Einleitung* remains indispensable for English students, despite the fact that they are far more favourably placed than they were when Strack's first edition appeared. There are, for instance, the articles by Bacher and Theodor in *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, by Schechter in the Extra Volume of *Hastings's Dictionary of the Bible*, by S. A. Cook in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (for Schiller-Szinessy's brilliant eccentricities the older edition should also be consulted), the *Survey* by Oesterley and Box, and, to name but one other essay, Strack's own contribution to vol. i of the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*. In this last-named article (on Anti-Semitism) Strack has much to say about the Talmud. One passage is worth referring to because Strack substantially repeats it on p. iv of the Preface to his *Einleitung*: 'There is no truth whatever in the assertions that the Jews seek . . . to keep the Talmud secret. . . . As a practical proof that Christians are not dependent for a scientific judgement regarding the Talmud on what a Jew may think fit to communicate, it may be mentioned that the present writer in 1887 wrote an introduction to the Talmud without having asked or received the slightest detail of information from Jews or Jewish Christians. *The Talmud contains no report or statement which the expert Christian scholar cannot discover.*' Our English Lightfoot could have said the same; his *Horae* are the result of his own independent research. But it is significant of a certain type of German prejudice that Strack should feel impelled to make this protestation. The Talmud, as he says sarcastically, is only a hidden book to the class who, failing to give the

necessary labour to the understanding of the original, would find Caesar's *Gallie War* also a sealed book.

But though the English reader is now more fully provided with helps, Strack's *Einleitung* must continue to be the main guide of any serious student of the Talmud. The merits of the *Einleitung* are many: it is well arranged, its biographies of the leading Talmudic Rabbis, 'Schriftgelehrten', are concisely adequate, its elucidation of technical terms is precise and accurate, its account of 'Hermeneutics' is peculiarly lucid, its exposition of the contents of the Talmudic and other Rabbinic texts is more than adequate, for it is generously copious, its judgements are moderate and well-founded, its historical surveys impartial, while its analysis of the value of the Talmud will commend itself to the humanist. It is a standard work of the best type. Yet Strack seems never to be satisfied himself that he has done all that could be done. Thus in the present edition he has incorporated a fresh chapter of considerable value. All the older (and some of the newer) Jewish authorities cite the Talmud not by Tractate and folio, but by chapter heading. Strack gives us now (as others of course have done before him) an alphabetical list of these chapter headings. While on the subject of the method of citing the Talmud, I might be allowed to allude to an interesting fact. Our present pagination derives from Bomberg's Venice edition (1520-1523); all subsequent editions have adhered to his numbers. But Bomberg himself did not number the leaves until he had proceeded some way with his first volume. Like a wise editor he did not hesitate to introduce a useful change *after* he had printed off some sheets.

Besides, however, such innovations as the alphabetical list of chapter headings, the fifth edition of the *Einleitung* is enriched with an entirely new section on the Midrash. Strack realizes that Midrash is not merely an exposition of the Biblical text, but that it is a vital phase of the life of the people. Of course it also had a scholastic tendency, and much of the Midrash that has survived is technical and halachic (legal) as well as popular and homiletic. The student will find a trustworthy guide through the intricacies of date and structure. One remark on Genesis Rabbah will be read with the utmost satisfaction. Referring to J. Theodor's masterly edition of this Midrash, which was interrupted by the war, Strack notes: 'die baldige Vollendung der wichtigen Arbeit ist gesichert'. The present writer has Dr Theodor's personal assurance that the manuscript is already complete. It is a strange fact that we are still so badly provided with critical texts of the early Rabbinical works, the Talmud included. There does not even exist a critical edition of the whole of the Mishnah, though the manuscript and other materials for such an edition are already ample. With the Midrash the case is a good deal better; Friedmann, Weiss, and

Buber did much for the Midrash text in a former generation, though their learning was more conspicuous than their critical judgement. H. S. Horowitz's edition of the Sifrê to *Numbers* (1917) marks a new epoch. Students of the Talmud have Rabbinoicz's *Variae Lectiones*, and, better still, the facsimile of the complete Munich MS of the Babylonian recension. For this, as for so much else of aid, the student is indebted to Strack himself. And though he admits, as from the nature of the case any conscientious scholar must admit, that his *Einleitung* still needs a good deal of supplementation to make its bibliographies complete, yet Strack may rest content with the degree of perfection that he has now reached. He characteristically informs us that he has never known an 'eight hours day'. Obviously this is the truth, for the collection, sifting, and valuation of so many thousands of pamphlets and volumes represent a patient industry as well as a rare capacity.

Strack's new edition is, then, a great performance. In his latest preface he thanks friends in Holland, England, and the United States for enabling him to publish this enlarged version of his book. He justly finds herein a proof that, despite the war, German scholarship is still appreciated in foreign countries. Prof. Strack need be under no apprehension that his work will fail to attract readers in England because of the recent painful breach between our country and his. And though the present work stands out as a splendid performance, yet in a sense its most important service lies in its future promise. The labour and the research which he has consecrated to it are but the prolegomena to a yet greater work. For Dr Strack concludes his preface by the announcement that this Introduction is the forerunner to a larger work on which he has been engaged for twenty years. This larger work is nothing less than a 'Commentary on the New Testament from the Talmud and Midrash', which the author hopes to begin to print immediately, with the collaboration of Paul Billerbeck. Strack was 73 years old on May 6, 1921, and it says much for his unimpaired vigour and enthusiasm that he can, at such an age, contemplate the completion of so great and arduous an enterprise. He may confidently anticipate a cordial welcome in England to a work for which he is so eminently qualified.

I. ABRAHAMS.

Recent Theistic Discussion (The Croall Lectures, twentieth series), by
 PROF. W. L. DAVIDSON, M.A., LL.D. (T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh,
 1921.)

PROF. DAVIDSON has rendered a service to students of philosophy of religion in supplying, in the last of these lectures, a complete classified bibliography of the literature evoked by the Gifford Trust, and a brief epitome of the contents of the numerous volumes of Gifford Lectures which have as yet been published. Being able to discuss with any fullness only a limited number of specimens, he has selected for especial consideration those which he regards as most germane to the subject of theism: the courses given by Driesch, Balfour, Fraser, and Pringle-Pattison. The choice of the first two of these, at least, will, I fear, seem arbitrary to most of Prof. Davidson's readers: for Driesch's occult vitalism is somewhat of a superfluity since the enunciation of the idea of subjective selection and the mnemonic theory of heredity; and Mr Balfour's argument, which involves the naturalistic fallacy as much as does the naturalism which he combated, has in philosophical circles generally been pronounced feeble. Fraser's book, despite its high value, might well have been replaced by Ward's *Realm of Ends*, which in the opinion of many is the most masterly, original, and weighty of all the volumes of Gifford Lectures concerned with theism; and Pringle-Pattison's course is hardly superior in merit to that of Sorley, which presents a very similar theistic argument. And, speaking of relative merit and importance, it is perhaps a further instance of doubtfully sound judgement when Royce's contribution is assigned a place in the first rank. Prof. Davidson admits that this writer's reasoning is 'elusive'; it seems to me to be altogether too rhetorical to be allowed to pass as valuable philosophy.

In the opening lecture the author presents a clear and sound description of religion, and also the thesis which perhaps he is most directly concerned to establish and to illustrate: viz. that the data, or premisses, of theistic argument are to be sought not in man's intellectual faculty alone, but in the whole of his nature. Our emotional, moral, and religious experience, it is urged, are also 'sources of revelation', above which intellect is not to be exalted to a rank of superiority. This thesis is to-day beyond question; but it needs to be clearly distinguished from another, obviously false, with which it is apt to be confounded, to the effect that feeling, &c., are on an equality with reason or understanding as instruments for the apprehension of truth or revelation. Those who rightly insist that we should go for our data to 'the whole man' often wrongly proceed to assume that because the several types of mental activity are lodged in the same person, one of them can therefore usurp

the functions of another. Prof. Davidson does not explicitly commit this error of endowing emotional states with cognitional instrumentality ; but some similar mistake is implicit in such statements as 'that the existence of the Object is real is implied in the actual existence of the want' (p. 29), that God is a primary 'datum' of our nature (p. 30), and that outstanding emotions of certain kinds 'have a distinctive theistic implication' (p. 67). Such assertions as these evince an inordinate desire for short cuts to the theist's goal. And a similar haste and disregard for the impeding restraints of logic betrays itself in the affirmation (p. 53) that personal identity implies immortality. After meeting with fallacies so audacious, the reader of this book will not be surprised to find that others, less obvious and startling, committed by Gifford Lecturers, have sometimes escaped the writer's detection. One of such is reproduced in the assertion that morality 'implies independence of the individual Ego, and, therefore, presupposes the Absolute' (p. 50). It is noticeable that the idealist sometimes readily rejects the naturalistic conclusion to a material absolute by rightly insisting that the 'matter' which is independent of any individual percipient is not necessarily independent of all percipients, while he overlooks a similar logically possible alternative when, in the world of values, he himself argues from independence of the individual, not to over-individual, or social conation-systems, but to absolute norms, whose 'objectivity' is then apt to be confounded with 'existence'. Prof. Sorley and others have presented moral arguments vitiated by this non-sequitur ; and Prof. Davidson perpetuates the fallacy.

Further instances of lack of critical discernment might be cited from this book, though its author has a keen eye for the weak spots in the armour of representatives of anti-theistic belief, such as Dr Bosanquet. His criticism, again, of the once prevalent objection to the anthropomorphism of theology is interesting and valuable. Indeed, in spite of the defects to which I have called attention and the differences of opinion that I have submitted, there is very much in these lectures, both of appreciation and of criticism, with which I wholly agree. The chief fault of the work, as it seems to me, is that it does not pursue the line of greatest, rather than that of least, resistance, in commending theism. One or two of the series of Gifford Lecturers have made that their endeavour, and their valour has been the better part of their discretion.

F. R. TENNANT.

CHRISTIAN ETHICS.

1. *The New Testament and Modern Life* by S. H. MELLONE, M.A., D.Sc. (The Lindsey Press.)
2. *The Guidance of Jesus for To-day* by C. J. CADOUX, M.A., D.D. (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd.)
3. *Some Ethical Aspects of the Social Question* by the Rev. W. McDONALD, D.D. (Burns, Oates & Washbourne, Ltd.)
4. *The Christian Mind* by Dom ANSCAR VONIER, O.S.B. (B. Herder.)

THE four books before us illustrate, if they do not solve, some of the problems of Christian ethics. Dr Mellone sets himself the task of re-examining the recorded sayings of Jesus and the effect they produced upon His immediate followers. In his introduction he discusses the apparent dilemma of those who have to choose between the unpractical literalism of such writers as Tolstoy, and the easy-going interpretations of the gospel ethics which 'formally accept the commandments of Jesus as divine teachings, and in practice disregard them altogether'. 'Another way must be found. We must reject the legalist and literalist interpretation, while at the same time we refuse to explain away the distinctive meaning and practical force of the precepts' (p. 11). This Dr Mellone strives to do by realizing the historical setting of the gospel teaching. He thinks that when the ideals of Jesus are studied in relation to the circumstances of the time in which He lived they are found to be wider and more helpful to the modern world than the somewhat paradoxical precepts in which these ideals were first enshrined.

The examination of the Scriptural evidence which follows is scholarly and suggestive, especially in his treatment of what the author calls the 'secondary expressions' of the moral impulse given by Jesus. Throughout the book the attempt to discover the inner spirit of the teaching of Jesus instead of dwelling upon the actual precepts which may not have expressed that spirit adequately is an attempt which promises relief from many perplexities. To take but one example. There can be no doubt that Jesus preached the ideal of non-retaliation in the relations of individuals *inter se*, because, while retaliation provokes fresh retaliation, the spirit of self-giving love which refuses to hit back is the strongest redemptive force in the world. That is the principle, but its fivefold application in Matt. v 39-42 'conveys the impression that the effects on the sinner and the effects on Society are alike to be ignored; and the utmost that can be said is that we have here an impressive statement of a principle, *that which costs the greatest personal effort must be the best*. This is only an imperfect expression of the Law of

Love; and as a principle it requires important qualification from the point of view of practical morality. We seem driven to conclude that the illustrative applications which Jesus gave fail to do justice to the spirit of the teaching' (p. 149). In later chapters Dr Mellone endeavours to shew how the Christian ideals were reinterpreted by St Paul and by later New Testament writers as required by the changing conditions of the world; this, he thinks, must ever be the function of the Christian Church and it must be accomplished not in bondage to the letter but in loyalty to the spirit of the teaching of Christ.

Among those who will be least likely to agree with Dr Mellone's main thesis must presumably be numbered Dr C. J. Cadoux whose book, *The Guidance of Jesus for To-day*, appeared some few months ago. The writer embarks upon a fresh and original examination of the teaching of Jesus as recorded by the synoptists, setting forth very clearly what Jesus actually taught as to the Being and goodness of God, and treating of the Person and work of Jesus, our duty to God, our duty to Jesus, and our duty to man. The author's style is easy and fluent, and though we may shudder a little at such a phrase as that on p. 91, 'Jesus is down on all prayer for show', we must admit that the book is easier to read and the argument easier to follow than Dr Mellone's. Dr Cadoux quotes widely from modern literature, his references ranging from *Lux Mundi* to *The Way of an Eagle*, and he does undoubtedly bring the teaching of Christ into very close relationship with the present day.

The author passes on to really controversial ground when he comes to consider our duty to our fellow men. He is not at all afraid of the literalism shunned by Dr Mellone: indeed he delights in it. Jesus preached the duty of forgiveness and of non-retaliation in all circumstances; therefore no Christian can be a policeman or a magistrate, much less a soldier. All punishment is wrong, though children are somewhat illogically allowed to be smacked—a permission which seems limited to parents who in chastising their offspring 'display in a special form that mastery over and responsibility for themselves which at once constitutes and limits their freedom'.

We may admire the author's courage in following out his theory to the bitter end, but we should admire it more if he admitted more candidly the disruptive effect upon civilized society of any widespread conversion to such Christianity. He denies that a cataclysm is to be feared because 'the community of non-resisting Christians grows only gradually'. Truly a strange apology! So few are likely to follow Dr Cadoux that they will not be able to bring civilization to ruin. For the present, peace and progress are to be safeguarded by the soldier who defeats the tyrant, the policeman who arrests the criminal, and the magistrate who sends him to prison: all these men are engaged in occupations

impossible for a Christian, but by their self-sacrifice and devotion to duty they keep the roof over the head of the saints, who reward them by prayers for their conversion. This is exactly the spirit which made conscientious objectors so justly unpopular during the war, and that Dr Cadoux should justify it by quoting the teaching of Jesus is a demonstration of the certainty with which the letter killeth. There is one thing more unchristian (p. 156) than sticking a bayonet into an enemy who is on his way to murder your wife and children, and that is leaving another man to do it for you. As for the statement (p. 173) that such Christian pacificism 'is the only really radical solution of the problem of war' which the League of Nations cannot solve 'because itself contemplates and provides for wars against recalcitrant nations', we can only envy Dr Cadoux his optimism. He must not expect to make many converts to such pacificism, but happily the last forty pages do not suffice to spoil a really good book.

We find ourselves in a strangely different atmosphere when we turn to *Some Ethical Aspects of the Social Question* by the Rev. W. McDonald, D.D. of St Patrick's College, Maynooth. The author is in no danger of interpreting too literally the precepts of Jesus; his danger seems to be that of forgetting them altogether. In the one hundred and fifty pages of the book I do not recall a single quotation from the New Testament or any reference to distinctively Christian principles, unless the passages transcribed from Roman casuists can be classed under that head. Dr McDonald endeavours to defend by principles of abstract justice the theory of Socialism in general, and in particular the various trade union regulations with regard to scab labour, tainted goods, &c., contesting the assumption which is common in the Roman Church that Socialism and Christianity are natural enemies. The book suffers from having been written in the early days of the war: a good deal of water has flowed under the bridge since 1915, and certainly the events of the last four years in Russia and elsewhere have not strengthened our faith in the stability of 'moderate socialism' such as the author defends.

Incidentally, Dr McDonald's treatment of cattle-driving and the boycott in Ireland helps us to understand a good deal in recent Irish history. He is 'now disposed to agree with those who condemned cattle-driving as a violation of strict justice' (p. 47). No wonder violence flourishes in a land where the Church condemns it in such hesitating terms.

Dr McDonald calls his book 'Suggestions for Priests'; I hope they will profit by its perusal, but I think they will gain more from the unpretentious little volume by Dom Anscar Vonier entitled *The Christian Mind*. The author's position is that of the mystic, and his

main thesis is the supreme importance of the 'Christian mind', that is, the mind which has drunk deep of the Spirit of Christ. 'There could be no greater danger than an attempt to express Christian life only in philosophical, legal, or even canonical terms.' The author has a great admiration for the first and greatest of mystics, St Paul, and he transcribes long passages from his epistles to illustrate the Christian mind. We must thank the Abbot of Buckfast for an interesting little book, the devotional style of which is not a little reminiscent of Thomas à Kempis.

The Beginnings of the Divine Society. Essays by Four Parish Priests in the Diocese of Hereford, with a preface by the BISHOP OF HEREFORD (Dr Hensley Henson). (S.P.C.K., London, 1920.)

THESE four essays are the outcome of the Greek Testament readings of the Hereford Ruridecanal Clerical Society. They deal with the presentation of the figure of our Lord in the Gospels and with the foundation and developement of the Christian Church as recorded in the first fifteen chapters of the Acts. Their position is that of reverent and liberal scholarship, and they abound in suggestions for the interpretation of the N. T. record which are of real value to the student. The authors have been much more successful than many more ambitious writers in avoiding reading back into the history of early days the ideas and conceptions of a later time. The book seems to give us a picture of the Church as it was, and not as a later age may think it ought to have been. One quotation from the essay of the Rev. A. B. Wynne Willson must suffice:—

'What impression remains upon the student's mind of the institutional growth of the Christian Church? It is that of a quickly growing body, separate from others by the rite of Baptism, clearly conscious of their community life, binding it up by constant common meals, at which they break bread according to their Lord's command, realizing, as growth demands it, the need of organization, using at first the twelve disciples as their natural leaders, and, when necessity arose, both adapting an ancient Jewish system for local leaders under the Apostles' oversight, and also providing a new order of service to administer a branch of work to which Christian principle gave so great an impetus. Here is no portrayal of a fixed plan into which the pulsating life of the Church is driven. It is the record of an evolution from birth, in which the organic framework grows within the body of the Society' (p. 98f).

Dr Henson may well 'commend this little book to the thoughtful study of Christian people of all the Churches'.

P. GARDNER-SMITH.

PATRISTICS.

Die christliche lateinische Litteratur von Augustinus bis Gregor d. Gr., von GUSTAV KRÜGER. (Sonderdruck aus MARTIN SCHANZ' Geschichte der römischen Litteratur, IV. Teil, 2. Hälfte: Die Litteratur des 5. und 6. Jahrhunderts, von MARTIN SCHANZ, CARL HOSIUS und GUSTAV KRÜGER.) (Beck, Munich, 1920.)

THE work of which the title is here given is not obtainable by itself. It is a portion (nearly 300 large octavo pages) of the fourth volume of Martin Schanz's *History of Roman Literature*. Schanz's history has long been known and valued by latinists everywhere. When it first appeared it was one of the surprises from which the history of classical philology is no more exempt than that of any other study. Schanz had become known for his important critical editions of a number of dialogues of Plato, but, without finishing the complete edition of Plato expected of him, he turned to the field of Latin literature, in the endeavour to produce for Iwan von Müller's *Handbuch* a much more extensive work than the indispensable Teuffel-Schwabe (fifth edition, 1890), which was valued most of all perhaps for its bibliography. Schanz allowed himself much more space for literary criticism in particular, and every part of his work has gone into a third edition, except the first half of the fourth volume, which has as yet reached only a second edition (1914). As Schanz planned the book it was to go down to Justinian. When his death occurred on December 15, 1914, a portion of the last part was already in type. It was wisely decided that the work should be completed by two scholars, each of them eminent in his own sphere. Carl Hosius (now of Würzburg), the accomplished editor of Lucan, received charge of the non-Christian part, and Gustav Krüger of Giessen took over the Christian part, each endeavouring to carry out Schanz's method. The result is a stately volume of seven hundred pages which at once takes its place as by far the best guide to Latin literature from A. D. 400 to 600. I say 600, because the writers have wisely extended Schanz's plan for a generation or so, and thus included Gregory the Great. If there is here some overlapping with Manitius's work in the same series no one will regret this, as Manitius is not really interested in Christian literature. Readers of the JOURNAL unacquainted with Schanz's work should be informed that Christian Latin literature has been from the very beginning treated with the same respect and fullness as non-Christian. The portions which concern the student of the Latin Fathers are the third part (second half), and the whole of the fourth part. These can be obtained separately from the portions concerned with the earlier literature.

A few trifling errors have been noted: on p. 397 for 'Maas' read

'Maass'; p. 398 read 'J. E. B. Mayor' for 'J. E. Mayor'; p. 453 (twice) read 'A. J. Smith' for 'A. G. Smith'; p. 544 for '48' read '18', and for 'Souten' read 'Souter'; p. 566 for 'Ommaney' read 'Ommanney'.

Gregorii Nysseni Opera: volumen i, Contra Eunomium libri i et ii:
edidit VERNERUS JAEGER. (Weidmann, Berlin, 1921.)

STUDENTS of the post-Nicene period have had cause to feel jealous of students of the ante-Nicene period, especially in these last years, when the Berlin series of ante-Nicene Greek Fathers has done so much to improve the texts of these earlier writers. In particular, many of us have sighed for scientific editions of the Cappadocian Fathers. The valuable edition of the Catechetical Oration of Gregory of Nyssa by Dr Srawley has only whetted our appetite for more of the same wholesome and satisfying fare. Our hopes have been from time to time encouraged by the publication of preparatory work, Misier's on Gregory of Nazianzus, and Bessières's on Basil of Caesarea. We can happily look for a new Gregory of Nazianzus from the Krakau Academy, and in the volume now before us we greet the first of an edition of Gregory of Nyssa, made possible by the fund collected in honour of the sixtieth birthday of the well-known Hellenist, Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff.¹ It is of interest to learn that Wilamowitz, like Porson, has an especial fondness for Gregory of Nazianzus.

Criticism of the present volume is rendered somewhat difficult by the fact that the prolegomena are reserved for the second, but the editor gives here a list of his MSS, and the references in the apparatus to the earlier edition by Morel (1638), reproduced in Migne's *Patrologia Graeca* t. xlv, make it possible to gauge the extent of the advance which Jäger has made.

The MSS are: (1) Vaticanus graecus 447 (saec. xii); (2) Mediceo-Laurentianus plut. vi 17 (saec. x-xi); (3) Ambrosianus C 215 inf. (saec. xii ex.); (4) Lesbiacus Mitylenensis monast. St Iohannis 6 (saec. xii); (5) Athous Vatopedi 118 (saec. xi-xii); (6) Vat. gr. 424 (saec. xiii); (7) Vat. gr. 1907 (saec. xiii); (8) Venetus Marcianus graecus lxix (501) (saec. xii-xiii). From this enumeration it is fairly evident that some of the MSS can never have been seen by any earlier editor, and possible that not one of them was known to any of Jäger's predecessors.² He has therefore had a great opportunity, of which he has not been slow to take advantage.

A perusal of the text and apparatus makes it possible to state at once

¹ This scholar is now seventy-three years of age.

² Oehler's edition of the *Contra Eunomium* (1864) does not seem to be mentioned here.

that all the earlier editions are entirely outclassed. The improvements are numerous. The text is printed on an attractive page with broad margins, spaced type being employed for the quotations from Gregory's Arian adversary Eunomius. Immediately below the text the scripture references are recorded, and in addition—a most welcome feature—parallels from Basil against Eunomius and other works to which allusion is made. A further excellent feature of this part of the book is a number of explanatory notes of a most helpful nature, indicating that the editor has made a thorough study of the subject-matter of the Cappadocian Fathers as well as other earlier Greek literature. At the foot of the page comes the apparatus criticus, neatly printed and easy of consultation.

A few illustrations of the improved text may be given, out of a very large number: Migne p. 248 εὐαγγελικόν; Jäger εὐαγγέλιον: Migne 249 ἐθεώρα; Jäger ἐφέωρα: Migne 252 ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ; Jäger ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ κυρίου: Migne 253 κατεγνωρισμένη; Jäger κατεγλωττισμένη: Migne 256 νόμων; Jäger μόνων: *ibid.* Migne ἀντεισαχθῆναι; Jäger ἀντιταχθῆναι: Migne 257 ἐνστάζοι τὰ ῥήματα; Jäger ἐνστάζοιτο ῥήματα: Migne *ibid.* φακοτρίβωνα στρατιώτην; Jäger φαιοτρίβωνά τινα στρατιώτην: Migne 272 καθυβρίσουσιν; Jäger καθυφήσουσιν. Most of the improvements of the text are due to the MSS, but it would be unjust to the editor not to mention that a number of them are due to his own knowledge of Greek literature.

A book thoroughly to be recommended.¹

Arnobae: Son Œuvre: thèse complémentaire pour l'obtention du Doctorat ès-Lettres. . . . F. GABARROU. (Champion, Paris, 1921.)

THIS is an attractive, useful, and competent monograph. There is nothing quite like it either in English or German, and it deserves a hearty welcome. The author discusses the following topics very sanely within comparatively small space: the life and character of Arnobius, the sources of his works (Plato, Lucretius, the Gnostics, Cornelius Labeo, Clement of Alexandria), and his method in polemics, his psychology and metaphysics, his religion, and his philosophic value. The volume concludes with a bibliography. The opinions Gabarrou advances are likely to command general agreement. The printing is not, however, as accurate as might be desired, and the paper is of the poorer quality to which we have latterly become accustomed. The following errors should be corrected: 'Cornificus' for 'Cornificius' (p. 12); 'supertitions' (p. 14); on p. 15 Ps-Jerome on the Psalms is quoted without question as 'Jerome'; 'Philologie' for 'Philologus' on p. 27 n. 4; 'quamdoquidem' (p. 31); 'promeri' for 'promereri' (p. 37).

¹ It ought to be mentioned that what is here called book ii is really book xii (or xiii) of the earlier editions.

Le Latin d'Arnobé, par FRANÇOIS GABARROU. (Champion, Paris, 1921.)

No one will dispute the need for a monograph on the latinity of Arnobius. For, while Tertullian and Cyprian have each been provided with a study of the kind, Arnobius has somehow been neglected. The Vienna edition (by Reifferscheid, 1875) is one of the earlier volumes of the series to which it belongs, and the linguistic index is in consequence meagre, and at times even misleading. Prof. John E. B. Mayor somewhere points out that it lacks the rare word *bacula*, though Forcellini records it. Gabarrou had the splendid works of Bonnet and Goelzer as models for imitation, and has produced a substantial work of value.

Here and there we find signs of inexperience, and the 'Index Bibliographique' is very defective, a fault due perhaps to the author's distance from an adequate library. Such works as the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie*, Gradenwitz's *Laterecul Vocabularum Latinarum*, Watson's *Style and Language of St Cyprian*, and the various works of the Swedish scholar, Einar Löfstedt of Lund, are conspicuous by their absence. In fact no one should now dare to write on the later Latin without familiarizing himself with the works of Löfstedt, one of the very greatest living latinists. It happens also that Löfstedt published *Arnobiana* in 1917, an important work which ought to have been known to Gabarrou. Further defects are the references to Hoppe *De sermone Tertulliano quaestiones selectae* (1897) instead of Hoppe's much more important *Syntax und Stil des Tertullian* (1903), and to the third edition of Stolz and Schmalz's *Lateinische Grammatik* (1900) instead of the much-improved fourth edition (1910). The printing, especially of Greek words, is not as accurate as it should be, and the quality of the paper on which the book is printed earns sympathy for the author.

A few details concerning the book proper: *excitatio* (if the lexica are right) should be added to the list of substantives in *-tio* (p. 15); *feruunculus* should surely be identified with *ferbunculus*, *furunculus*, and means 'a boil' (p. 33); *orbitus* appears under *-icus* (p. 51); *partiliter* is found very often in Firmicus Maternus (p. 59); *terribiliter* (if the dictionaries are right) should have been given on p. 60; to the best of my belief, *typhus* (p. 74) is confined to African writers (in Aug. specially frequent); *viscera* ought perhaps sometimes to be taken in the older sense, 'flesh' (p. 76); on *faeculentus* (p. 80) see Thes.; *uacare* in the sense 'être superflu, inutile', also in Tert. (p. 82); *quanti* = *quot* is said (p. 162) to occur in Seneca the Elder, a statement borrowed from Bayard on Cyprian, who in his turn borrows it from Forcellini; but the reference in Forcellini happens to be untraceable, and the text has probably been corrected in the interval, as Schmalz, p. 629, omits all reference to Seneca the Elder; it is loose language to say (p. 184) that *pignus* = *liberi*, the

proper equation being *pignora = liberi, propinqui* (this also occurs in the poets, e.g. Lucan iii 33, with reference to Caesar as father-in-law of Pompey).

We have learned to associate monographs on the later Latin authors rather with France than with any other country, and the hope may be expressed that Monsieur Gabarrou will make further contributions to the subject.

S. *Benedicti Regula Monachorum*: herausgegeben und philologisch erklärt von BENNO LINDERBAUER, O.S.B. Verlag des Benediktinerstiftes Metten 1922 (published October 1921).

SCHOLARS who take an interest in the matter are aware that during the past quarter of a century much study has been devoted to the *Rule* of St Benedict. The work of Wölfflin, Traube, Plenkers, and Morin culminated in the exquisite edition of Abbot Butler, which appeared in 1912. In it were provided a scientific text with introduction, critical notes, a discussion of the text in select passages, a classification of the teaching of the book, and indexes of scripture passages, other sources, words, and matters. The edition was called 'critico-practica', and as such retains all its value. The new book before us might be called 'critico-philologico-practica'. The chief difference between it and Butler's edition lies in the greater attention paid to orthographical and philological matters generally. Yet the editor seeks at the same time to find readers among the monks whose lives have to be guided by the *Rule*.

The *raison d'être* of such a book as this lies in the fact, first made perfectly clear by Traube, that Benedict himself, not being a man of learning and high education like the great Fathers, wrote his *Rule* in rather a colloquial style. No ancient or modern written work is entirely colloquial, and Benedict did possess literary culture, as Butler has clearly shewn; but there are very many traces of colloquial Latin in the book as it is preserved in St Gall MS 914 (saec. ix in.), which Traube proved was a copy of Benedict's autograph, and therefore the most important of all the MSS. A study of colloquial Latin is interesting not only for its own sake and that of the Romance languages, but because it puts the extraordinary artificiality of classical Latin into bolder relief. The model philological commentary on a late Latin work rich in colloquial elements is beyond question that of the Swedish scholar Löfstedt on the *Itinerarium Aetheriae abbatisae*, and of this work Linderbauer has made extensive use. Amidst the 'sonstige Literatur' (pp. 9-14), many expected works are mentioned, but except for Lindsay's *Latin Language* and Watson's *Style and Language of St Cyprian* nothing British has been thought worthy of mention: Mayor's *Latin Heptateuch* emphatically deserved it. Our younger

scholars who think of devoting themselves to the later Latin will know what to expect in the way of encouragement and recognition from the younger German scholars interested in that department.

The book deserves high commendation. Save for the neglect of British work there is not, I think, any general criticism of an adverse nature that can be passed upon it. Even the printing and paper are admirable. The editor has collated some MSS, and has also had access to collations made by Edm. Schmidt, but he has not furnished a critical apparatus. This last he has doubtless left to Plenkers, whose Vienna edition was understood to be nearly complete some years before the war.

Perhaps the best use to which I can put my space is to add notes of a supplementary or corrective character. Page 27, the Spanish MSS of the *Rule* are doubtless worthless, but the same may not be true of the ninth-century (Visigothic) MS of Zmaragdus's commentary in the John Rylands Library; p. 29, *mercis* is probably at least as common as *merces* in old patristic MSS; p. 96, on *aurem cordis*, the parallel expression *auditor cordis* might have been quoted from Tert. *Orat.* 17, Cypr. *domin. orat.* 4, Ps-Aug. *Quaest.* 18, 1; p. 105, the possible influence of Greek on the comparative = superlative should have been mentioned; pp. 107-108, the acc. and inf. construction occurs also with *elicio*, *hortor*, *mando*, *permitto*, *praecipio*, *precor* in late authors; p. 120, for 'Miodonsky' read 'Miodonski', and instead of 'Friebel 129' refer to *Thesaurus* s.v.; p. 122, it is probable that *num* had perished long before Benedict's time, and for the non-enclitic *ne* Tertullian (cf. index to Mayor's *Apol.*) should have been quoted; p. 123, for 'die Übersetzung' read 'eine Übersetzung', and *ammonet* should be read, as probably the accepted form in Benedict's time (cf. *quemammodum*, *amministro*, &c., in excellent MSS of other authors); p. 135, the plural *conspectibus* might have been illustrated by *obtutibus*; p. 147, good parallels for the list of *capitula* are to be found in Cyprian *Ad Quirinum* and the Latin Irenaeus, &c.; p. 151, what is true of *heremita* is also abundantly true of *heremus*; p. 170, Pelagius also uses the reflexive *conuertens*; p. 173, I fail to see how *solummodo* is any more a 'falsch gebildetes Wort' than *tantummodo* (it seems to me exactly parallel); p. 182, *transitoriis et terrenis* is surmised to be from an ecclesiastical author, but the source is not given; the nearest I can get to it is Aug. *Serm.* 113. 6 '*de terrenis istis et uanissimis et caducae uitae transitoriis*', and it is probably Augustinian in any case, whether this be the passage or not, since no writer uses *transitorius* so often as Aug.; pp. 188-189, it is an exaggeration to say that *procul dubio* 'fast verdrängt' *sine dubio* in late Latin; and what about *absque dubio*? p. 194, the note on *spiritualis* might be put more strongly; has any one seen the other form in any document older than the eleventh century?

p. 195, *saepe* occurs sixteen times in Firmicus Maternus, even though it be found only three times in the first half of the work; p. 203, for 'Mayer' read 'Meyer'; p. 216, *ergo ideo* deserved a special note, it occurs twice in Ambst.; p. 218, for *pro* causal Löfstedt 156 might also have been cited; p. 239, a note on the relative frequency of *dominico* and *dominica die* in Latin would have been welcome; p. 241, to the illustrations of *De prophetarum* a number more can be added (recorded in my forthcoming vol. i of Pelagius, p. 84); p. 253, a reference to Rottmanner's *Geistesfrüchte aus der Klosterzelle* (München, 1908) pp. 135 ff should have been subjoined; p. 260, it is hardly correct to say that *omnimodis* is 'eine volkstümliche Zusammenziehung aus *omnibus modis*'; rather it is made on the analogy of *multimodis*, which may be so described; p. 265, on *reptus*, there should have been a note on the prevalent late spelling *reppertus*; p. 299, add, for *deteriorare*, Ambst. (five times); see also *Thes.*; for *meliorare*, Ambst. eighteen times, and other exx. in the glossary to Mayor and Lumby's edition of Bede, *Hist. Eccl.* iii, iv; p. 311, the double gender (neut. and fem.) of *pascha* in Latin might have been alluded to; p. 316, *eptaticus* is hardly so 'selten' as the editor imagines; p. 318, a cluster of further examples of *fomes* (metaph.) in Mayor *Latin Heptateuch* pp. 106-107, to which add Rufin. *h. e.* ix 10 § 8 (I have noted seven other exx. in late authors), and consult *Thes.*; p. 320, on the added *sibi*, cf. Ioh. v 18 *bis* ap. Ambst., *proprium sibi*; p. 323, for *rennuo* (= *rid-nuo*), cf. also Mart. (codd.), Hier. *epist.* (codd.); p. 335, it would have been interesting to learn whether any of the MSS give the form *pusillianimis*; p. 356, the editor does not seem to know that the form *veteri* owes its prevalence in late Latin to the metrical requirements of hexameter verse; p. 362, add *asperos et duros* (Ambst., p. 130 A); p. 366, as a parallel to *irrido, suado* might have been cited; p. 369, on *tulit*, Pelagius may now be added (vol. i p. 113 of my edition); p. 381, in connexion with titles like *paterna reuerentia*, Aug. should not have been overlooked.

All who are interested in late authors should acquire this well-indexed book. The author deserves a welcome to the ranks of specialists in late Latin.

A. SOUTER.

The Lollard Bible and other Medieval Biblical Versions, by MARGARET DEANESLY, M.A. (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, edited by G. G. COULTON, M.A.) (Cambridge: at the University Press, 1920.)

CARDINAL GASQUET'S article, putting forward the novel view that the 'Wycliffite' translation of the Bible was really the work of orthodox Catholics, and so the gift of the Church to her children, was originally

published in the *Dublin Review* for June 1894. Good reasons for thinking that the view was false were given by Sir F. G. Kenyon in *Our Bible and the Ancient MSS.*, 1895 (a book which has since reached its third edition, and which might, perhaps, have been mentioned by Miss Deanesly) and by Mr F. D. Matthew in the January *English Historical Review* of the same year. Two years later the Cardinal replied by reprinting his original paper in a collection of Essays entitled *The Old English Bible*, adding a supplementary article in answer to his critics. But his theory (and something more) was annihilated by an anonymous writer in the *Church Quarterly Review*, Oct. 1900 and Jan. 1901, and there the controversy, in the minds of all reasonable readers, ended.

Miss Deanesly's book, then, is no answer to Cardinal Gasquet. His mere reprint of *The Old English Bible* in 1908 needed none. *The Lollard Bible* (which might well have been given the more comprehensive title of *Bible Reading in the Middle Ages*) has a far wider scope. It intends 'to put the history of English biblical translations into its European background, and to consider English medieval translations historically from new material'. And this ambitious programme it carries out with great thoroughness and much spirit, concluding with a most valuable and interesting appendix of original documents.

It is unnecessary here and now to subject this work to a microscopic examination. This has been done elsewhere by learned persons, and the book has come through triumphantly. But one general consideration may be hazarded.

The Lollard Bible is the first volume of a series, edited by Mr G. G. Coulton, which hopes to restore the balance between History and the Physical Sciences in the attention of the reading public. This series, following Mabillon's ideal, is, in the language of the editor's Preface, 'to proclaim certainties as certain, falsehoods as false, and uncertainties as dubious'. But can any conclusion that depends in the last resort on the *argumentum e silentio* be more than dubious? And do some of the more laboured in this work depend on more? For example, Purvey was the author of the *General Prologue* (and therefore of the second version of the Wycliffite Bible) because 'the *General Prologue* was written by a man of great learning, a Lollard undergoing persecution in 1395: John Purvey was the only Lollard doctor, or learned Lollard, holding out at that date, and must therefore have been its author'. Is not this to proclaim an uncertainty certain?

It seems possible that later volumes of the series, if they really do 'proclaim uncertainties as dubious', may be much smaller than this one. They may then, perhaps, even though published by the Cambridge University Press, cost less than thirty-one shillings and sixpence net. This would indeed be something.

B. GOULDING BROWN.

Mithra ou Sarapis Κοσμοκράτωρ, by F. CUMONT. (Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. Comptes rendus des séances 1919, p. 313 f.)

PROFESSOR CUMONT discusses the meaning of the title *Κοσμοκράτωρ* in an inscription unearthed in the underground chambers of the *Thermae* of Caracalla. It runs as follows:—

Εἰς Ζεὺς | Σάραπισ | Ἥλιος | Κοσμοκράτωρ | ἀνείκτος.

On the reverse side we read:—

Δι' Ἡλίου μεγάλῳ Σαράπιδι σωτῆρι πλουτοδότῃ ἐπηκόῳ εὐεργέτῃ ἀνεικτῷ Μίθρα χαριστήριον.

A careful examination of the monument by M. Louis Canet revealed the fact that *Μίτρας* had been engraven over *Σάραπισ*. Prof. Cumont explains the substitution of the name *Μίτρας* by supposing that the priests of Mithra had obtained possession of a temple of Sarapis, and had then engraven the name of their god on the monument both in front and on the reverse side. The epithet *ἀνείκτος* (= Persian Nabarze) is often applied to Mithra; but the title *Κοσμοκράτωρ*, though it is sometimes assigned to Sarapis, is not used of Mithra in his original character.

The term *Κοσμοκράτωρ* is of astrological origin, and applied to the planets. Prof. Cumont adduces as evidence the Anthologies of Vettius Valens, who wrote at the time of the Antonines, but he remarks, no doubt rightly, that some of the passages there compiled may be of earlier date. He finds *Κοσμοκράτωρ* (= planet) used by an obscure writer, Pseudo-Petosiris (second century B.C.). Proclus, the Neoplatonist (flor. A.D. 440), speaks of the planets as *κοσμοκράτορες* and again of the seven *κοσμοκράτορες*, of which the sun is the head. This idea may be derived ultimately from Babylonian astrology, for Jastrow (*Religion Babyloniens* i p. 254) states that Shamash (the Sun-God) was called in Assyria 'master of the universe'.

According to astrological doctrines the planets determined all human events. Their influence was conceived by the Babylonians as sometimes favourable and at other times pernicious. M. Cumont reminds us that the Mazdeans believed that the planets were in league with Ahriman, while the fixed stars were the allies of Ormuzd (*Zend Avesta*, Introduction by Darmesteter lxxiv and Rashn Yast xxiv).

But the planets not only dominated space; they also regulated time, and each of them had a special power over a part of its duration. So they were at the same time *κοσμοκράτορες* and *χρονοκράτορες*. The ideas of eternity and universality were combined in the power attributed to these astral bodies. Prof. Cumont refers to a Semitic inscription at Palmyra, where *מַרָּא עֲלֵמָא* (lord of all) alternates with *מַרָּא עֲלֵמָא* (lord of

ages). We might add that the Persian Time-God (Αἰών = Zervan Akarana) is engraven on his body with the signs of the zodiac.

But, as M. Cumont points out, Christianity dealt a deadly blow at the doctrine of astrological fatalism. 'The glorious name (i. e. κοσμοκράτωρ) which had reached the zenith of honours in heaven and on earth was degraded by the Christian revolution.' St Paul warns his fellow-Christians against these 'world-rulers' in the Epistle to the Ephesians. 'For our wrestling is not against flesh and blood, but against the principalities, against the powers, against the world-rulers of this darkness (κοσμοκράτορας τοῦ σκότους τούτου), against the spiritual hosts of wickedness in the heavenly places' (Eph. vi 12). We cannot be certain whether St Paul is thinking chiefly of the planets, or of heathen deities in general, but at any rate he regards them as evil powers. Prof. Cumont does not discuss the question how far St Paul would be influenced by the cosmological speculations of the Jewish apocalyptic writers. He refers to the Gnostic doctrine, which appears also in Mithraism, that the soul passes through the planetary spheres, of which the gates were guarded by a ruler (ἄρχων). But we must agree with him when he says that it is doubtful whether St Paul had such ideas in his mind. The speculations of Marcion and other Gnostics may have had their roots in earlier theories, but it does not seem probable that St Paul was much affected by such conceptions of the soul or the universe.

Prof. Cumont has thrown fresh light on one of the most perplexing problems of New Testament theology.

L. PATTERSON.

Russian Dissenters, by F. C. CONYBEARE (*Harvard Theological Studies* x), (Cambridge, Mass., and Milford, London, 1921.)

IN the Preface to this important book of 370 pages Dr Conybeare declares that it is not a work of original research, but I venture to think that there must be very few Englishmen who possess enough knowledge of the subject to discover this, much less to question Dr Conybeare's account of Russian Nonconformity. He has gathered together into one volume the story of the Old Believers, both those who have a clergy and the Bezpopovtsy or Priestless Sect, the Dukhobors and other 'rationalist' Sects of South Russia, and finally the 'mystic' Sects, Khlysty and Skoptsy. Most of us have from time to time heard tales of heterodox Russians, who held extraordinary beliefs or practised unheard-of customs, but one has had little idea of how they were related to the general stream of Russian religious life. Dr Conybeare's book enables us to put such people into their proper niche.

A specially interesting feature of these Russian Dissenters is their doctrines and practices about Marriage, ranging from those who regarded

a duly-ordained priest essential to a Christian marriage to those who rejected marriage altogether. After the great schism of 1666 it became impossible for the nonconformists to perpetuate their succession and to ordain fresh priests, and at last they were left without a ministry. These Old Believers (the Raskol) abominated the State Church, which said Alleluia three times instead of twice in its services. They could not accept marriage at the hands of priests who gave the blessing with three fingers raised instead of two, and so they had no choice but to remain 'virgin'. But, as Dr Conybeare points out (p. 192), it is only a minority of the Raskol which either practised or preached the monastic ideal. It was only what may be called ritual or ecclesiastical virginity that was insisted upon: the sin was not in a man and woman living together, but in accepting marriage from the State Church. As Dr Conybeare says on p. 201: 'The Bezpopovtsy had never heard of any form of marriage but the sacramental and religious one. Under stress of circumstances they invented civil marriage, and Ivanovski and others have as little right to say that they reject marriage and live in debauchery or concubinage as Catholics would have to say the same thing of their Protestant neighbours.'

Undoubtedly, however, there have been in Russia ascetic sects, and also monstrous ones such as the Skoptsy, with whom actual emasculation is the supreme sacrament (p. 367). Dr Conybeare agrees with Professor Grass of Dorpat¹ that the Khlysty are to be reckoned among the genuine ascetic sects, and that the tales of promiscuity and licence often circulated with regard to them are as unfounded as the 'Thyestean banquets' of the early Christians (p. 353). These interesting folk are taken by Dr Conybeare to be direct descendants of the Bogomils, and their adoptionist Christology to be a genuine survival of early Christian speculation; but it is difficult to make sure of the lineage of a family without written records. What is certain is that some of their hymns have a curious ring. That quoted on p. 345 (too long to give here in full) reads to me very much like the Odes of Solomon. Another is said to be used in their dance as they scourge themselves (p. 355):

'I scourge, scourge, I seek Christ.
Come down to us, Christ, from the seventh heaven,
Circle with us, Christ, in the holy ring,
Hover down from heaven, Lord, Holy Ghost!'

Does not this sound like an echo of the famous dance-song in the *Acts of John*? There can here be no genetic connexion.

F. C. BURKITT.

¹ See e.g. his excellent Art. called 'Men of God', in Hastings's *E. R. E.*

Sei Scritti antitrinitaristici in lingua siriana per GIUSEPPE FURLANI (*Patrologia Orientalis*, tome xiv, fasc. 4). (Firmin-Didot, Paris, 1920.)

AMONG the many controversies which grew out of the great Monophysite schism that of the so-called Tritheists is one of the most obscure. It arose we do not know exactly how or when, never, so far as we know, produced any real schism, and died without leaving a trace behind it; so that it was of little interest to later generations. The Tritheist writings have naturally not been preserved, and are known to us only in the fragments quoted by those who wrote against them; and the contemporary, John of Ephesus, from whom our knowledge of the history of the controversy is chiefly drawn, was no theologian and scarcely deals with the theological question. Dr Furlani is therefore performing a great service to theological knowledge by taking upon himself the task of publishing all texts dealing with the matter that are to be found in Syriac MSS, and the first instalment has now appeared in the present fascicule, which contains six antitrinitaristic documents with Italian translations. Three of these the editor believes to be original Syriac works, not translations from Greek; but, as he reserves a full examination of them till the other documents have appeared, it would be premature to discuss this question here. We may perhaps hope that in addition to the theological controversy, of which in consequence of his knowledge of philosophy he is specially competent to treat, he will also enter upon the very obscure history of the dispute. The origin of Tritheism is ascribed by Michael the Syrian (Barhebraeus, whom Dr Furlani cites, only copies Michael) to a certain John Askasragis (?) who lived under Justinian and of whom nothing is known; but it is generally supposed that the real founder was the celebrated Aristotelian John the Grammarian, commonly called Philoponus, of whom several works on other subjects are extant, but who also is from a historical point of view a very obscure figure. Why Dr Furlani calls him John of Caesarea I do not know, and it would be interesting to know what reason there can be for describing him as patriarch of Alexandria even with a query, though in Herzog-Haupt's Encyclopaedia also he is called 'bishop of Alexandria'. When Dr Furlani says that he lived in the latter half of the sixth century, it must surely be a slip, for he is quoted by Leontius, who seems to have died before 550. Probably, however, these matters will be made clear in the concluding dissertation. The fascicule ends with some useful indexes, but the reference to p. 19 for a citation of Severus should be to p. 20, the error being probably caused by a change of pagination.

E. W. BROOKS.

RECENT PERIODICALS RELATING TO THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

(1) ENGLISH.

The Church Quarterly Review, October 1921 (Vol. xciii, No. 185 : S P.C.K.). H. L. GOUDGE The interpretation of the New Testament—T. A. LACEY Cardinal Manning—W. J. S. SIMPSON Forgiveness in the teaching of Christ and His apostles—H. P. K. SKIPTON Little Gidding and the Nonjurors—E. C. TRENHOLME Liturgies old and new—A. C. HEADLAM Hugh James Rose and the Oxford Movement—A. NAIRNE Job—E. ARMSTRONG Dante: in memoriam—X. Y. Z. The Russian Church under the Bolsheviks—A. W. ROBINSON The study of the new Lectionary—Short Notices.

The Hibbert Journal, October 1921 (Vol. xx, No. 1 : Williams & Norgate). L. A. BECK The Chinese Pilgrim's Progress—J. N. FARQUHAR Karma: its value as a doctrine of life—S. RADHAKRISHNAN Religion and Philosophy—E. CLODD Occultism—A. B. THAW Psychical research and human welfare—D. TARRANT The conception of the soul in Greek philosophy—E. W. ADAMS The philosophy of Epicurus—VON SCHULZE-GAEVERNITZ Thoughts on reparation—B. H. STREETER Fresh light on the synoptic problem—L. DOUGALL The salvation of the nations—BISHOP MERCER Music and the Muses—J. H. SKRINE Atonement and new knowledge—T. R. R. STEBBING More about miracles—H. W. HOUSEHOLD Education, the cure for social discontent—Survey and Signed Reviews.

The Expositor, October 1921 (Eighth Series, No. 130 : Hodder & Stoughton). G. B. GRAY The misuse of the term 'lamb' in the E.V.—F. J. POWICKE Richard Baxter's Gospel of Joy—C. H. DODD The close of the Galilaean ministry—W. E. BEET The message of the Book of Esther—H. BURTON The new Magdalene—H. E. HILL The two witnesses—H. J. FLOWERS The displacement of John vii 37-44.

November 1921 (Eighth Series, No. 131). J. MOFFATT The festival of Christianity—W. ST C. TISDALL Egypt and the Book of Daniel; or, What say the Papyri?—A. C. WELCH Jeremiah's letter to the exiles in Babylon—H. R. MACKINTOSH Is God knowable?—A. McNAIR Apostolic progress in catholicity in spite of a spurious citation—F. H. STEAD Does the original collection of Logia ('Q') contain predictions of our Lord's resurrection?

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(2) AMERICAN.

The Journal of Religion, September 1921 (Vol. i, No. 5: University of Chicago Press). R. M. JONES Psychology and the spiritual life—E. S. AMES The validity of the idea of God—W. E. HOCKING Is the group spirit equivalent to God for all practical purposes?—YU YUE TSU Present tendencies in Chinese Buddhism—W. E. HAMMOND The economic struggle within the ministerial profession—R. W. FRANK Democracy and the Church—Book Reviews.

November 1921 (Vol. i, No. 6). M. GOGUEL The religious situation in France—J. E. LE BOSQUET The unconventional God—C. J. CADOUX The proposed credal basis of Christian reunion—J. W. BUCKHAM Mysticism and Personality—C. H. HAMILTON Idealistic and pragmatic interpretations of history—E. A. COOK The Kingdom of God as a democratic ideal—A. S. WOODBURN The psychological study of conversion in India—Book Reviews.

The Princeton Theological Review, October 1921 (Vol. xix, No. 4: Princeton University Press). R. D. WILSON Apocalypses and the date of Daniel—W. M. CLOW Marxian Socialism—B. B. WARFIELD Oberlin Perfectionism: Article IV—C. E. MACARTNEY James Waddell, the blind preacher of Virginia—W. H. G. THOMAS Modernism in China—Reviews of recent literature.

(3) FRENCH AND BELGIAN.

Revue Bénédictine, October 1921 (Vol. xxxiii, No. 4: Abbaye de Maredsous). U. BERLIÈRE La sécularisation de l'abbaye de St-Jacques à Liège (1785)—G. BEYSSAC Note sur un graduel sacramentaire de Bantz du XII^e siècle—Comptes rendus—Notes bibliographiques—U. BERLIÈRE Bulletin d'histoire bénédictine—B. CAPELLE Bulletin d'ancienne littérature chrétienne latine.

Analecta Bollandiana, November 1921 (Vol. xxxix, Nos. 3 and 4: A. Picard, Paris). H. DELEHAYE La Passion de S. Félix de Thibiuca—P. PEETERS La version ibéro-arménienne de l'autobiographie de Denys l'Aréopagite—H. DELEHAYE Cyprien d'Antioche et Cyprien de Carthage—H. QUENTIN et E. TISSERAND Une version syriaque

de la passion de S. Dioscore—H. DELEHAYE *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum graecorum bibliothecae patriarchatus Alexandrini in Cahira Aegypti*—Bulletin des publications hagiographiques.

Revue Biblique, October 1921 (Vol. xxx, No. 4: V. Lecoffre, Paris). U. MORICCA Un nuovo testo dell' 'Evangelo di Bartolomeo'—P. DHORME L'emploi métaphorique des noms de parties du corps en hébreu et en akkadien (*suite*)—Mélanges—Chronique—Recensions—Bulletin.

Revue de l'Orient Chrétien (Vol. xxii, No. 2: A. Picard, 82 Rue Bonaparte, Paris). S. GRÉBAUT Littérature éthiopienne pseudo-clémentine, III: traduction du Qalémentos (*suite*)—G. FURLANI Le Livre des Songes, texte syriaque et traduction française—F. TOURNEBIZE Les Frères-Uniteurs ou Dominicains arméniens—S. G. MERCATI Macaire Caloritès et Constantin Anagnostès—Catalogue des manuscrits orientaux de la bibliothèque du R. P. Paul Asbath—S. GRÉBAUT Sentences d'Évagrios (*suite*)—Mélanges—Bibliographie—Courtes notices.

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NOTES AND STUDIES

LA TRADITION MANUSCRITE DE LA COR- RESPONDANCE DE SAINT BASILE

(suite)

CHAPITRE V

LES LEÇONS DES DIVERS MANUSCRITS RELATIVES A LA LETTRE 46

§ I. Remarques préliminaires : élenchus des manuscrits avec leurs sigles.

Nous avons dit ailleurs pourquoi nous ne pouvions recourir, dans le cours de ce travail, aussi souvent que nous l'aurions souhaité, à la contre-épreuve des variantes. Nous n'avions à notre disposition que l'apparat critique des Mauristes qui est incomplet et imprécis. Par ailleurs il nous était impossible d'entreprendre des collations très étendues, à cause de la multitude des manuscrits. Nous avons pratiqué divers sondages. En particulier nous avons comparé dans quantité de manuscrits les leçons des lettres 1 2 5 6 45 46. Mais après réflexion nous avons décidé de borner notre exposé à la seule lettre 46. C'est la seule qui nous fournisse un bon rendement, parce qu'elle est très longue et qu'elle a été reproduite très souvent. Le tableau des variantes qui va suivre mettra en lumière certains faits. En premier lieu il justifiera notre distinction des familles, et en second lieu il nous montrera que les diverses traditions ne sont pas séparées par une muraille de Chine, mais qu'elles supposent au contraire un point de départ commun. À vrai dire elles ne coulent pas même dans un lit isolé, et elles arrivent encore à confondre leurs eaux par endroits. La lettre 46 a été traduite en latin par Rufin, d'une façon assez libre comme c'est l'habitude de cet auteur. Nous ferons quelquefois appel à son témoignage. Il faut noter que Rufin l'a connue comme homélie, non comme lettre, car elle fut dès l'abord incorporée aux homélies de S. Basile, parmi lesquelles elle figure encore dans beaucoup de manuscrits. Nous avons collationné la lettre 46 dans 29 manuscrits,

dont 16 sont des manuscrits d'homélies, tous à la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris. Deux de ces derniers ne contiennent qu'une partie de la lettre, savoir: le 482 et le 485. Un troisième, le 497, n'a été collationné que jusqu'aux deux tiers, tant il est incorrect. Le Vaticanus 435 a été collationné sur une photographie. Le Parisinus 1020S ne contient pas la lettre 46. Voici la liste des manuscrits qui figurent dans la liste ci-dessous, avec leurs sigles :

476 = N ¹	x ^e s.	Hom.	1267 = N ¹⁶	xv ^e s.	Hom.
480 = N ²	x ^e s.	Hom.	C. 47 = C ¹	xi ^e s.	Hom.
481 = N ³	xi ^e s.	Hom.	C. 48 = C ²	x ^e s.	Hom.
482 = N ⁴	xi ^e s.	Hom.	C. 230 = C ³	ix ^e s.	Hom.
485 = N ⁵	xi ^e s.	Hom.	C. 237 = C	xi ^e s.	Lettres
486 = N ⁶	xiii ^e s.	Hom.	S. 334 = S ¹	xvi ^e s.	Lettres
487 = N ⁷	xi ^e s.	Hom.	S. 1021 = S ²	xiii ^e s.	Lettres
497 = N ⁸	x ^e s. (970)	Hom.	Vat. 2209 = V ¹	x ^e s.	Lettres
498 = N ⁹	x ^e s.	Hom.	Vat. 435 = V ²	xiii ^e s.	Lettres
500 = N ¹⁰	xi ^e s.	Hom.	Vat. 434 = V ³	xiii ^e s.	Lettres
506 = N ¹¹	x ^e s.	Lettres	Med. iv 14 = F	x/xi ^e s.	Lettres
763 = N ¹²	x ^e s.	Hom.	Med. lvii 7 = L	xi ^e s.	Lettres
860 = N ¹³	xiv ^e s.	Hom.	Ven. Marc. 79	xii ^e s.	Lettres
967 = N ¹⁴	xiv ^e s. (1377)	Lettres	Mutinensis 239 = E	xi ^e /xii ^e s.	Lettres
971 = N ¹⁵	xvi ^e s.	Lettres			

N.B. N⁸ = Paris. 497 première main

N^{8 corr} = Paris. 497 2^e main

N¹⁰ = Paris. 500 première main

N^{10 corr} = Paris. 500 2^e main.

§ II. Les variantes des manuscrits.

Ed.	Migne
Bénédict.	P. G. 32
1. 135 A	369 A πρὸς παρθένον ἐκπεσοῦσαν. εἰς Bo Bu N ^{2 5 6 8 9} C ¹
2.	νῦν καιρός. <i>praem</i> καὶ N ^{5 6 8 9}
3.	τὸ προφητικὸν ἐκεῖνο. <i>add</i> ῥητόν N ^{5 6 8 9} , λόγιον N ^{7 10 12 13}
4.	<i>tr</i> ὕδωρ τῇ κεφαλῇ Bu
5.	τοὺς τετραυματισμένους (Hier. ix 1). τὸ σύντριμμα (cf. Hier. viii 21, xiv 17) Ab ² / ₃ (E Marc. 79) Bo Bu N ^{5 6 8 9 12} Ruf
6. 135 B	369 B <i>tr</i> ἀδακρυτὶ παριέναι Bo Bu Bz N ^{6 8 9 10 12 13} C ^{1 3}
7.	τοσοῦτον. τηλικούτον Bo ¹ / ₂ (F) Bu Bz
8.	πτῶμα. τὸ σῶμα Bo Bu Bz N ^{8 9 10}
9.	οἱ τραυματαίαι (Is. xxii 2). αἱ Aa ² / ₃ (L Paris Suppl. 334) N ^{6 12} (Is. xxii 2 N*)
10.	ῥομφαίας. μαχαίρας (Is. xxii 2 N A) Bz N ^{8 corr}
11.	ὄντως. ἀληθινοῦ N ¹³ C ¹
12.	<i>tr</i> βέλη τοῦ πονηροῦ Bz N ^{12 13} C ¹ (Ruf)
13.	ἦ. <i>om</i> Bz N ^{1 2 6 7 12 13}
14.	ἄν. γ' ἄν Bo ¹ / ₂ (C) Bu Bz N ⁹

- Ed. Migne
Bénéd. P. G. 32
15. 135 C ἐπιβλέποντες. βλέποντες Ab Ac Bo $1/2$ (F) Bu
Bz N^{8 9} C¹
16. οἱ γε. οἱ καὶ Bo $1/2$ (C) Bu Bz N⁹
17. αἰ. om Bz N⁸
18. 369 C τῶν ἁγίων εὐαγγελίων. τοῦ ἁγίου εὐαγγελίου Bz N⁸
19. ἐμβλέπων. βλέπων Aa $1/3$ (Vat. 434) Ab $1/3$
(Par. 506): βλέψας Ab $2/3$ (E Marc. 79):
ἐμβλέψας Bo Bu Bz N¹⁶
20. γυναικί Ab $2/3$ (E Marc. 79) Bo $1/2$ (F) Bz.
γυναῖκα Aa Ab $1/3$ (Par. 506) Ac Bo $1/2$ (C)
Bu N^{1 2 3 6 7 8 9 13 16} C^{1 2 3} (Ruf)
21. τοῦ δεσπότου. τὴν ποτε τοῦ δεσπότου τοῦ ἐπουρανίου
Bz τὴν ποτε τοῦ ἐπουρανίου δεσπότου N^{2 6 7 12 13}
22. ἥς ἡ κεφαλὴ ὁ Χριστός. om Aa $1/3$ (Vat. 434) Bo
Bu Bz N^{1 2 8 9 10 16} C³ (Ruf)
23. πνεύματα. τάγματα Aa $1/3$ (Paris S. 334) Ac
24. τρ λαβόντι μετὰ χειρας Bo Bu N⁹
25. διεκδικῆσαι Bz
26. δύναται. δεδύνηται N^{2 6 12 13}
27. τρ διατριβᾶς καταλιπὼν Aa $1/3$ (Vat. 434) Bu
28. 135 D καὶ εἰ. κἂν εἰ Bz N^{6 7 13} C¹
29. τάχα δὲ μᾶλλον Ab $2/3$ (E Marc. 79) Bo Bu Bz.
μᾶλλον δέ Aa Ab $1/3$ (Par. 506) Ac N^{1 2 3 6 8 9 13 16}
C^{1 2 3}
30. 369 D καὶ νῦν βοᾷ Ab $1/3$ (Par. 506) Bo Bu Bz. τρ βοᾷ
καὶ νῦν Aa Ab $2/3$ (E Marc. 79) Ac N^{1 2 3 7 8 16}
C^{1 2 3}
31. δ' Ἰωάννης Ab Bo Bu Bz. om Aa Ac N^{1 2 3 7 10 12 13 16}
C^{1 2} Ruf
32. καὶ γάρ. εἰ καὶ Bu Bz
33. 372' A καὶ ἡ γλῶσσα Aa $2/3$ (L Vat. 434) Ab Bo Bu Bz
Ruf. κἂν ἡ γλῶσσα Aa $1/3$ (Par. S. 334) Ac
N^{1 2 13} C^{1 2}: καὶ εἰ ἡ γλῶσσα N⁹: κἂν εἰ ἡ
γλῶσσα N⁶
34. 135 E ἀλλὰ σύ. ἀλλὰ καὶ Bu Bz N^{8 9 10 12}
35. συναφείας Bo Bu. κοινωνίας Aa Ab Ac N^{1 2 3 6 7}
12 13 16 C^{1 2 3}: παρθενίας N^{8 9 10} Ruf: κοινωνίας
καὶ συναφείας τῆς ἐκ τῆς παρθενίας Bz
36. ἀπορρίψασα Ab Bo Bu Ruf (cf Ps. ii 3). ἀπορρή-
ξασα Aa Ac: ἀθετήσασα Bz N^{8 10}
37. ἀποδράσα. ἀποδράσασα Bo $1/2$ (F) Bu N^{2 8 9 10 13}
38. ἐπεὶ οὐκ. ἐπειδὴ οὐκ Bo Bu Bz N^{8 9 10 12}

Ed. Migne
Bénédict. P. G. 32

39. ἐκφύγης. ἀποφύγης Bo $1/2$ (F) Bu Bz N^{8 10 12} C³
 40. οὐδὲ τις ἐστί σοι τρόπος οὐδὲ μηχανή. *om* ἐστί σοι
 τρόπος οὐδέ Bo Bu N^{8 9 10 13} (Ruf?)
 41. 136 A τοῦτο Bo Bu. *om* Aa Ab Ac Bz N^{1 3 7 8 10 13 16}
 C^{1 2 3}
 42. συγκαλύψαι. περικαλύψαι Bu
 43. *tr* καταφρονεῖ λοιπόν Bo Bu N⁹
 44. αὐτάς. *praem* καὶ Bz N^{6 8 9 10}
 45. τὸν ἀληθινὸν νυμφίον Bo Bu Bz. *om* ἀληθινόν Aa
 Ab Ac N^{1 3 16} C^{2 3} Ruf
 46. 372 B μνήσθητι τῆς καλῆς. *add* ἐκείνης Bz: μνήσθητι
 οὖν ἐκείνης τῆς καλῆς N^{8 9 10}
 47. θεοῦ. *praem* τοῦ Bz N^{8 10} C³
 48. μνήσθητι τῆς σεμνῆς συνοδείας. *om* Bo $1/2$ (F) Bu
 49. νεαζούσης ἔτι καὶ ἀκμαζούσης Bo Bu. νεαζούσης
 ἄρτι ἢ τότε καὶ ἀκμ. Aa Ab Ac N^{1 2 3 7 8 16} C^{1 2}:
 νεαζούσης ἄρτι τότε καὶ ἀκμ. N¹²: νεαζούσης ἄρτι
 καὶ τότε καὶ ἀκμ. Bz: νεαζούσης γὰρ ἄρτι καὶ
 ἀκμ. τότε C³
 50. 136 B τὰ τῆς συνηθείας Bo Bu (Ruf). τῆς συνηθείας τὸ
 κράτος Aa Ab Ac N^{1 2 3 6 7 8} *corr* 10 *corr* 12 13 16
 C^{1 2 3}: τὸ κράτος τῆς συνηθείας Bz: τὴν συνηθῆ
 διαγωγὴν N^{8 9 10}
 51. τὰ μὲν. *add* κατὰ κράτος Bo Bu Bz N^{8 9 10}
 52. ἐκείνας Ab $2/3$ (E Marc. 79) Bo Bu Bz Ruf.
 ἐκείνης Aa Ab $1/3$ (Par. 506) Ac N^{1 2 3 6 7 13 16}
 C^{2 3}: ἐκείνην N^{8 9 10}
 53. καὶ ὑπερβαίνειν. *om* καὶ Bz N^{6 9 12}
 54. 136 C 372 C καὶ καλῶς εὐχομένης τὴν παρθενίαν σοι ἄφθορον
 τηρηθῆναι Ab Bo Bu Bz N^{3 6 9 12 13} C³. *om* Aa
 Ac N^{1 2 7 8 10 16} C^{1 2} Ruf
 55. παρθένω πρέπουσα. *praem* καὶ Ac N^{1 10 16} C³,
praem ἢ N¹ C¹: *tr* ἢ πρέπουσα παρθένω Bz N^{8 10}
 56. 136 D 372 D δάκρυα. δάκρυον Bo $1/2$ (F) Bu N^{2 6 7 13}
 57. πόσα δὲ γράμματα. ποσάκις γράμματα Bo Bu Bz
 58. 373 A ἐχάραξας. *praem* πολλάκις Aa Ab Ac N^{1 2 3 6 7}
 8 *corr* 9 10 12 13 16 C^{1 2}
 59. ποσάκις δὲ δῶρα. πόσα δὲ δῶρα Aa Ac N^{1 2 3 8} *corr*
 12 13 16 C^{1 2 3}
 60. τοῦ νυμφίου. τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ νυμφίου Bz N^{6 8 9 10}
 61. τοῦ ἀερίου πνεύματος. τοῦ ἀέρος τοῦ πνεύματος Aa
 Ac N^{1 3 8 9 10 12 16} C^{2 3} (Ruf)

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62. 136 E πρὸς καιρὸν μὲν. *om* μὲν *omnes*
63. ὕστερον δέ. ὕστερον μέντοι *omnes*
64. εὐρήσεις. *add* καὶ ἡκονημένον μᾶλλον μαχαίρας
διστόμου (Prov. v 4) Bz N^{2 6 8 10 13} C¹
65. 137 A 373 B Σιών. *add* ἡ ποτὲ πλήρης κρίσεως ἐν ᾗ δικαιοσύνη
ἐκοιμήθη νῦν δὲ φονευταί (Is. i 21) Bz N^{2 6 7 8 9 10 13}
C¹
66. τινὰ τῶν. τινὰς τῶν Ab ¹/₃ (E) Bz N^{8 9 10}
67. Ἱερεμίου. *add* τοῦ προφήτου Bz N^{6 8 9 10}
68. εἶδες. *praem* λέγων πρὸς αὐτούς Bz N^{6 8 9 10}
69. Ἰσραὴλ (Hier. xviii 13 cod B). Ἱερουσαλήμ
(Ιλημ) Bo Bu Bz N^{8 9 12} Ruf (Hier. xviii 13
codd N A)
70. ἐν τοῦ προφήτου Ὡσηέ Ab ¹/₃ (Par. 506) Ac
71. αὐτῇ. *om* Bu Bz N^{6 8 9 10} C³ Ruf
72. ἐπηγγελιάμην. ἐνετειλάμην Bu N^{8 10} Ruf
73. ἐμοῦ τοῦ ἀνδρός Bo Bu Ruf. ἐμοῦ τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ
ἀνδρός Aa Ab Ac N^{6 8 9}; ἐμοῦ τοῦ ἀθανάτου
ἀνδρός N^{1 2 3 7 10 13 16} C^{1 2 3}; ἐμοῦ τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ
καὶ ἀθανάτου ἀνδρός Bz
74. 137 B πατρῶν Ab ²/₃ (E Marc. 79) Bo Bu Bz N^{2 6 7 8 9 10}
12 13 C¹ Ruf; μητρῶν Aa Ab ¹/₃ (Par. 506) Ac
N^{1 3 16} C^{2 3}
75. 373 C ποτέ. *om* Bo Bu Bz N^{2 7 8 10 12 13} C³
76. τὰ νοήματά σου. *add* ἀπὸ τῆς ἀπλότητος τοῦ
Χριστοῦ Ab ²/₃ (E Marc. 79) Bz, ἀπὸ τῆς ἀπλ.
τῆς εἰς τὸν Χριστόν N^{2 6 7 9 10 12 13}
77. διὰ τοι τοῦτο. *om*. τοι Bo Bu Bz N^{8 9 10 12} C³
78. ἐπιδαίς. *praem* ταῖς πνευματικαῖς Aa Ab ¹/₃ (Par.
506) Ac N^{1 3 6 7 8 corr 10 corr 13 16} C^{1 2 3}
79. δαί. *om* Bo Bu Bz N^{6 8 9 10 12} C^{1 3}
80. διεξήειν. διεξιὼν ἔλεγον Bz N^{6 8 9 10} (Ruf?)
81. 137 C 376 A *tr* εἴ τις τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ φθείρει λέγων Aa Ab Ac
N^{1 2 3 7 8 10 12 13 16} C^{1 2 3}
82. προσευχῶν. εὐχῶν Aa Ab Ac N^{1 2 6 13 16} C²
83. προσετίθουν Ab Bz (-θην Bo Bu). περιετίθουν Aa Ac
84. ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ
τηρηθεῖν Ab ²/₃ (E Marc. 79). *om* ἡμῶν Aa
Ab ¹/₃ (Par. 506) Ac Bo Bu N^{1 3 16}. τηρηθεῖν
ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Bz N^{8 10}
85. πικρόν. πικρότερον Bo Bu Bz N^{1 6 7 8 9 12 13}
86. στένειν. πενθεῖν Bo Bu Bz N^{6 9 10 12} C³ (Ruf)

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87. πάλιν. *om* Bo Bu Bz N^{6 8 9 10 12}
88. 137 D γάρ. *om* Bo Bu Bz N^{6 8 9 10 12}
89. σιωπᾶν. σιγᾶν Bo Bu Bz N^{6 8 9 10 12 13} C³
90. καὶ φλεγόμενον Bo Bu, cf Ruf. καὶ φλέγον (Hier. xx 9) Bz N^{7 8 10}; καὶ φλεγμαῖνον N^{6 9}; *om* Aa Ab Ac N^{1 3 10 corr 16} C^{1 2}
91. 376 B ἄρασα. *add* γάρ Ab ²/₃ (E Marc. 79) Bo ¹/₂ (F) Bu
92. κακὸν ἀσύγκριτον. κακὸν καὶ ἀσύγκριτον Aa Ab ¹/₃ (Par. 506) Ac N^{3 8 9 12 16} C² (Ruf)
93. καὶ νυν ἐν βίῳ. δεινὸν ἐν τῷ βίῳ Bz N^{2 8 9 10 13}
94. νοήσατε. κατανοήσατε N^{1 corr 2 6 7 8 corr 10 13} C^{1 2}
95. 137 E ἡλλάξατο τὴν δόξαν αὐτῆς καὶ ἡ δόξα ἐν τῇ αἰσχύνῃ αὐτῆς Ab ²/₃ (E Marc. 79) Bo Bu. ἡλλάξατο τὴν δόξαν ἐν τῇ αἰσχύνῃ αὐτῆς Aa Ab ¹/₃ (Par. 506) Ac N^{1 2 3 6 7 13 16} C^{2 3}; ἡλλάξατο τὴν δόξαν αὐτῆς ἐξ ἧς οὐκ ὠφελήθησεται, ἡ δὲ δόξα αὐτῆς ἐν τῇ αἰσχύνῃ αὐτῆς Bz N^{8 9 10}
96. ἐπὶ τούτῳ. ἐπὶ τούτοις Bz N⁸ Ruf
97. ἡ γῆ. *om* Bo Bu N^{8 9 10} C³ Ruf
98. ἐπὶ πλείον σφόδρα: Bz rapporte à λέγει κτλ.
99. λέγει καὶ νῦν ὁ Κύριος. λέγει καὶ τὰ νῦν ὁ K. Bz: λέγει K. καὶ τὰ νῦν N^{8 10}; πάντως καὶ νῦν ὁ K. λέγει N^{2 7 13}; λέγει K. πάντως καὶ νῦν K. C³
100. 138 A τὸν ἀληθινὸν τὸν ἄγιον ψυχῶν ἁγίων νυμφίων Bo Bu. τὸν ἀληθινὸν τὸν ἁγίων ψυχῶν ἁγιον νυμφίων Aa Ab Ac C^{1 2}; τὸν ἀληθινὸν καὶ ἄγιον ψυχῶν ἁγίων νυμφίων Bz N^{6 8 10 13} C³
101. παράνομον ψυχῆς ὁμοῦ καὶ σώματος φθορέα. παράνομον ὀλιγοχρόνιον καὶ φθορᾷ ὑποκείμενον, ἀσύνετον ὄντα, τὸν ψυχῆς αὐτῆς ὁμοῦ καὶ σώματος φθορέα γενόμενον Bz N^{(6) 8 9 10}
102. ἀπέστη. *add* γάρ Bz N^{8 10}
103. τῇ ἀνομίᾳ. *add* εἰς τὴν ἀνομίαν Aa Ab Ac N^{1 2 3 6 7 8 9 10 13 16} C^{1 2 3}
104. ἐπελάθετο. *add* λέγει Κύριος Bz N^{2 6 7 8 10 13} C¹
105. ἐξ οὗ οὐκ ὠφελήθησεται Bz (cf 95 *supra*). *om* Aa Ab Ac Bo Bu N^{1 3 12} C³ Ruf
106. 376 C συνέφερεν αὐτῷ. συνέφερεν δὲ N⁶: συνέφερεν δὲ αὐ καὶ ἐκείνῳ N⁸: συνέφερεν δὲ καὶ αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ Bz N^{2 7 13} C¹: συνέφερεν δὲ καὶ ἐκείνῳ αὐτῷ N^{9 10}: συνέφερεν δὲ αὐτῷ τῷ τοῦτο ἐργασαμένῳ N¹²

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107. *tr* εἰ περιέκειτο μύλος Bz N^{2 7 13} C¹
 108. ἦ. *om* Bz N^{8 10}
 109. ὅτι. ἵνα N^{2 7 16}
 110. αὐθάδης. οὕτως αὐθάδης Bz N^{2 6 9 10 13} (Ruf): το-
 σούτον αὐθάδης οὕτως N⁸
 111. 138₂B ἦ. *om* Aa Ab Ac N^{1 3 10} *corr* 16 C^{1 2} Ruf
 112. αὐτῶν ἐφάσθαι. αὐτὸς ᾤσασθαι Bz N^{8 10}
 113. καὶ (ἀπὲ ψυχὴν ἔνοικον). *om* Bo^{1/2} (F) Bu N^{6 9 12}
 114. ἤκουσται . . . τολμήσας Ab ^{2/3} (E Marc. 79) *et*
 ἡκούσθη τολμήσας Aa Ab ^{1/3} (Par. 506) Ac N¹²
 13 16 C^{1 3}. ἤκουσεν . . . τολμήσαντα Bo Bu
 (Ruf): ἤκουσται . . . τολμήσαντα N^{6 8 9 10 12}:
 ἤκουσται . . . τινὰ τολμήσαντα Bz
 115. *tr* βασιλικῇ εἰκόνι Bo Bu Bz N^{2 6 7 8 9 12 13} C¹
 116. *tr* ἀνθρώπου γάμον Bo Bu N^{6 8 9 12}
 117. 138 C 377 A τῆς παρθενίας. τῆς χάριτος Bz N^{6 8 9 10} Ruf
 118. καθυβρίσας Ab ^{2/3} (E Marc. 79) Bo Bu. ἐνυβρίσας
 Aa Ab ^{1/3} (Par. 506) Ac Bz N^{6 7 8 9 10 12 13 16}
 C^{1 2 3}
 119. αὐτὴν Bo Bu Bz. *om* Aa Ab Ac N^{1 2 3 7 10} *corr* 13
 16 C^{1 2 3} Ruf
 120. καὶ γὰρ ἡ δέσποινα. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ δέσποινα Bz N¹⁰
 121. ἡ Αἰγυπτία Ab Bo Bu Bz Ruf. *om* Aa Ac N^{1 3 16}
 C^{2 3}
 122. φησίν. *om* Bu N^{9 10 12} C³
 123. οὐκέτι ἦν παρθένος. *add* ὅσον εἰς πρόθεσιν Bz N⁶
 9 10 'proposito' Ruf
 124. εἰ ἐγὼ μὴ ἐβουλόμην. σὺ εἰ μὴ ἐβούλου Bo ^{1/2} (F)
 Bu N^{9 10} C³
 125. ἀν ἐφθάρη. *add* τί φῆς; οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο ἀνένοχος ὁ
 τολμηγίας ἦς Bz
 126. 138 D 377 B ἐπὶ τούτοις. *add* πᾶσιν Bz N^{2 6 13} C¹ Ruf
 127. ἐπιστρέφει. *add* οὐ γάρ, εἴ τις πέπτωκεν, ὀφείλει καὶ
 κυλίεσθαι Bz N^{2 6 13} C¹
 128. Χριστοῦ τοῦ νυμφίου Bo Bu. *tr* τοῦ χριστοῦ νυμ-
 φίου Aa Ab Ac Bz N^{3 6 7 9 10 12 13 16} C^{1 2 3}
 129. καὶ οὐκ ἀνέστρεψεν. *om* Bo ^{1/2} (F) Bu N⁹ C³ Ruf
 130. καὶ ἀναστάσεως. *πραετι* καὶ ζωῆς ἦτοι Bz N^{6 9}
 131. 138 E κολάσεως. *om* Bo ^{1/2} (F) Bu N^{9 10} C³
 132. ἁμαρτημάτων. ἁμαρτιῶν Bo Bu Bz N^{3 6 9 10 12} C³
 133. ἐπιστροφῆς. ὑποστροφῆς Bo Bu

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134. ὑποδείγματα. *praem* ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ Bz, *add* ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ N^{9 10}
135. τὸ πρόβατον. *praem* καὶ Bo Bu N^{9 10 12}, *add* τὸ ἀπολωλὸς καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ὥμων φερόμενον Bz N^{6 9 10}
136. 377 C τῶν πορνῶν. *om* τῶν Bo Bu Bz N^{2 6 7 9 10 12 13 16}
137. πάλιν ἀναζήσαντα. *om* πάλιν Aa Ac N^{1 2 7 10} *corr* 13 C^{1 2 3}
138. ἀλεξήμασι Bo Bu Ruf. βοηθήμασι Aa Ab Ac Bz N^{1 2 3 6 7 9 10 12 13 16} C^{1 2 3}
139. ἰασώμεθα. *add* ἕκαστο Bz N¹⁰
140. σύ. *om* Bu Bz N^{6 9 12} (Ruf)
141. 139 A συνειδότι. *add* καὶ τοῖς ἐαυτῆς κακοῖς Bz
142. μαστιγιούμενον Ab Bo Bu Bz. *προσ*μαστιγιούμενον Aa Ac N^{1 3} *προ*μαστιγιούμενον N^{2 3 6 9 16} C^{2 3}
143. τῇ διανοίᾳ. *om* Bo Bu C³
144. ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ. ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου Bu N^{2 6 7 9 13} C³
145. τῶν ἀγγέλων. τῶν ἁγίων ἀγγέλων Bz N^{6 10} Ruf
146. 139 B 380 A ἐκπορεύονται. ἀναστήσονται Bo Bu Bz
147. ἐθεώρουν φησίν. *oti* φησίν ἐθεώρουν Bo Bu Bz N^{4 6 9 10} (Ruf)
148. ἐκάθητο (Dan. vii 9). ἐκαθέζετο Aa Ab ¹/₃ (Par. 506) Ac N^{1 16}
149. τρόχοι. *add* τοῦ ἄρματος Bz N^{4 10}
150. 139 C 380 B κεκρυμμένα. *κρυπτά* Bz N^{3 10}
151. τὰ πάντα (*om* τὰ πάντα Ab ¹/₃ [Par. 506] N¹²) ἀθρόως εἰς ἑξακουστόν. ταῦτα πάντα φανερῶς εἰς ἑξακουστόν Bo ¹/₂ (C) N⁷: καὶ πάντα ἀπαξᾶπλως ἀθρόως εἰς ἑξακουστόν N^{6 9}: καὶ πάντα ἀπαξᾶπλως ἀθρόως ἑξακουστά N^{4 10}: καὶ πάντα ἀπαξᾶπλως ἑξακουστά Bz
152. ἡ ψυχὴ. *om* ἡ Bz N^{3 10}
153. τοσοῦτων θεατῶν. τοσοῦτων καὶ τοιούτων (*om* θεατῶν) Bz: τοσοῦτων καὶ τοιούτων θεαμάτων N^{4 6 9 10}
154. ἀνυποίστους. ἀνυποστάτους Bz N^{4 9 10} C³
155. ὅπου. ὅτε Bz N^{4 6 9 12} C³
156. ἀθάνατα. ἀθάνατος Bo ¹/₂ (F) Bu ¹/₂ (Par. 971) *in marg.*
157. 139 D *tr* οὐκ ἔχει πέρας Bz N^{4 6 9 10 12} C³
158. διεκδύναι. ἐκδύναι Bu N^{2 3 7 12 13} C³: διεκφυγεῖν Bz N^{4 10}

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159. 380 C νῦν ἕως ἔξεστιν. οἷον ὡς ἔξεστιν C³: ὡς τὸ νῦν
ἔξεστιν Bz: ὡς οὖν ἔξεστιν N^{3 10}: ὡς ἔξεστιν N⁶
12 13
160. δεῦτε. *praem* οἱ ἄγιοι βοῶσι Bz N^{4 6 9 10}
161. ἐναντίον αὐτοῦ. ἐναντίον Κυρίου τοῦ ποιήσαντος
ἡμᾶς (Ps. xciv [xcv] 6) Bz N^{4 6 9 10}
162. καλῶν. *praem* ἡμᾶς Bz N^{4 6 9 10 12}
163. ὁ λόγος. ὁ θεῖος λόγος Bz N^{4 6 9 10}
164. 139 E δεῦτε . . . ἀναπαύσω ὑμᾶς (Matt. xi 28) Bz (*om*
πρὸς με Bz) N^{2 4 6 7 8 9 10 13} C¹. *om* Aa Ab Ac
Bo Bu N^{1 3 12 16} C^{2 3}
165. ἔστιν οὖν ὁδὸς σωτηρίας. ἔστιν ὁλως σωτηρία N¹²
C³
166. τῶν μετανοούντων. τῶν μετὰ ἀληθείας μετανοούντων
Bz N^{4 6 9 10 12} C³
167. πιστὸς Κύριος. πιστὸς γὰρ ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Bz N^{4 6 10}
168. 380 D ὃς οὐδὲ μονωτάτης ἀλλὰ πάντων τῶν δεδουλωμένων τῇ
ἁμαρτίᾳ ἐστὶν ἑτοιμος ἐλευθερωτῆς N^{2 7 8 10 13}. οὐ
σοῦ δὲ μονωτάτης κτλ Bz N^{4 6 9}: *om* Aa Ab Ac
Bo Bu N^{1 3 10} *corr* 12 16 C^{1 2 3}
169. ἐκείνου. *add* γάρ Bz N^{4 6 9 10}
170. ῥήματα. ῥήμα Bz N^{10 13}
171. 140 A στόμα εἶπεν. *om* N^{4 6 9 10 12} C³
172. ἰσχύοντες (Matt. ix 12 Marc. ii 17). ὑγιαίνοντες
(Luc. v 31) Bu Bz N¹⁶
173. οὐκ ἦλθον. *add* φησί Bz N^{6 9}
174. 381 A τίς οὖν ἐστὶ σοι πρόφασις ἢ τινι ἄλλῳ, ταῦτα αὐτοῦ
βοῶντος; Ab Bz N^{4 6 8 10} C¹. τίς οὖν σοι ἔσται
κτλ. N^{2 7 9 13}: *om* Aa Ac Bo Bu N^{1 3 12 16} C^{2 3}
175. βούλεται Κύριος. βούλεται ὁ θεός Bz N^{6 9}
176. πληγῆς. πλάνης Bz N^{6 9}
177. 140 B φιλικαῖς ἀσπασμοῖς. πατρικοῖς ἀσπασμοῖς Bz
178. *tr* ταῖς πράξεσιν αὐτοῦ Bo N^{2 7 9 12 13} C¹, ταῖς πράξεσι
καὶ ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις αὐτοῦ N^{6 9 10}
179. ἀποστρέψαντας. ὑποστρέψαντας Ac Bu Bz
180. 381 B ἀπὸ ὁδοῦ κακῆς. *om* C³: ἀπὸ ὁδοῦ πονηρᾶς καὶ
κακῆς N^{6 9 10}
181. πρὸς τὸν δρόμον. *praem* καὶ Bz N^{6 9 10}, *add* τε N¹²
182. εἰρήνης. *add* ἐλθόντας Bz N^{6 9}
183. εὐφροσύνην καὶ χαρὰν καταγγέλλῃ (*om* ἡμέραν) Bz
184. 140 C *tr* ὑμῖν φησὶν Bz N^{2 6 7 9 10 12 13} C¹

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185. 140 C 381 B ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ. *om* Bz N^{6 9} : ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀγγέλων τοῦ θεοῦ (Luc. xv 10) N¹⁰ C³
186. ἁμαρτωλῶ. *pract* ἀνθρώπῳ Bo 1/2 (C)
187. μετανοοῦντι. *add* ἡ ἐπὶ ἐνενήκοντα ἐννέα δικαίοις οἱ οὐ χρεῖαν ἔχουσι μετανοίας (Luc. xv 7) Bz N^{6 9 10}
188. αὐτὸς . . . ἀπολογήσεται. ἔτοιμος . . . ἀπολογήσασθαι N^{6 11}
189. ὁ ἀγαθὸς πατήρ. ὁ ἀγαθός N¹ C² : ὁ σωτήρ Bu 1/2 (Par. 971)

§ III. Commentaire du tableau des variantes relatives à la lettre 46.

Nos collations ont été faites antérieurement à toute classification, et par conséquent en dehors de tout système préconçu. Pourtant nous avons cru pouvoir éliminer de notre tableau les variantes insignifiantes telles que fautes d'orthographe isolées, omissions ou substitutions d'articles ou de particules.

Si nous envisageons les familles de l'embranchement A nous constatons qu'elles concordent entre elles dans la proportion de 95 % environ. Dans l'embranchement B l'accord est encore plus complet, surtout entre Bo et Bu. Une seule famille, celle que nous appelons Bz, fait difficulté et pose un problème qui sera examiné à part.

Parfois il y a accord entre A et B sur un texte qui n'est pas celui de Migne. En ces cas les Mauristes ont gardé le texte des éditions antérieures qui fut primitivement établi sur des manuscrits d'homélies.

La famille Bo est représentée dans notre tableau par le Coislin 237 (C) et par le Mediceus iv 14 (F). Or ces deux mss présentent quelques divergences dont voici la liste :

- | | | |
|-----------|----------------------------------|---|
| M. 369 C. | 3. ἐμβλέψας γυναῖκα | C = Bu |
| | ἐμβλέψας γυναικί | F |
| 372 A. | 9. ἀποδράσασα | F = Bu |
| D. | 2. δάκρυον | F = Bu |
| 376 B. | 1. ἄρασα (γὰρ) τὰ | F (Bu ἄρα . . . γὰρ τὰ) |
| 377 A. | 11. καὶ σὺ εἰ μὴ ἐβούλον | F = Bu |
| B. | 6. καὶ οὐκ ἀνέστρεψεν <i>om.</i> | F = Bu |
| | 12-13. κολάσεως <i>om.</i> | F = Bu |
| 380 B. | 9. ἀθάνατος | F = Bu 1/2 (Paris. 971) <i>in marg.</i> |

Le Vat. 435 (Bz) est, parmi les manuscrits de lettres, celui dont les

variantes sont les plus nombreuses. Sur 170 cas, il concorde 68 fois avec le texte des Mauristes, 74 fois avec l'une ou l'autre des familles de B, 49 fois avec Aa ou Ac. La proportion des ressemblances avec Ab est un peu plus forte et nous en examinerons plus loin la raison. Mais c'est surtout avec les manuscrits d'homélies que Bz présente des rapports et spécialement avec un groupe d'entre eux formé de N^{6 8 9 10 12 13}. À vrai dire, presque toutes les leçons de Bz se trouvent attestées, soit exactement, soit avec quelques divergences insignifiantes, par un ou plusieurs manuscrits d'homélies. Ce fait est de grande portée, et il y a lieu de l'examiner de près. Il s'agissait pour le moment d'établir les motifs qui nous ont fait ranger Bz dans l'embranchement B.

Les manuscrits d'homélies se divisent donc en deux groupes. L'un, formé de N^{1 2 3 16} C^{1 2 3}, donne plus particulièrement les leçons de A. L'autre, formé de N^{4 6 7 8 9 10 12 13}, donne plus souvent les leçons de B. Mais il s'en faut qu'il y ait une ligne de démarcation absolue. Parfois la presque totalité des mss d'homélies est d'accord avec A, parfois avec B. En outre les uns et les autres ont leurs particularités que nous n'avons pas toutes relevées, parce qu'il y en a qui sont sans portée ni intérêt pour notre classement. Ces manuscrits nous permettent d'atteindre un état où la double tradition A et B n'est pas encore complètement orientée, ou plutôt ne forme encore qu'un seul courant tendant à diverger, formant ici et là des îlots, mais rejoignant ses bras un peu plus loin.

Relativement à la lettre 46, les manuscrits des lettres nous ramènent à une phase d'unité représentée par les manuscrits d'homélies et par Bz. Non que Bz et les manuscrits d'homélies ne présentent déjà une tendance de la tradition à se diviser; mais le double courant n'y circule pas encore dans deux lits distincts. Il y forme seulement des îles. Ce n'est pas encore le delta. On pourrait, il est vrai, soupçonner Bz de dépendre, pour cette lettre, des manuscrits d'homélies; mais cela n'avance pas la solution du problème. Car il reste que la source des divergences entre A et B se trouve dans les manuscrits d'homélies, et que les deux traditions se sont différenciées en épurant un peu au hasard, et chacune à sa façon, un texte fortement glosé qui est justement celui des homélies et de Bz. Bz trouvant précieux le texte et les gloses conserve tout pêle-mêle, et il nous permet par excellence de retrouver l'indistinction ancienne.

Nous arrivons aux mêmes résultats en examinant la famille Ab. Car cette famille, qui appartient sans aucun doute à l'embranchement A, est encore en communication avec B. Elle comprend dans notre appareil trois manuscrits, représentant deux groupes à l'intérieur de cette famille. D'une part nous avons le Parisinus 506 représentant le groupe qui ne connaît pas les ἀνεπίγραφοι, puis d'autre part E, qui

est le Mutinensis de la bibliothèque d'Este, et le Veneto-Marcianus 79. Ces deux mss donnent les *ἀνεπίγραφοι* ; ce sont les plus rapprochés de B.

Il n'y a donc pas de cloison étanche entre A et B. Pour reprendre la comparaison qui nous a déjà servi, même après que s'est produite la séparation entre A et B, les bras intermédiaires du delta communiquent encore par endroits.

Dégageons rapidement quelques conclusions :

1° L'embranchement B nous représente une tradition ancienne. Si l'on admet qu'il est issu de Aa, on doit supposer que la famille Aa a évolué depuis que les autres s'en sont détachées, et qu'elle-même a passé, relativement à la lettre 46, par l'état que nous retrouvons dans les manuscrits d'homélies et dans Bz. La différenciation des familles s'est faite par voie d'épuration du texte. Ainsi s'expliquent leurs rencontres et leurs divergences.

2° Ab s'est détaché de Aa à une époque ancienne et voisine encore de l'unité de tradition.

3° Ac s'est séparé de Aa beaucoup plus tard.

4° Les différentes familles de B semblent être issues d'un état représenté par Bz, lequel est émané de Aa lorsque Aa était dans son état le plus archaïque.

5° Bz continue, pour le texte, cet état archaïque de Aa.

Note à propos de la variante 49.

49. Bz *νεαζούσης* (ἄρτι καὶ τότε), καὶ ἀκμαζούσης τὴν ἀρετὴν.

N¹² *νεαζούσης* (ἄρτι τότε) . . .

C³ *νεαζούσης* (γὰρ ἄρτι) καὶ ἀκμαζούσης (τότε) . . .

N^{1 2 3 7 8 16} C^{1 2} et l'embranchement A en entier donnent *νεαζούσης* (ἄρτι ἢ τότε) καὶ ἀκμαζούσης τὴν ἀρετὴν.

Bo Bu *νεαζούσης* ἔτι καὶ ἀκμαζούσης τὴν ἀρετὴν.

Les Mauristes ont adopté le texte Bo Bu qui, bien que satisfaisant pour le sens, n'explique pas les autres leçons.

On nous a proposé ici une restitution qui a l'avantage de la simplicité et de la clarté. La voici :

A. *ἄρτι* est vraisemblablement la leçon primitive.

Bo Bu. *ἔτι* en est la corruption.

Τότε est une variante d'origine conjecturale pour le texte corrompu, qui a été introduite dans A par voie de collation.

Il faudrait alors restituer

νεαζούσης ἄρτι καὶ ἀκμαζούσης τὴν ἀρετὴν. La distinction des étapes de la vie humaine (*παῖς*, *νεανίσκος*, *νεανίας*, *γέρον*, cf. Jacoby *Apollodors Chronik* p. 43) se trouve transposée dans la vie morale.

νεαζούσης καὶ ἀκμαζούσης seraient deux mots, à peu près synonymes, correspondant à l'âge du *νεανίας*.

Cette restitution est tout à fait séduisante. Elle fait disparaître la difficulté résultant de la présence de *tóre* dans l'immense majorité des manuscrits. C'est justement la diffusion de cette glose qui pourrait nous rendre hésitants, car elle obscurcit un texte qui sans elle serait clair dans les manuscrits A. Voilà pourquoi une critique un peu timide pourrait hésiter à considérer *tóre* comme une glose. Toujours est-il qu'elle doit être fort ancienne, puisqu'elle figure dans un très grand nombre de manuscrits d'homélies, dont la tradition se sépare à l'origine même de celle des manuscrits de lettres. Ce serait donc un exemple rare de glose attestée par la grande majorité des manuscrits.

[Supplementary note on the *variae lectiones* to Ep. 46.]

I have ventured to substitute the following analysis of my own for the remainder of M. Bessières' notes on the readings of the MSS. Textual criticism was not his strong point, and he was in bondage to a false presumption of the value of the Bz group, a presumption which vitiated much of his reasoning and most of his conclusions.

(i) Aa and Ac always go together, except in the following cases: 9, 15, 19, 22, 23, 27, 33, 55, 70, 179. Of these 9 is a blunder on the part of two Aa MSS, and 19 an assimilation to Matt. v 28 on the part of one Aa MS. Of the other eight cases, two (23, 33) shew agreement of one late Aa MS, Paris suppl. 334, with Ac against the rest of Aa Ab and B: two (22, 27) are agreements of one not early Aa MS, Vat. 434, with Bu (with or without other B MSS): in the remaining four (15, 55, 70, 179) the whole Aa group is set against the whole Ac group. Not one of the four readings under the last head is of any importance.

(ii) Ab, on the other hand, shews more independence. Apart from the readings catalogued in the last paragraph, there are twenty-six readings in which all or some of the Ab MSS differ from Aa Ac. In ten out of the twenty-six the whole Ab family agrees on a reading which is not that of Aa; in 31, 54, 59, 61, 121, 137, 142 it sides with Bo Bu Bz (that is with the whole B family), in 36 it goes with Bo Bu, while Bz has an independent reading of its own, in 83 it is nearer to Bz than to Bo Bu, while in 174 Ab and Bz share an important addition against the agreement of Bo Bu with Aa Ac.¹ In the other sixteen cases (5, 19, 20, 29, 30, 52, 74, 76, 78, 84, 91, 92, 95, 114, 118, 148) the Ab MSS are divided: in one unimportant case, 30, it is Paris. 506 which goes with the B family, in all the rest Paris. 506 remains faithful to the A group while the other two go with some, or more often with all, of the B group. The Ab group, therefore, represents a deflection from the

¹ And in 76 two of the three Ab MSS share similarly another addition with Bz against the rest.

standard of Aa (Aa–Ac) in the direction of B, and this deflection is more accentuated in the later MSS of the Ab group than in the earlier. Whether the Ab group represents the first stage of a movement which resulted in the production of the B text, or whether it is not rather a form of A text influenced less or more by an already existing B text, is a question which on this evidence alone we could not decide.

(iii) In the B family the agreement of the Bo and Bu groups with one another is close, if not quite so close as that of Aa and Ac. In fourteen readings (4, 27, 32, 34, 42, 71, 72, 122, 140, 144, 158, 172, 178, 179) both MSS of the Bo group go against both of the Bu group, but the differences are not important, and rarely affect more than a single word. In six of the fourteen readings Bo goes with the A group, Bu with Bz (32, 34, 71, 140, 172, 179). In fourteen more cases the Bo family is divided, and the chief impression that emerges is the tendency of the Florence MS (F) to side with Bu (cf. p. 234), where the Coislin MS (C) goes with the A family (7, 15, 37, 39, 48, 56, 91, 113, 124, 129, 131): only in 14, 16 are the conditions reversed.

(iv) Last of the groups to be considered is Bz. It is by far the most isolated and individual of all our A and B documents. If it did really contribute anything of value to the construction of the text, the task of an editor would be much more difficult than (fortunately) there is any good reason to suppose it would be. Of the 189 readings on the list, Bz has no less than 81 times a reading unsupported by any other MS of either the A or the B group. It is true that it has nearly always—for 70 out of the 81 readings—support in some or other of the MSS of Homilies. Twice at least, 117 and 123, the Bz reading has the support not only of MSS of Homilies but of Rufinus, and such readings must of course be at least very early. They are not necessarily right, and in these two particular cases I do not think that they are right. Speaking generally the tradition of the Letter in MSS of Homilies is inferior to the tradition in MSS of Letters, because of the tendency of editors or copyists of Homilies to embroider their text for purposes of edification. Some five-and-twenty of the variants, important and unimportant, are additions of this type, whether found in Bz only (such as 125, 141, 183), in Bz and in (some or all of) the group of MSS of Homilies N^{(4) 6 8 9 10} (such are 60, 67, 68, 95, 101, 130, 134, 135, 139, 145, 149, 153, 160, 161, 163, 167, 187), or in Bz and a larger number (21, 64, 65, 127, 164, 166, 168). Of the readings found in Bz only, or in Bz and the one particular group of Homily MSS, there is not a single one which has any claim to consideration as being original. Even where the support from MSS of Homilies is more extensive, there are two readings only deserving of serious discussion: 164 δεῦτε [πρὸς με] πάντες οἱ κοπιῶντες καὶ πεφορτισμένοι καὶ γὰρ ἀναπαύσω ὑμᾶς, where the addition

does seem required by the sense and context, and 168 οὐ σοῦ δὲ¹ μονωτάτης ἀλλὰ πάντων τῶν δεδουλωμένων τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ ἐστὶν ἔτοιμος ἐλευθερωτής, though in this latter case both the language (μονωτάτος and ἐλευθερωτής) and the sentiment—it is like the homiletic editor to extend the scope of the appeal to sinners in general—arouse our suspicion.

Thus the class of Bz readings supported only by MSS of Homilies gives us very slight assistance in recovering the original text. Where Bz readings are supported by MSS of the Letters, there will be more chance of their being original, but the chance is not seriously increased by the accession of Bz. And from time to time the Bz reading betrays itself as quite obviously conflate, and as therefore based, very much in the same way as the 'Syrian' text of the New Testament, on comparison and combination of two or more existing texts. No instances could be wished more demonstrative of this than 35 and 114: in the former case κοινωνίας, συναφείας, παρθενίας, are found in different authorities, but all three in Bz; in the latter case ἡκούσθη . . . τολμήσας, ἤκουσται . . . τολμήσας, ἤκουσεν . . . τολμήσαντα, are all found and are all possible as far as sense and grammar go, but Bz puts two of them together into a combination which at any rate is not grammar, ἤκουσται . . . τινὰ τολμήσαντα. Bz may be sometimes right when Bo and Bu are wrong, but that is only because, having access to both A and B texts, it has chosen on occasion (about one time in three) to adopt the readings of A instead of the readings of B.

(v) Earlier than any of our available Greek evidence is of course the evidence of Rufinus, whose version of the *ad Virginem lapsam* will be found, together with the seven other homilies which he translated, in vol. ii p. 740 of the Benedictine edition of St Basil (Migne *P. G.* xxxi, col. 1785). Obviously Rufinus found the document as a homily and translated it as such: his evidence is therefore a very early specimen of the tradition of the MSS of Homilies, but, early as it is, it is suspect from its company, and is not necessarily better than the best class of the tradition of the MSS of Letters. On the other hand the version as far as it goes (for it omits the last sixth of the document) is reasonably faithful, much more so than the reputation of Rufinus would have led one to expect, and in more than half the 189 variants we can tell what reading he followed. He has rather more affinity with the B text than with the A text, though in the following instances he goes with A against B, 8, 16, 31, 45, 51, 54, (61), 85, 88, (92), 111, 119, 146. He goes with the B text as a whole against A in 58, 59, 69, 74, 78, 81, 83, 86, 90, 103, 121, 147: with Bo Bu alone in 5, 36, (40), 50, (72), 73, 97, 114, 129, 138:

¹ So Bz and its special group of Homily MSS: a reading clearly superior to the *bs* οὐδέ of the Benedictine edition and other MSS of Homilies.

with Bz alone (of MSS of the Letters) 12, 22, 71, 80, 96, 110, 117, 123, 126, 140, 145. Peculiar readings of Bz, not shared by Rufinus, are, however, double the number of the peculiar readings shared by him: 17, 18, 20, 32, 34, 44, 46, 53, 64, 65, 66, 76, 101, 102, 104, 105, 108, (125), 127, 130, 134, 149, 151. Now since Rufinus represents the Homilies tradition (though of course the Homilies tradition at its earliest and best), as against the Letters tradition, and since Bz tapped the same tradition (though no doubt much later and in a more adulterated form), it was to be expected that there should turn out to be some agreements between the two: but the fact that only about one in three of the peculiar readings of Bz finds support in Rufinus suggests that in other Letters, where the chance that Bz has had access to any source of tradition not otherwise represented in our MSS of the Letters is very much slighter, we need not look to it for any real assistance in the constitution of the text.

(vi) It remains to consider briefly the value of the printed text in the light of this conspectus of the evidence of the authorities that lie behind it. In two cases 62, 63—which are really only one—*πρὸς καιρὸν . . . ὕστερον μέντοι*, the reading of the Benedictine text, *πρὸς καιρὸν μὲν . . . ὕστερον δέ*, appears to have no manuscript support. In forty-one cases, out of 187, the Benedictines and the Aa group are ranged on opposite sides: it is practically on these forty-one that the question of the general trustworthiness of the printed text must be decided. My own impression is that the Aa MSS are right in about two cases out of three, and the printed text in the third; but of course it is only in a small proportion of them that one can speak clearly, and in the rest it is just a matter of greater or less probability.

a. The Aa group seems to be right against the edition in

20 *ἐμβλέπων γυναῖκα* against *γυναικί*. The accusative is right after *ἐμβλέπω*, and it has greater MS support; it is also correct in Matt. v 28.

29, 30, 31. These three readings really hang together, and the Aa Ac groups give a single coherently constructed sentence: *μᾶλλον δέ, εἶπερ καὶ ἡμῖν (κατὰ τὸν μακάριον Ἀβελ) ἀποθανὼν ἐτι λαλεῖ, βοᾷ καὶ νῦν καὶ κέκραγε μείζον ἢ περὶ τῆς Ἡρωδιάδος τότε Οὐκ ἔξεστί κτλ.*

35. *κοινωνίας*, the reading of the whole A family, is I think certainly right. It was altered to *συναφείας* or *παρθενίας* because it seemed too strong a word to use.

45. *τὸν νυμφίον* in the same way seemed too literal a phrase, and the B family with the editors insert *ἀληθινόν*.

50 (51). *τῆς συνθηθείας τὸ κράτος*. All MSS give the word *κράτος* somewhere in the neighbourhood, and the A family in the most suitable place.

54. A whole phrase in the Benedictine text, adopted from the B family and the Ab group, *καὶ καλῶς εὐχομένης τὴν παρθενίαν σοι ἀφθορον*

τηρηθῆναι, is absent from Aa and Rufinus, and does not fit in to the context. The Benedictine editors make the plausible suggestion that the words really belong to the end of the previous sentence; in that case they would follow after καὶ λόγῳ καὶ βίῳ φιλοπόνως ἐκκαλουμένης.

74. Here the printed text, and the whole B family with Rufinus, have τὸν πατρῶον οἶκον καταλιπούσα, Aa and most of the other MSS of the A family μητρῶον for πατρῶον. As μητρῶον alone suits the context—for only mother, grandmother and sister have been mentioned—while the other was a not unnatural substitution, perhaps under the influence of Ps. xlv (xliv) 11, I have no hesitation in deciding for the Aa reading.

83. περιετίθουν ἀσφάλειαν, 'I tried by my prayers to surround you with safety', the reading of Aa, seems distinctly superior to προσετίθουν (προσετίθην) ἀσφάλειαν, the reading of the edition, of the B family, and of Ab.

95. After quoting Jer. ii 10, 11 εἰ ἀλλάζονται ἔθνη θεοὺς αὐτῶν κτλ, the writer proceeds, according to the Aa text, ἡ δὲ παρθένος ἠλλάξατο τὴν δόξαν ἐν τῇ αἰσχύνῃ αὐτῆς, interweaving in one both Ps. cvi (cv) 20 and Phil. iii 19. The other MSS and the printed text spoil the point by separating the two references and giving each in full, ἡ δὲ παρθένος ἠλλάξατο τὴν δόξαν αὐτῆς καὶ ἡ δόξα ἐν τῇ αἰσχύνῃ αὐτῆς.

111. The A family and Rufinus give three rhetorical questions one after the other, τίς δοῦλος . . . ποῖος ληστῆς . . . τίς ἀπ' αἰῶνος . . . To insert ἡ at the commencement of the second question ἡ ποῖος ληστῆς . . . (so the B family and the edition) is to upset the balance of the three clauses.

114. In the same context ἡκούσθη . . . τολμήσας, the reading of Aa, is better than ἡκουσται . . . τολμήσας (printed text and some Ab MSS)—because the verbs of the parallel clauses, ἐμάνη προήχθη, are both aorist—and much better than the B readings ἡκουσεν . . . τολμήσαντα or ἡκουσται . . . τινὰ τολμήσαντα.

119. καὶ οὐκ ἄκουσαν ἐβιασάμην (A family and Rufinus) is undoubtedly better without the otiose addition of αὐτήν after ἐβιασάμην (B family and Benedictines).

121. ἡ δέσποινα ἡ ἄσωτος αὐτῷ τῷ καλῷ Ἰωσήφ ἐπεμάνη (Aa and Ac) is adequate of itself: ἡ Αἰγυπτία, inserted after ἄσωτος by the Benedictine text with B Ruf, is exactly the kind of supplement with which the 'little knowledge' of scribes loved to embroider their material.

These thirteen instances (of course they are the most striking) demonstrate the supreme value of the A family and especially of the Aa group: it is not necessary to pursue this side of the enquiry further, and enough has been said to shew that the Aa MSS are the indispensable foundation of a sound text. But the investigation would not be complete unless we also set down such readings as may seem to point in the opposite direction.

δ. The edition, then, may be right against the Aa group in 36 τὸν ζυγὸν ἀπορρίψασα. So Ab Bo Bu Ruf with Ps. ii 3, against Aa Ac ἀπορρήξασα. But the same verse of the Psalm has διαρρήξωμεν τοὺς δεσμούς; and it is more than possible that the writer of the Letter had this second phrase at the back of his mind and quoted loosely.

52. ἀδελφῆς . . . ἐκείνας μιμουμένης (with B family, some Ab MSS, and Ruf) must be right against the ἐκείνης of Aa and other A MSS. The plural refers to the mother and grandmother just mentioned.

57, 58, 59. πόσα δὲ γράμματα . . . ποσάκις δὲ δῶρα of the printed text is a combination of elements of the A and B readings, Aa Ac having πόσα δὲ γράμματα πολλάκις . . . πόσα δὲ δῶρα, B ποσάκις γράμματα . . . ποσάκις δὲ δῶρα. I do not think the printed text is right; something might be said for a converse combination of A and B, ποσάκις γράμματα . . . πόσα δὲ δῶρα.

61. τοῦ ἀερίου πνεύματος (with B and Ab) is probably right against τοῦ αἵρος τοῦ πνεύματος of Aa Ac, which agrees verbally with Eph. ii 2.

73. ἐμοῦ τοῦ ἀνδρός (with Bo Bu Ruf) is obviously right against ἐμοῦ τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ ἀνδρός of A; still more against ἐμοῦ τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ καὶ ἀθανάτου ἀνδρός of Bz.

78. μυρίαὺς μὲν ἐπωδαῖς . . . μυρίαὺς δὲ φυλακαῖς (with B, some Ab MSS, Ruf) is again clearly right; A, by prefixing πνευματικαῖς to ἐπωδαῖς, tries to be edifying.

92. τοῦτο μόνον ἐν πᾶσι κακὸν ἀσύγκριτον (with B and some Ab MSS) must certainly be preferred to the κακὸν καὶ ἀσύγκριτον of A. 'This is the one incommensurable evil', evil that cannot be brought into comparison with other evils; κακόν is a noun, not an adjective.

103. τῇ ἀνομίᾳ (with B Ruf) is better than τῇ ἀνομίᾳ εἰς τὴν ἀνομίαν of A, since a reading which completes a Biblical citation (Rom. vi 19) is always and rightly suspect as against a citation left incomplete. Note also that cod. B of the Bible omits εἰς τὴν ἀνομίαν, and Basil's Bible text may have done the same.

128. Χριστοῦ τοῦ νυμφίου (with Bo Bu) is a much easier reading than τοῦ χριστοῦ νυμφίου ('the anointed bridegroom'?) of the rest. Perhaps we should read τοῦ νυμφίου alone.

138. τούτοις τοῦ κακοῦ ἀλεξήμασι (with Bo Bu Ruf) echoes the πολλὰ μὲν ἂν εὖροις ἐν τῇ θεῖᾳ γραφῇ τοῦ κακοῦ ἀλεξήμασι of the beginning of the sentence, and I suspect it to be right against τοῦ κακοῦ βοηθήμασι of A Bz.

142. μαστιγούμενον (with B Ab) is perhaps simpler than either the προσμαστιγούμενον of Aa Ac or the προμαστιγούμενον of some MSS of Homilies. Liddell and Scott quote 'Basil' as the only authority for προσμαστιγώω, and, if it is found in other Basil passages than this, that consideration might turn the scale here in its favour.

164. Of this citation of Matt. xi 28, which the editors give with the authority only of Bz and some MSS of Homilies, I have already spoken in (iv), p. 238. It is the one serious instance where not only the A family but the older branches of the B family fail us.

In the result, out of 189 variations, there are barely five per cent. where it is either certain or at least very probable that Aa readings are wrong. The proportions indicate that the future editor of St Basil's Letters will base his text on a collation of the three or four oldest MSS of the Aa group, Patmos 57, Oxford Barocci 121, Venice Marcianus 61, Florence Mediceus LVII 7. If he will not be able wholly to neglect the oldest MSS of the other groups, it is safe to say that he may put aside altogether all MSS of those groups of later date than the eleventh century.

C. H. TURNER]

§ IV. Le Corpus primitif.

Nous avons jusqu'ici essayé de démontrer que toutes nos familles de manuscrits dérivent d'un état plus ancien dont la famille Aa nous donne l'idée la plus approchée. Il nous est impossible de découvrir dans quelle mesure cet état ancien pouvait différer de Aa. En partant de l'ordre que représente cette famille, et à ne considérer que les lettres qu'elle contient, et qui lui sont communes avec les autres familles, c'est-à-dire l'énorme majorité de pièces de la correspondance de S. Basile, on peut expliquer tous les ordres suivis dans les différents manuscrits, tandis qu'aucun autre ordre n'explique l'ordre Aa. Voilà le point capital qui nous permet de conclure que l'ordre Aa est primitif par rapport à tous les autres ordres à nous attestés par les manuscrits. S'il a existé un ordre antérieur à l'ordre Aa et différent de lui, il nous est impossible d'en discourir, car aucun vestige n'en subsiste. Il est complètement rentré dans le néant. En théorie on ne peut nier qu'un tel ordre n'ait pu exister ; mais il ne s'agit pas ici de possibilités. Nous devons rester dans le domaine des faits. Or le fait essentiel est l'absence de tout vestige d'un ordre antérieur à l'ordre Aa qui aurait sérieusement différé de cet ordre. Nous faisons donc un pas de plus et nous affirmons que l'ordre Aa est non seulement primitif par rapport à notre tradition manuscrite, mais qu'il est primitif d'une façon absolue. Nous entendons par là que du jour où l'ensemble des lettres contenues dans nos manuscrits Aa se trouvèrent réunies en un seul manuscrit, ce manuscrit les reproduisait dans l'ordre Aa, et qu'il fut donc l'archétype de ceux que nous possédons. Toute la tradition manuscrite de la correspondance de S. Basile procède donc, selon nous, de cet archétype dont il serait intéressant de rechercher la formation.

La pluralité des ordres que nous avons est issue d'une tendance à compléter les recueils existants et à classer la Correspondance suivant un certain plan, un certain ordre. Si la Correspondance de S. Basile avait été publiée en entier dès l'origine, les étapes conduisant à un classement logique et définitif auraient été abrégées, et le nombre des familles s'en trouverait plus réduit. Mais tout nous induit à croire que les choses ne se sont pas passées ainsi. Les premières tentatives de classement furent faites de bonne heure. Peut-être celui qui édita un premier recueil des Lettres de S. Basile suivit-il déjà un ordre intentionnel. Mais à mesure que d'autres lettres furent connues, soit isolées, soit par groupes, on les annexa au dit recueil, d'où résulta un manuscrit peu homogène. Alors on entreprit une refonte totale de l'ordre adopté pour y incorporer les suppléments, et puis il fallut recommencer jusqu'au jour où tout étant publié on put entreprendre un classement définitif. Les manuscrits se complétaient par la fin, chaque fois qu'ils inséraient du nouveau. De là ces manuscrits où les lettres de la première partie sont seules classées. Nous avons longuement expliqué ce mécanisme dans les chapitres précédents. Voyons comment on peut en tirer parti pour expliquer la formation du Corpus Aa.

Le premier recueil des Lettres de S. Basile connu de l'antiquité ne contenait pas toutes les pièces du Corpus Aa. C'était, croyons-nous, un 'Choix de Lettres', simple amorce de ce qui sera plus tard le Corpus Aa. Ce recueil alla se complétant dans les années qui suivirent sa publication. On y introduisit successivement des pièces isolées ou des paquets entiers de lettres nouvellement révélées. Mais ce furent des additions qui se soudèrent à l'ancien recueil, à titre d' 'addimenta', sans en bouleverser l'économie; et ce travail aboutit au Corpus Aa, qui, selon toute vraisemblance, se trouva constitué dès le sixième siècle au plus tard. Non que le Corpus Aa n'ait pu recevoir quelques nouvelles pièces postérieurement à cette époque. Mais ces ultimes additions durent être peu importantes. Ainsi le Corpus Aa se composa: (1^o) d'un recueil primitif, (2^o) de suppléments consécutifs. Cependant il faut noter que les suppléments durent être annexés, non incorporés dans le recueil primitif. Du besoin d'ordonner l'ensemble sont issus ultérieurement les remaniements d'ordre, origine de nos différentes familles. La tendance à classer fut certainement postérieure à celle de compléter le recueil.

Si l'on admet que cette description de la formation du Corpus Aa peut représenter les faits en gros, on comprendra que les chances d'authenticité des pièces qui le composent diminuent à mesure qu'elles y ont été insérées plus tardivement. Il n'est pas probable que le premier éditeur de la Correspondance de S. Basile ait admis dans son recueil des pièces fausses ou apocryphes, surtout si cet éditeur fut S. Grégoire de Nazianze, comme on le suppose. Mais pour les additions ultérieures on

à le droit d'être défiants. Non que ces additions soient suspectes en bloc, mais la bonne foi ou le sens critique de ceux qui les accueillirent ont pu se trouver en défaut quelquefois.

S. Grégoire de Nazianze (ep. 53) nous annonce qu'il avait réuni un recueil des Lettres de S. Basile. Nous citons sa lettre in-extenso :

Ἄεὶ προτιμήσας ἑμαυτοῦ τὸν μέγαν Βασίλειον, εἰ καὶ ἐκείνῳ τοῦναντίον ἰδόκει, καὶ νῦν προτιμῶ, οὐχ ἥττον διὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἢ τὴν φιλίαν· διὰ τοῦτο προθεῖς τὰς ἐκείνου ἐπιστολὰς τὰς ἐμὰς ὑποτίθηναι. καὶ γὰρ ἐπιθυμῶ πανταχοῦ συνεξεῦχθαι ἡμῶς ἀλλήλοις, καὶ ἅμα τύπον παρέχων τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῦ μετρίου καὶ τῆς ὑφέσεως.

Ce témoignage est clair. S. Grégoire a formé un recueil des lettres de S. Basile et des siennes, celles-ci venant après celles-là. L'expression *προθεῖς τὰς ἐκείνου ἐπιστολὰς* semble indiquer la totalité des Lettres de S. Basile. Mais nous croyons qu'il y a lieu de restreindre cette expression.

Pour publier la totalité des Lettres de S. Basile, S. Grégoire aurait dû avoir sous la main les originaux ou des copies de ces originaux, à moins que S. Basile n'eût conservé dans ses papiers la minute de toutes les pièces de sa Correspondance, ce qu'avait fait Libanios¹ et peut-être S. Grégoire lui-même. S. Grégoire n'aurait pu se procurer les originaux ou les copies qu'en procédant à un vaste récolement, œuvre de longue haleine qui aurait exigé des années. Pour ce qui est de l'héritage manuscrit de S. Basile, il est douteux que S. Grégoire y ait trouvé la minute de toutes les lettres envoyées, ou seulement de toutes les lettres qui composent le Corpus Aa. Sans doute quand il s'agissait de lettres importantes, d'encycliques, de lettres concernant les affaires des églises d'Orient et envoyées aux évêques d'Occident, S. Basile en conservait les brouillons ou les doubles, mais peut-on faire cette supposition à propos des petits billets, des lettres d'affaires, etc., qui émanaient de sa plume? S. Basile était un homme d'action, détaché, semble-t-il, de toute vanité littéraire. Il y a à parier qu'il ne songea jamais à la publication de sa Correspondance. A ce point de vue il nous apparaît bien différent de son ami S. Grégoire. Dès lors il nous semble peu probable que S. Grégoire ait pu composer un recueil très étendu des Lettres de S. Basile. Il se contenta sans doute d'éditer les lettres que S. Basile avait écrites à sa propre famille, à ses amis ou à leurs amis communs, à un petit cercle de Cappadociens éminents, en y joignant les lettres que S. Basile avait assez soignées pour en conserver la minute. Voilà de quelles pièces dût se composer le recueil de S. Grégoire de Nazianze. Au surplus il avait un but en éditant les plus belles lettres de S. Basile. Son ami

¹ Libanios, suivant Otto Seeck, *Die Briefe des Libanios, zeitlich geordnet* (Texte u. Untersuchungen, xxx 1-2, Leipzig 1906), aurait lui-même publié ses lettres d'après ses brouillons.

Nicobule lui avait demandé des modèles pour achever son éducation rhétorique : . . . *ἐμέ τι νῦν ἀπαιτῶν δεξιὸν εἰς λόγους* . . . (Grég. Naz. ep. 52).

En somme Nicobule demandait à S. Grégoire des modèles de style et en particulier de style éloquent. Évidemment il ne réclamait pas des modèles anciens, qui se trouvaient d'ailleurs dans toutes les bibliothèques, mais quelque chose d'actuel. S. Grégoire lui répond qu'il lui envoie les Lettres de S. Basile, en y joignant les siennes qui viennent en second rang. Et le recueil sera destiné au public, car S. Grégoire veut que les deux noms soient inséparables partout, *ἐπιθυμῶ πανταχοῦ συνεῦχθαι ἡμᾶς ἀλλήλοις*. En même temps S. Grégoire désire fournir au public un exemple de modestie : *τύπον παρέχων τοῖς ἄλλοις*. Donc il destine bien son recueil au public. Sa modestie consiste à se placer après S. Basile.

Or toutes les Lettres de S. Basile ne répondent pas au dessein poursuivi. Il y en a qu'on peut, au point de vue littéraire, qualifier d'insignifiantes. S. Grégoire devait être amené à faire un choix dans l'ensemble, même s'il avait disposé de l'ensemble. Il n'édita sans doute qu'un florilège des Lettres de S. Basile, et, selon nous, le florilège de S. Grégoire constitua le premier recueil dont nous avons parlé plus haut, qui se dilata avec le temps pour aboutir au Corpus Aa.

Peut-on aller plus loin et chercher dans Aa les limites du recueil de S. Grégoire ?

Voici quelques points qui paraissent assez probables :

(1^o) Le papyrus de Berlin¹ (v^e siècle) donne des extraits des lettres 293 et 150 qui sont respectivement, dans l'ordre Aa, *μζ'* et *μη'*. L'exemplaire d'où furent tirés ces extraits reproduisait l'ordre Aa, comme nous avons essayé de le montrer. Il n'est pas trop téméraire d'affirmer que les lettres 293 et 150 devaient figurer dans le recueil de S. Grégoire à la place qu'elles ont dans l'ordre Aa.

(2^o) Si l'on parcourt la suite des suscriptions figurant dans l'ordre Aa, de 1 à 100 inclus, on a l'impression d'être en présence d'un recueil assez bien ordonné. On sent au contraire à certains indices que 101 (toujours dans l'ordre Aa ; cf. vol. xxi p. 295) inaugure un autre recueil qui s'est soudé au premier. Les cent premiers numéros dans Aa nous présentent des lettres à peu près classées par correspondants. Nous disons 'à peu près', car nous pouvons noter une exception. Nous y rencontrons trois lettres avec la suscription *Σωφρονίῳ μαγίστρῳ* qui sont *ξ'*, *ξέ'* et *ξς'* : entre *ξ'* et *ξέ'* s'intercalent quatre lettres à différents autres personnages. L'intention de classer apparaît de façon assez claire aux numéros *οέ'*, *ος'*, *οζ'*, qui se suivent quoique n'ayant pas le même destinataire, étant adressés à trois personnages différents qui

¹ Voir pp. 131, 132 *supra*.

n'ont de commun que le nom et qui s'appelaient Grégoire.¹ Les 100 premiers numéros de l'ordre Aa constituent donc un groupe assez homogène en ce sens qu'un seul éditeur semble avoir procédé à leur classement. Le numéro 101 de l'ordre Aa (ordre combiné tableau I, vol. xxii p. 295) est adressé à Sophronios ainsi que 102, 103 et 104, puis trois pièces de la Correspondance de S. Basile et de Libanius, puis (108-111 inclus de l'ordre combiné) quatre lettres à Eusèbe, évêque de Samosate.

Nous retrouvons encore d'autres noms rencontrés déjà dans le recueil des 100 premiers numéros, tels qu'Amphilochios, Athanase d'Alexandrie, puis encore Eusèbe, etc.

Si les lettres postérieures au numéro 101 avaient fait partie du même recueil que les 100 premiers numéros, nous prétendons que l'éditeur aurait achevé de grouper ensemble celles qui avaient les mêmes destinataires. Les trois lettres à Libanius ou de Libanius auraient fait suite dans le recueil au numéro 30 (ordre combiné), qui est le dernier d'une suite de neuf lettres de S. Basile à Libanius ou vice versa (κβ inclus — λ'). Nous faisons le même raisonnement pour les lettres adressées à Eusèbe (108-111 de l'ordre combiné). Pourquoi ne figurent-elles pas à la suite de 17 (ordre combiné) qui est la dernière de toute une série adressée à Eusèbe ou à son entourage (série allant de 7 à 17 inclus de l'ordre combiné)? Et ainsi de suite. Si les 100 premiers numéros n'étaient pas ordonnés, on concevrait ces incohérences; mais si l'éditeur entendait classer en même temps que publier, pourquoi aurait-il failli si fort à la logique? Nous ne voyons qu'une explication. L'éditeur des 100 premiers numéros de l'ordre Aa n'est pas celui qui a donné une suite à ce premier recueil. Un nouveau paquet est venu se souder à un paquet déjà publié. Quand la soudure s'est-elle faite? On ne saurait répondre à cette question. Toutefois le second recueil est postérieur au premier en tant que collection. Nous pouvons maintenant essayer de répondre à la question posée plus haut. Si le recueil de S. Grégoire de Nazianze a amorcé le Corpus Aa, supposées admises nos déductions relatives à ce recueil, il a pu comprendre les 100 premiers numéros du Corpus Aa.

Poursuivant cet examen de la formation du Corpus Aa, on peut se demander si les lettres postérieures au numéro 100 (ordre combiné) n'ont formé à l'origine qu'un seul recueil, ou si elles en forment plusieurs qui se sont soudés à des époques diverses. Nous penchons pour cette dernière hypothèse, bien qu'il soit difficile de l'établir. Prenons par exemple la série qui va de 101 à 200 de l'ordre combiné Aa (chap. ii,

¹ [Epp. 58 60 55: the caution needs to be given that ep. 55 bears in the editions the superscription Παρηγορίω, but the Benedictine editors point out in their notes that many MSS. read Γρηγορίω.]

tableau I). Nous y rencontrons quatre lettres adressées à Eusèbe de Samosate qui sont 108, 109, 110 et 111 de l'ordre combiné, puis après une interruption encore deux lettres adressées au même Eusèbe qui sont 127 et 128 (ordre combiné); après une nouvelle interruption encore quatre lettres à Eusèbe, 146, 147, 148 et 149 (ordre combiné); enfin encore cinq lettres à Eusèbe qui sont 196, 197, 198, 199, 200 (ordre combiné). On fait des remarques semblables relatives à d'autres correspondants. Que conclure? Dans cette section du Corpus Aa ne s'est-on plus préoccupé de classer? On ne saurait l'affirmer, puisque les lettres à Eusèbe s'y présentent toujours par paquets homogènes. Mais si une seule main avait réuni la section en question, le classement aurait sans doute été poussé plus loin. On aurait mis ensemble toutes les lettres à Eusèbe.

On peut faire d'ailleurs une autre supposition très vraisemblable par rapport au groupe de lettres qui vient après les 100 premiers numéros du Corpus Aa.

Les lettres en question ont pu être annexées au recueil Aa, à mesure qu'elles étaient découvertes, et reproduire ainsi les fantaisies du récolement, sommairement classées par petits paquets à un même correspondant. Dans ce cas la constitution du Corpus Aa a pu se prolonger au moins une cinquantaine d'années ou même davantage.

La seule hypothèse qui paraît exclue, c'est celle d'un éditeur unique publiant un recueil de pièces rassemblées d'avance. La tendance à classer s'y heurte à une impossibilité d'aboutir, parce qu'en classant on ignore encore ce qui sera mis au jour plus tard.

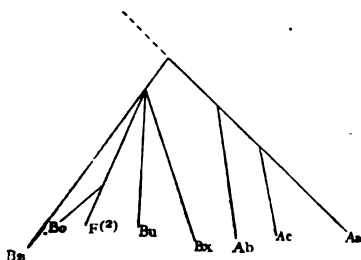
Tout ce qui a été dit de la section 101 à 200 s'applique à toute la fin du Corpus Aa, avec cette remarque toutefois que dans cette partie en particulier on a hospitalisé des pièces de toute provenance — par exemple, les lettres les plus déconcertantes de la Correspondance entre S. Basile et Libanius, dont l'incongruité a fait suspecter la Correspondance entière (214-222, ordre combiné du tableau I); la pièce qui porte le n° 22 dans l'édition des Mauristes, qui n'est pas une lettre (tableau I, n° 223, ordre combiné); la pièce qui dans le Patmius 57 porte le numéro σκδ' et qui a pour titre *περὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν ὀρκοῦν* (224, ordre combiné, n° 85 de l'édition Bénédictine): cette pièce n'est pas elle non plus une lettre. Disons-en autant de la pièce 125 (éd. Bénéd.), la 227^e du tableau I (ordre combiné), et de la pièce 16, ib. 258^e du même tableau.

Toutes ces considérations appellent une conclusion. Le Corpus Aa s'est constitué peu à peu. On est amené à admettre que sa formation a duré peut-être plusieurs dizaines d'années, et peut-être un siècle entier.

En tête on peut détacher un premier recueil assez homogène, ayant le caractère d'un 'Choix de Lettres', recueil qui a pu être celui de S. Gré-

goire de Nazianze,¹ contenant le meilleur, le plus intéressant et le plus authentique de la Correspondance de S. Basile.

Arrivés au terme de cet examen nous pouvons maintenant dresser le stemma général résumant les faits exposés dans le cours de notre étude. Il n'exprime pas des filiations de manuscrits, mais seulement les étapes de la tradition, et comment les familles sont issues soit directement, soit médiatement, de la famille Aa.



Le pointillé représente le premier recueil (celui de S. Grégoire de Nazianze?) qui a dû amorcer le Corpus Aa, et l'ordre d'où sont sortis tous les autres.

¹ On se demande pourquoi la Correspondance réciproque entre S. Grégoire et S. Basile n'est pas mieux représentée dans ce recueil, où ne figure que la lettre 2. On peut admettre avec vraisemblance que ces *ἐπιστολαὶ ἀμοιβαῖαι* devaient figurer à la deuxième partie du recueil, dans l'ensemble de la Correspondance de S. Grégoire.

² Bo n'est peut-être pas issu du manuscrit F (Medic. iv. 14), mais il est issu d'un manuscrit identique à F. La filiation est : Aa < Bz < F (ou manuscrit = F) < Bo. [I need hardly repeat that Bessières and I, while we agree in all that regards the primary position of Aa, differ *in toto* about B. I am clear that Bz is a late development of B conflated with A.]

M. BESSIÈRES.

[In the January number it was stated that the present would be the final instalment of M. Bessières' work. But that statement rested on a miscalculation of length: and the final chapter 'Les problèmes d'authenticité' must remain over till July.]

FRESH LIGHT ON THE SYNOPTIC PROBLEM.

IN the *Hibbert Journal* for October last an interesting article appears by Canon Streeter, in which he argues that Mark is not a primary, but only a secondary source of Luke's Gospel. He says: 'The non-Markan sections form the framework of the Third Gospel, and into this framework are inserted at convenient places extracts from the Gospel of Mark.' He believes that the Third Gospel first took shape lacking the Nativity stories and all the Marcan material. This Proto-Luke (as well as the completed Gospel) was probably the work of Luke himself, compiled at Caesarea during the time of Paul's imprisonment there, and expanded, perhaps twenty years later, into the Gospel as known to us. It is claimed for this theory that it gives us a new primary authority for the life of our Lord, independent of Mark, and of quite equal importance.

This theory, as the writer shews, does not run counter to the widely accepted 'Two-Document' theory. It merely interpolates a stage in which Q and Luke's special material had been worked into a unity prior to the incorporation of Mark. The present paper attempts an examination of the points touched on by Canon Streeter, with all of which there is agreement, except on that of the secondary character of Mark.

It is interesting to note that the value of Luke as a historian is being more and more vindicated by recent scholarship. Canon Streeter's theory helps to that end, whether Luke be the compiler of the special material or not. If he did not himself put together the special record, he knew good material when he saw it. For those who believe the final form of the Third Gospel to be later than A. D. 80 the argument will be of importance. For those who think it was completed fifteen or twenty years earlier, it will make no difference.

The present writer is fully in agreement with the argument that Q and Luke's special material (L) had been combined into a unity before they were united to Mark, but he would hesitate to follow Canon Streeter in relegating Mark to a secondary position. At any rate the matter is worth some scrutiny.

In support of his contention Canon Streeter compares Matthew's use of Mark with that of Luke, noting that Matthew uses practically all of Mark, whereas Luke omits a good deal. But if Matthew uses most of Mark, he treats his *order* with the greatest freedom, at least up to Mk. vi 13. On the other hand, Luke not only omits a good deal of Mark, but also (almost certainly) a good deal of Q. It would appear

that Matthew used up all his material, or nearly all, but dealt very freely with it, in rearranging its position. Luke, on the other hand, with much fuller materials at disposal, had to omit from all his sources, but only changed the order occasionally, and so in Matthew we get, in the main, subject-groups, and in Luke source-groups.

I imagine that when Luke went up with Paul to Jerusalem, and afterwards had the great opportunity afforded him by the two years' residence in Caesarea, he carefully collected all first-hand information which he could get about our Lord's life and teaching, from many sources, as his preface indicates. As Q is probably the oldest of the major sources, this probably reached him (in some recension) as a whole, and his first work would be to fit into it the other material. Seeing that Q is far short of being a gospel, the resulting whole would still be very incomplete; but when, in the last place, Mark's Gospel came to hand, a very much more adequate work became possible, with something like coherence in it. Since, however, some standard of length had probably to be observed, a good deal of omission was necessary. Of Q much was omitted which was of minor interest to Gentile readers, and of Mark much that was practically duplicated, either in L or Q or in Mark itself; so that, as far as precedence is concerned, Mark and Q may both be fairly regarded as primary sources of Luke's Gospel. Both received the same sort of treatment.

That Q and L were amalgamated as a first step is made very probable because they come together in the Gospel in sections which have almost entire independence of Mark. This was brought out in Sir John Hawkins's essay in the Oxford Studies. However, it is neither necessary nor desirable to insist on complete independence. Luke was not a slave to his own methods, and some short passages in the 'Great Insertion', such as Lk. xii 1 b, xvii 25, 31, 33, probably are taken from Mark.

On occasion, Luke's *retention* of a duplicate instance may point in the same direction. For instance, in Lk. xiii 10-17 and Lk. xiv 1-4 we have two examples of Sabbath cures, which raise the same questions as Mk. ii 23-iii 6, which Luke has already copied in ch. vi 1-11. According to his general habit Luke would have omitted some of these examples; but if he had, with some difficulty, already combined Q and L in chs. xiii and xiv, he may have seen some reason for not disturbing the arrangement. To have omitted the Mark-sections would certainly have been undesirable. At any rate, had all the material been dealt with simultaneously, this is exactly the place where we should have expected selection and omission to happen.

The question may now be discussed as to how far Q + L, or both of them separately, could be regarded as a complete gospel. If Mark is

in fact a secondary source, Q + L ought to be obviously a more complete and coherent whole. As to Q, Canon Streeter would agree that Q could hardly be called a gospel. It had an account of the Preaching of the Baptist, the Temptation, the Sermon on the Mount, the Discourse about the Baptist, the Instructions to the Twelve and the Seventy, the Discourse on Casting out Devils, the Discourse against the Scribes and Pharisees, and other similar material; but taken all together they do not form a history.

The same thing may be said about L; for although there are many incidents and parables, they have not much coherence. The Visit to Nazareth, the Call of Simon, the Raising of the Young Man at Nain, the Anointing by a Woman, and nearly all the special matter of the 'Great Insertion' have few precise indications of connexion or chronology. At any rate, though there may be sets of incidents interlaced with parables, main lines of history are absent.

In both sources a few sections approximately date themselves, such as the Call of Simon, in L, and the Preaching of the Baptist and the Temptation, in Q. Any one combining these sources, without any first-hand information, would group them more or less correctly; but out of two such amorphous entities we are not going to get a gospel. Burton, in his 'Principles of Literary Criticism and their Application to the Synoptic Problem', worked out a theory in which most of Lk. iii 1-iv 30, v 1-11, and vi 20-viii 3 were assigned to a special *Galilean* source, as Lk. ix 51-xviii 14, xix 1-28 to a special *Peraean* source, which came into Luke's hands separately. This 'Galilean' source would generally be regarded as composed of Q-material, combined with four incidents from L. It could, at the best, be regarded only as a fragment of a gospel. And even if, with Canon Streeter, we combine Burton's Galilean and Peraean sources, we get no nearer to a coherent whole. Nor would the fact that L has special incidents about the Passion and Resurrection affect one's view of the presentation of the Ministry.

It is not at all certain that where Luke deserts Mark's order in his placing of duplicate accounts he is always following the order of his source. He may have special reasons for adopting an order of his own. The two outstanding instances are the Visit to Nazareth and the Call of Disciples. As regards the Visit to Nazareth, it is everyway likely that its true chronological position is given in Mark. The version in L was probably preferred because it gave the prophetic outline of the Lord's ministry; and it has been brought forward, partly for that reason, and partly because it foreshadowed the whole issue of His work. The transposition of the Call of Disciples is a direct result of the former transposition. The story of the Call in Lk. v 1-11 could

not suitably have followed ch. iv 16-30, for the immense interest in the teaching of Jesus at Capernaum indicated in ch. v 1 needed some explanation. This is supplied in ch. iv 31 ff, taken from Mk. i 21 ff. The story in Mark shews how, after a crowded day at Capernaum, Jesus left the town with His disciples, for a tour amongst other Galilean villages. The Call of Disciples could not be put later, and so is inserted here. There was also a good reason for allowing iv 31 ff to come immediately after iv 30. Jesus is driven out of Nazareth, and it is convenient to continue the narrative where Mark records an entry into Capernaum. Luke has linked the two paragraphs together with great skill. He has altered Mark's *εἰσπορεύονται*, which referred to the journey from the lake-side to the town, into *κατῆλθεν*, which suits better the journey from Nazareth down to the lake. The junction of iv 31-44 with v 1-11, however, was not so easy, and, in fact, no transitional formula is used. Luke leaves the paragraphs side by side, content with the best available arrangement of his sources, but entirely sacrificing chronological order, first bringing forward the Nazareth episode, and then postponing the Story of the Call. The reference to Capernaum in iv 23 is evidence that in the source L the incident followed some record of work in that town. Luke is therefore deserting the order not only of Mark, but of his other source also.

Just as Luke brought forward the Nazareth episode, he put to a later place than in Mark the incident of the Mother and Brethren. In this case he does not give an alternative version. The reasons appear to have been quite similar to those just examined. It would not come in suitably at viii 3, and it is used to conclude the section of the Gospel which treats of Christ's first work as a teacher. He begins that section with the Rejection at Nazareth, closing it with the Rejection by Christ's own Family, thus throwing into high relief the spiritual significance of both incidents. It looks as if he had rather toned down the latter incident, to give it a form suitable to its position following the parable of the Sower.

It is interesting to note that Matthew has also displaced the Nazareth episode. It was not wanted in the Miracle-section, nor in the discourse on Mission-work. It really belongs to the next main division, giving Inquiries and Criticisms; and there seems to be no reason why it should not be included in it: possibly it was overlooked. At any rate, having got to the end of the Parable-section, Matthew found he had worked in all of Mark up to ch. vi 13, with the exception of this piece. He now appends it, and, after his fashion, welds it on so closely that it appears as if Jesus went straight to Nazareth after the parables had been spoken. This procedure is a great contrast to that of Luke.

We have also, probably, an exactly similar transposition by Luke at

the beginning of the 'Great Insertion', in the Rejection by a Samaritan Village, ix 51-56. This incident, presumably from L, does not follow on at all naturally from viii 3. The wording of the incident unequivocally points to the last journey to Jerusalem, and appears to connect all the material that follows with that journey. Yet in xiii 22 and xvii 11 we have references to journeys to Jerusalem, where no such urgency and solemnity are suggested. Moreover, to go no further than the first section that follows, we have a series of calls to discipleship, ix 57-62, which suggest the early stages of the ministry, and are not very likely to have happened in the midst of suspicious Samaria. The proper position of ix 51-56, chronologically, would appear to be just before xvii 11, where another incident in the same region is reported. Rebuffed as He purposed to go through Samaria, Jesus may have skirted the borders, and there encountered the ten lepers (cf. Kent *Biblical Geography and History* p. 258). The Rejection by the Samaritans may have been thrown to the head of the section, in order to give the same clue to the section as in the case of the Nazareth story. Moreover, a glance at Mark, where the insertion is made, helps to explain both the choice of this point for the 'Great Insertion', and the throwing forward of the first incident. Mk. ix 30-32 gives a similar foreshadowing of the end, and Mk. x 1 mentions a Peraean journey which was the prelude to the final journey to Jerusalem. Later, the insertion could not come.

But if ix 51-56 has been brought forward, we are left with a very easy explanation of the connexion of ix 57-62. It follows directly upon Lk. viii 3 in L, and belongs to the earlier part of the ministry and to Galilee. The circle of the disciples is by no means closed as yet. In viii 1-3 the Twelve and a small company are engaged in a preaching tour with Jesus. Lk. ix 57-62 may be incidents of that tour. In ch. x the work still further widens.

An examination of the whole body of Q + L shews that Q is treated as the primary source. This is quite obviously so in the two sections iii 1-iv 30 and vi 20-viii 3. In the 'Great Insertion' (ix 51-xviii 14), up to the end of ch. xii there is very little that does not belong to Q. From ch. xiii onwards L-material predominates. An orderly sequence of subjects can be traced throughout the whole, though the precise place in the scheme as given by Mark is lost to us, and seems not to have been known by Luke himself. If this point is conceded, it follows that Q + L is rather amorphous, chronologically. In some cases Luke prefers the Q-account to Mark, as the Discourse about Casting out Demons, and then also adheres to the Q-position; but all these are cases in which the chronological order is a matter of very little importance.

Perhaps, after all, it makes no difference whether we say that Luke fitted Q + L into Mark as a framework, or Mark into Q + L as a framework. What I should *not* say is that he fitted Q and Mark into L; but that would not in the least detract from my respect for the high value of L, as a source of the Gospel. And I should regard Mark as the backbone of Luke's Gospel, just as it is of Matthew's; but to establish this would not in the least invalidate the other arguments of Canon Streeter's illuminating essay.

T. STEPHENSON.

THE PROBLEM OF THE PASTORAL EPISTLES.

IF critical students must take Dr Parry's work on the Pastoral Epistles seriously, traditionists will certainly have to give heed to Mr Harrison's masterly codification of the linguistic evidence, his clear exposition of its bearing on the question of authorship, and his other contributions, valuable if less complete and convincing, towards the final solution of the whole problem raised by these letters.¹

It has, of course, long been matter of common knowledge that 'the language of the Pastorals shews on the face of it certain strongly marked peculiarities as compared with the other Paulines'. Mr Harrison has shewn us that close and methodical examination very greatly accentuates this contrast. His statistics and curves shew (1) that the ten Pauline Epistles 'maintain among themselves a close and unmistakeable family likeness'. Each letter and group has its characteristic expressions, but they form a series. The Pastoral Epistles stand apart from that series. In each curve a sharp rise separates them from the ten. Judged by their vocabulary the Pastoral Epistles find their place in the second century series and not in the Pauline series. Mr Harrison has also shewn that certain alleged analogies in the works of Shakespeare may be shewn by closer examination not to support the conclusions which have been based on them. Take the three groups, of the ten Pauline Epistles, the Pastorals, and the Apostolic Fathers, and we find that of the Pauline words not found in the Apostolic Fathers 94 per cent. are absent from the Pastorals. Put the whole New Testament on one side, and the Apostolic Fathers and the Apologists on the other; the Pastorals have more words in common with the latter than the former group of writings. Thus Mr Harrison completes the work begun by Holtzmann. Dr Hort was right when he said that the real difficulty of

¹ *The Problem of the Pastoral Epistles*, by P. N. Harrison, M.A., D.D., Oxford University Press, 1921.

accepting the Pauline authorship of these Epistles was to be found in their style and vocabulary. But Mr Harrison has a further contribution to make to the subject. The traditional view has always found its chief support in the difficulty of otherwise accounting for the Pastoral Epistles as we have them. The *personalia* which they contain bear the stamp of genuineness. They avoid the obvious resources of the pseudepigraphist. They ring true. But the difficulty of finding a place for them in the story of St Paul led Holtzmann and Baur to attribute them to 'the happy thought of invention'. It was felt to be impossible to find any one situation or period into which they could all be fitted. Mr Harrison denies the necessity for treating them as closely connected. By dividing them up into small enough sections he can find an appropriate 'situation' for each of them in the life of St Paul without creating a new period after release from imprisonment at Rome, which, with most critical students of the New Testament, he rejects.

He also divides the Pauline elements in these Epistles into *two* classes: genuine fragments of personal instructions, and stock phrases used by an imitator, in a way which betrays their derived character. In his reproduction of the text of the Epistles at the end of his essay the differences are clearly shewn by the use of uncial letters and of underlining. In such distinctions it is obvious that there is room for much difference of opinion as to details. But the working hypothesis is clearly stated and deserves full consideration.

By dividing up the *personalia* of 2 Timothy and Titus (in 1 Timothy he finds nothing genuine) he finds a place for (1) Titus iii 12-15 as written from Western Macedonia, after the 'four chapter letter' (2 Cor. x-xiii) and before the later letter (2 Cor. i-ix). Titus, then at Corinth, is bidden to hold himself ready to join St Paul in Epirus, where he intends to winter at Nicopolis. The situation is possible, though further study will probably reveal more clearly the extent of hypothesis needed to make it probable. (2) 2 Tim. iv 13-15, 20, 21a, written from Macedonia after the visit to Troas (2 Cor. ii 12) to bid Timothy, who has returned to Ephesus, to join him before winter. Again the conjectural element is certainly not absent. It is easy to find an occasion when Trophimus may have been left at Miletus sick. But the actual misdeeds of Alexander the coppersmith, though not unlikely, are not recorded elsewhere. All that we learn from Acts is that some one of that name was 'put forward by the Jews as their spokesman, and that the populace of Ephesus would not give him a hearing. (3) 2 Tim iv 16-18a, from Caesarea soon after his removal there from Jerusalem, the 'first defence' being Acts xxii 1 ff. Before the supposed time of writing there had been a *second* defence, but Mr Harrison gets over the absence of reference to it on the ground that

the brethren at Jerusalem had apparently no opportunity of standing by him on that occasion. Surely the hope expressed in the last verse that the Lord 'will save me unto His heavenly kingdom' is better suited to the final imprisonment, from which St Paul had no hope of escape. (4) 2 Tim. iv 9-12, 22*b*, the recall of Timothy to Rome before St Paul's trial, and (5) a longer letter on the eve of martyrdom, 2 Tim. i 16-18, iii 10*f*, iv 1, 2*a*-5*b*, 6-8, 18*b*, 19, 21*b*, 22*a*, 'his noble last letter and farewell to Timothy, in which he assures him of his complete confidence, bids him carry through to the end his task, as he, Paul, has now done; and so breaks to him the news that they two will not meet in this world again'.

Thus by skilful division the separated scraps can be put into possible, and sometimes probable situations. But no explanation is offered of the preservation and collection of such disjointed scraps alone of Pauline correspondence, or their redistribution in the letters where they now appear, and in which they create, as we are told, impossible situations. The stupidity of the final redactor has been too prominent perhaps in reconstructions of New Testament writings. Sounder criticism must study more carefully the probabilities of his case. But the theory here put forward is a distinct advance on Dr Vernon Bartlet's assignment of the Pastoral Epistles as they stand to various occasions in the life of St Paul covered by the record of the Acts. They shew a real unity, and must belong to one period, if each Epistle is treated as an integral whole.

Mr Harrison has given us a decisive presentation of the facts of vocabulary and style, in which the Pauline and non-Pauline elements, as he sees them, are clearly and convincingly set out: and he has suggested a possible theory to explain the presence of both in the Pastoral Epistles. To many readers his demonstration will probably appear final. The present writer has, however, to confess that he needs further light on several points. (1) There is no doubt that St Paul's style and vocabulary vary largely according to subject and circumstance. The Pastoral Epistles stand quite apart from the other ten in these respects. The difference is great. Is it certain that it is greater than residence in Rome, where the Greek spoken by the classes to which most Christians belonged probably differed from that spoken in Asia and Syria, and the new circumstances which had to be faced at the end of the two years' imprisonment or soon after it, could explain? The new circumstances which the writer, *if* he was St Paul, tries to meet are not always clearly understood. If he is responsible for these Epistles substantially as we have them, a very doubtful hypothesis, they must have been sent with a double object. He must instruct his delegates at Ephesus and in Crete how to deal with the situation till he can visit his churches

himself, and so resume leadership. He must also give instructions which will hold if, as he knows only too well may happen, he never has the chance of resuming his work of supervision again. He has to face questions of organization, to meet temporary circumstances which may become permanent. The creative period is over. Many churches will, all may, have to get on without their former leaders. It is a new situation as compared with the backgrounds of any of the other Pauline Epistles.

(2) There is a real connexion between the language of the Pastorals and that of the age of the Apostolic Fathers, to say nothing of the Apologists. But there is also a difference between their content and the essentially second-hand character of the subapostolic literature. Are the Pastorals merely part of the product of that age, or did they help to form its Christian language and thought? The answer to this question may or may not determine the question of authorship. Its bearing on the value of the Epistles is of decisive importance.

(3) The Church organization which forms the basis of 'Paul's' instructions to his delegates is not that of the monarchical episcopate. It seems to be even pre-Ignatian. Does it represent a state of Church management which appealed to Christians widely enough and long enough to have called out the desire for Pauline authority in its support which would lead to the composition of the Epistles?

(4) The combination of genuine Pauline *personalia*, with the use of stock Pauline phrases not always happily applied, and the addition of large quantities of non-Pauline language and matter is of course quite possible. But do the phenomena exclude the possibility of a larger Pauline element in the composition; real letters, perhaps expanded at a later date, in which the personal instructions were practically dictated, the language of Paul prominent in other parts, and the general instructions left to be formulated by the scribe? We do not know under what conditions of hurry and constraint St Paul may have been forced to send out his instructions towards the end of his life.

(5) If the preservation of scraps of *personalia* can be satisfactorily explained, again a doubtful hypothesis, we have seen that by adequate division possible places for them can be found in the life of St Paul without the assumption of a release from the Roman imprisonment. But no satisfactory explanation of their combination into their present form has been suggested. There is now something like consensus of agreement that these fragments are genuine, whatever view is taken of the rest of the content of the Epistles. Can a simpler explanation of them be found than Mr Harrison's rather elaborate subdivision and redistribution over a long period? To the present writer it seems that a short period of travel after release followed by speedy re-arrest, imprisonment, and martyrdom offers the most natural explanation.

There may not be convincing evidence for the release: there is really no substantial evidence against it.

The passages which have to be considered as Pauline *personalia* have been, with one or two exceptions, enumerated. For the sake of clearness it may be well to remind ourselves of their content. They are as follows:—

- i Tim. i 3. Timothy urged, on a former occasion, to stay on at Ephesus, when Paul goes to Macedonia. (Not used by Mr Harrison.)
- Titus i 5. Reference to an occasion when St Paul left Titus in Crete. (Not used by Mr Harrison.)
- iii 12-14. St Paul intends to send thither Artemas or Tychicus. After their arrival Titus is to hasten to Nicopolis, where St Paul intends to winter.
- 2 Tim. i 15-18. All Asia turned against St Paul. Phygellus, and Her-mogenes. The contrast of Onesimus's conduct, his courage at Rome and Ephesus. Apparently he is now dead.
- iii 11. Reference to St Paul's sufferings at Antioch, Iconium, Lystra.
- iv 6-8. The end is near: ἡδη σπένδομαι.
- 10 ff. Timothy is to come to him. Demas, Crescens, Titus, already sent to Thessalonica, Galatia, Dalmatia: Tychicus to Ephesus. Luke alone with him. Timothy to bring Mark. The cloak, &c., from Troas. The evil deeds of Alexander. The 'first defence'. The assurance of true safety.
- 19-21. Greetings to Prisca and Aquila and the 'house' of Onesiphorus. Erastus at Corinth. Trophimus left 'sick' at Miletus. Greetings sent from Roman Christians, Eubulus, Pudens, Linus, and Claudia, and all the brethren. (No real contradiction of the former statement that only Luke, of his own *en-lourage*, is with him.)

Mr Harrison's attempt to find situations for all these passages (save two) by sub-division has been fully described, and reference has been made to Dr Vernon Bartlet's similar endeavour on the supposition of the genuineness and integrity of the whole Epistles. Is there a simpler and more satisfactory explanation?

Assuming the truth of the traditional view that the two years' Roman imprisonment was followed by release and re-arrest, several elaborate journey plans have been put forward to fill up the years between 62 (or 64) and 67. These plans are, on that supposition, possible; but they are

not necessary. Perhaps the simplest solution of the questions raised by these passages in the Pastorals is to suppose a far shorter period of activity after the end of the 'first' Roman imprisonment.

It would have been well if students had set themselves the task of thinking out what St Paul must have done in the way of travelling, if the references in these Epistles are to real events subsequent to the 'first' Roman imprisonment. There are many things that he may have done, one especially that tradition elaborated at a later date, taking its start from an intention announced in Romans, of visiting Spain. But even the most rigid orthodoxy has allowed the possibility of an inspired Apostle changing his mind. If, as these letters seem to imply, he visited Ephesus again, it was in direct opposition to what he expected, as we learn from Acts. We need not therefore assume that because he *expected* to winter at Nicopolis, and made arrangements with that end in view, that he actually *spent* the winter there. The Roman power may have interfered with his intentions.

It may be surprising to those who began their study of these Epistles with the help of the older English literature on the subject to find that all we are bound to find room for in possible reconstructions of St Paul's further activities after the two years 'in his own hired house' at Rome, are (1) a visit to Crete, if he *left* Titus there 'to set in order the things lacking, and establish presbyters in each city, as I commanded thee', on some occasion subsequent to the visit to the island he was forced to pay on his way to Rome. When the instruction is written Titus is still in Crete. St Paul *expects* to send him word by Artemas and Tychicus. When that happens Titus is to hurry to Nicopolis, where St Paul *expects* to pass the winter. Zenas and Apollos are clearly expecting to visit Crete, or are already there and expecting to leave it. Possibly they are the bearers of the letter. They are to be zealously forwarded on their way, so that they may lack nothing. Even this visit is not necessary, if we assume that Titus was left in Crete when Paul visited the island on his way to Rome from Jerusalem. The silence of Acts is no evidence on the subject of Titus, who is never mentioned in the book at all. All *might* have been written from a Roman prison which St Paul never left, in spite of his expectation, at the time of writing, that he would winter in Epirus. (2) A visit to Ephesus if St Paul, when *en route* for Macedonia, exhorted Timothy to stay on at Ephesus, in order to urge some Christians there not to give false teaching or pay heed to myths and interminable genealogies. (3) A visit to Macedonia, unless indeed he was interrupted *en route*. Such a journey many have included (a) touching at Troas, where the cloak and books were left, and *possibly* (b) a visit to Corinth, if (iv 18) 'Erastus abode at Corinth' is held to imply that the writer left him there, and (c) Miletus, where Trophimus had to be left.

Thus these notices do not necessitate any more elaborate journey than a visit to Crete, not on the usual route *from* Italy to the East, but not impossible: a visit to Miletus, whence he may have gone to Ephesus, or may have sent for Timothy, as on an earlier occasion he sent for the Ephesian elders to meet him at Miletus: a coast voyage to Troas and thence on to Macedonia, if he completed the journey on which he was setting out when he made his request to Timothy. The references would not exclude the possibility of re-arrest at Troas, and hurried departure from there. But we need not be too ingenious. Crete, Miletus, Troas, with the probable addition of Ephesus and Macedonia, and possibly a winter at Nicopolis, and even a visit to Corinth. The minimum requirements are not large. They are far simpler than the usual accepted reproductions by conjecture of the later years of St Paul's life. Some such journey, followed by a second imprisonment in Rome from which he wrote 2 Timothy, or at least the *personalia* which it contains, is perhaps the simplest and most satisfactory explanation of the facts that call for explanation. It avoids the questionable subdivision of small paragraphs by which alone Mr Harrison can find place in the pre-Roman period of St Paul's life for the references in the genuine *personalia*, which cannot be placed in Roman imprisonment. And it offers an explanation of *all* of them. Mr Harrison has to make at least two exceptions.

But the shortest plan which has been sketched suffers from one improbability. It would assume that Timothy, who had seen St Paul at Ephesus or at Miletus, had to be told of what happened to Trophimus at Miletus, in a letter written from Rome. It would be more natural to suppose that the Trophimus incident happened after Timothy had left Ephesus, where the first Epistle, or the reference to events with which it begins, which may be genuine if the whole Epistle is not, assumes him to be at the time of writing. News of the fact would have been more likely to reach Timothy from Miletus than from Rome, *after* St Paul had reached that city. If then we include 1 Tim. i 3 among the genuine *personalia*, it would be more natural to assume that St Paul paid a second visit to Ephesus or the neighbourhood.

If we are to leave room for this we must suppose that after the two years St Paul found himself at liberty, either because he had secured a verdict in favour of his appeal, or because the case went by default, the accusers having failed to appear. 'This man might have been set at liberty, if he had not appealed unto Caesar' was the judgement of a competent Jewish authority called in to advise a Roman official who had to deal with the case in the province. St Paul must have visited Crete, where he left Titus to organize the work which he and others had begun; possibly St Paul himself had made a start more than two

years earlier. Thence he may have gone to Miletus and Ephesus, where he left Timothy to deal with some special difficulties, while he himself went on to Macedonia, perhaps visiting Troas. During this period he may have written to Titus, giving him instructions and telling him his plans for the winter; and also to Timothy with further instructions how to deal with the difficulties at Ephesus. The letters no doubt contained more than the personal references, if they lacked much of their present content. Timothy probably left Ephesus during the period, his work completed or found to be beyond his strength. Probably St Paul himself returned to the Asiatic coast and at least touched at Miletus, possibly going on to Ephesus. At the former place he was obliged to leave Trophimus. After this, or even before it, he may have carried out his intention of going to Nicopolis. We may assume that the Nicopolis in Epirus is meant, built by Augustus to commemorate his victory over Mark Antony and Cleopatra, on the site where his land forces encamped before the battle. Under the patronage of the Emperors it became the most important city on that part of the sea-coast. From Miletus he may have crossed the Aegean to Corinth, where perhaps he and Erastus parted company, crossed the Isthmus and again taken ship for Nicopolis, where he meant to winter. Here, if he reached it, he may have been re-arrested and taken to Rome. From his prison in Rome—after his first hearing, at which he was not condemned, but which augured ill for his final escape—he wrote to Timothy the second Epistle, or the genuine part of it, to urge him to come if possible, and to explain the arrangements which he had made for his ‘staff’ to carry on the work of the Churches, which he now knew that he must leave to others. Only Luke is with him of his own ‘set’, and perhaps also the scribe, to whom he dictates, or partly dictates and partly instructs him how to write at greater length.

Hypothetical reconstructions give scope for ingenuity, but of course cannot compel conviction. Many others would do equally or nearly as well. But it is sometimes worth while to test the possibility of a situation by these means. Some such scheme of events as that suggested seems to offer the most natural explanation of those parts of the Pastoral Epistles which are now generally considered to be genuine Pauline matter. If they are genuine they raise the question of the probability of at least a short period of release after the two years’ residence in the hired house. Their claim to be considered good evidence for that certainly deserves consideration.

A. E. BROOKE.

LA PRIMA CATHEDRA EPISCOPATUS DU CONCILE D'ELVIRE.

Le 58^e canon du concile d'Elvire est ainsi conçu :

*Placuit ubique et maxime in eo loco in quo prima cathedra constituta est episcopatus, ut interrogentur hi qui communicatorias litteras tradunt an omnia recte habeant suo testimonio comprobata.*¹

Le sens de ce canon est, pour une part, fort net : le concile prescrit que les gens qui exhibent des lettres de communion soient interrogés, et que l'on s'assure par leur propre témoignage s'ils sont complètement en règle. — Les *communicatorias litterae*, qui servaient aux chrétiens à être reconnus et reçus dans les Églises où ils passaient, donnaient souvent lieu à des doutes, parfois à des falsifications : nous en avons une preuve dans une lettre de saint Cyprien au clergé de Rome, par laquelle l'évêque de Carthage croit devoir faire vérifier à Rome la lettre accréditant le sous-diacre romain Crementius, lettre qui paraît suspecte.² Le concile d'Elvire, qui déjà dans son canon 25 interdit l'usage des *litterae confessoriae*, c'est-à-dire des lettres de recommandation délivrées par des confesseurs (de la foi), et déclare ne vouloir que des *communicatorias litterae*, des lettres délivrées par l'Église,³ ajoute une condition dans son canon 58, en prescrivant que par un interrogatoire du porteur on vérifie l'authenticité de la lettre l'accréditant. Selon toute vraisemblance, cet interrogatoire aura trait à la foi : on s'assurera qu'on n'a pas affaire à un hérétique. — Cela est clair. Les premiers mots du même canon sont loin de l'être autant.

Mansi a inséré dans sa collection des conciles, en guise de commentaire des canons d'Elvire, un long travail de Ferd. de Mendoza, intitulé *De confirmando concilio illiberitano, ad Clementem VIII . . .*, et publié en 1594 : on y trouvera une riche documentation, spécialement sur le canon 58.⁴ Mendoza explique d'abord ce que l'on entend par *communicatorias litterae*, puis il s'arrête au texte *Maxime in eo loco in quo primae cathedrae constitutus est episcopus*, qui est la leçon qu'il lit. Ce texte, dit-il, a fait croire qu'en Espagne, au temps du concile d'Elvire, il existait des archevêques et des primats, qui auraient porté le titre de *primae cathedrae episcopi*. 'Je voudrais que ce fût vrai, continue-t-il, et qu'on l'eût prouvé par de plus solides arguments.

¹ F. Lauchert *Die Kanones der wichtigsten althirchlichen Concilien* (1896), p. 22. Le texte est celui de Gonzalez *Coll. can. Ecl. Hisp.* (1808).

² Cyprian. *Epistul.* ix 2 (éd. Hartel, p. 489).

³ Rapprochez le canon 9 du concile d'Arles : 'De his qui confessorum litteras afferunt, placuit ut sublati eis litteris alias accipiant communicatorias.'

⁴ Mansi, t. ii pp. 328-332.

Mais j'observe que dans les souscriptions du concile d'Elvire il n'est ni fait mention ni tenu compte d'une primatie quelconque de ce genre. Il faut donc chercher une autre interprétation.'

Mendoza observe sur cela que les manuscrits les plus anciens et les plus corrects lisent : *In qua prima cathedra constituta est episcopatus*. Il propose donc d'entendre que, les lettres de communion pouvant être vérifiées partout, elles le seront principalement là où l'évêque a établi sa *cathedra*. Mais pourquoi sa *prima cathedra*? Parce que, suppose Mendoza, les évêques de ces temps de persécution étaient exposés à se déplacer, donc à déplacer leur *cathedra*, et que ces translations ne devaient pas diminuer le privilège juridique de l'église où la *cathedra* avait été d'abord et traditionnellement fixée. . . . Cette interprétation paraîtra bien peu vraisemblable : l'évêque ne saurait être ainsi distingué de sa *cathedra* : s'il lui arrive de quitter sa résidence, il est évêque où qu'il réside dans son diocèse, et il ne viendra à l'esprit de personne de distinguer sa *prima cathedra* des *cathedrae* de fortune qu'il aura occupées çà ou là. Il reste que Mendoza a vu juste en défendant la leçon *prima cathedra episcopatus*.

La leçon *primae cathedrae episcopus* est une variante qui avait l'avantage de donner un sens plausible. En Afrique, en effet, les évêques se groupaient province par province, et la préséance en chaque province appartenait au plus ancien évêque. Ainsi en allait-il au temps de saint Augustin, au temps d'Optat, et déjà en 305, témoin le protocole de Cirta où il est parlé de *Secundus episcopus Tigisitanus primae cathedrae*,¹ c'est-à-dire de l'évêque de Tigisis qui se trouvait être le primat de la province de Numidie en 305. On supposait que l'organisation était la même en Afrique et en Espagne : le protocole de Cirta et le concile d'Elvire étant contemporains, on expliquait à merveille l'un par l'autre. Mais en réalité à Elvire on parle de *prima cathedra episcopatus*, et c'est tout autre chose qu'un primat au sens africain de *primae cathedrae episcopus*.

C'est ce que Gams a dit fortement. Tous les manuscrits collationnés par Gonzalez, écrit-il, lisent : *prima cathedra episcopatus*. Gams s'est de même prononcé contre l'interprétation de Mendoza : un évêque dans son diocèse n'a pas une, deux, trois *cathedrae* : il n'y a qu'une *cathedra sacerdotalis*, comme l'enseigne saint Cyprien. Que veut donc dire : *Prima cathedra episcopatus*? Gams, le solide Gams, se fourvoie ici étrangement, quand il veut que cette expression désigne la *cathedra* de l'évêque, en chaque Église, par opposition aux *cathedrae* des prêtres, car, dit-il, *auch die Presbyter hatten ihre cathedrae*.² Et la preuve qu'il en donne est que, au concile d'Elvire même, on voit siéger dix-neuf

¹ Augustin. *Contra Crescon*. iii 30.

² Gams *Kirchengeschichte von Spanien* t. ii p. 1 (1864), p. 117.

évêques et avec eux vingt-six prêtres. — Cette preuve ne nous convaincra pas. Nul n'ignore que les évêques et les prêtres s'asseoient à l'église, tandis que les diacres restent debout : saint Cyprien désigne l'honneur commun à l'évêque et à ses prêtres par l'expression *in consensu nostri honore florere*.¹ Mais la *cathedra* est l'insigne exclusif de l'évêque, le symbole de son autorité, le symbole de l'unité de l'Église : il ne serait venu à personne dans l'antiquité chrétienne de parler de *cathedrae* des prêtres.² — Secondement, il pouvait exister dans un diocèse des localités dont les fidèles avaient à leur tête un prêtre : le canon 77 d'Elvire parle même de localités où les fidèles sont gouvernés par un diacre, *diaconus regens plebem*. Supposé que ces paroisses (disons : rurales) soient éloignées de la ville épiscopale, on pourra à la rigueur parler de la ville épiscopale comme de la ville où est établie la *cathedra episcopatus*, mais non pas la *prima cathedra episcopatus*. Gams n'est pas sans avoir vu la difficulté : 'Il peut paraître redondant de dire : Le premier siège de l'épiscopat, au lieu de : Le siège de l'épiscopat'. Cela est bien plus qu'une redondance, c'est un non-sens.

Hefele est revenu à l'interprétation que Mendoza avait si sagement écartée, celle qui veut que l'organisation des provinces ecclésiastiques ait été la même en Espagne qu'en Afrique : ce qui était *prima sedes* en Afrique est *prima cathedra* en Espagne au temps du concile d'Elvire.³ Dom Leclercq, dans la nouvelle édition française d'Hefele, abonde dans le même sens : 'La situation, écrit-il, paraît peu différente en Espagne de ce qu'elle est en Afrique. Chaque province ecclésiastique avait un primat, et ce titre revenait au plus âgé des évêques de la province.'⁴ Par plus âgé entendez le plus ancien d'épiscopat. Mgr Duchesne incline au même sentiment qu'Hefele : il mentionne qu'en Afrique le primat provincial est simplement le doyen des évêques de la province, quel que soit son siège, et il ajoute : 'Peut-être y avait-il en Espagne une organisation de ce genre. Une expression assez obscure du concile d'Elvire permettrait de le soupçonner.'⁵ Ce n'est qu'un *peut-être*, suggéré par une expression obscure. En note, Mgr Duchesne insinue que *prima cathedra episcopatus* pourrait désigner simplement le siège épiscopal par opposition à des *plebes* ou paroisses organisées dans les villes ou les villages'. Cette interprétation est bien difficile à accepter : le concile ne dit pas *cathedra episcopatus*, ce qui

¹ Cyprian. *Epistul.* xl (éd. Hartel, p. 586).

² Néanmoins, je signalerai que Constantin, invitant l'évêque de Syracuse Chrestus au concile d'Arles, lui prescrit d'amener avec lui *δύο τινας τῶν ἐκ τοῦ δευτέρου θρόνου*, Euseb. *H. E.* x 5, 23. Mais en ces matières ecclésiastiques la chancellerie impériale parle toujours avec emphase.

³ Hefele *Conciliengeschichte*² t. I (1873), p. 182.

⁴ Hefele-Leclercq *Hist. des Conciles* t. I p. I (1907), p. 253.

⁵ Duchesne *Origines du culte chrétien*² (1898), p. 22.

pourrait à la rigueur évoquer l'idée d'une *plebs* sans évêque, mais il dit *prima cathedra episcopatus*, qui évoque l'idée de *cathedrae episcopatus* autre que la première.

Revenons à Mendoza, et disons avec lui qu'il n'y a pas trace de primaties en Espagne au temps du concile d'Elvire. Le rôle que joue Hosius, évêque de Cordoue à Nicée, s'explique par la considération personnelle que lui a vouée Constantin : le fait qu'Hosius est évêque de la métropole civile de la province de Bétique n'y ajoute rien.

* * *

Le texte du 58^e canon d'Elvire bien établi, il faut l'interpréter.

Placuit est le mot consacré pour annoncer une décision conciliaire, il revient à maintes reprises dans les canons d'Elvire, et il se construit tantôt avec l'infinitif — *placuit abstineri*, — tantôt avec le gérondif — *placuit poenitentiam non esse denegandam*, — tantôt avec *ut* — *placuit ut celebremus*. Une fois *placuit* est accompagné de l'indication de l'unanimité des opinants : *Placuit cunctis ut* (can. 53).

La formule du canon 58 est exceptionnelle, car elle ne dit pas que la décision a été prise par les évêques présents, mais qu'elle a été prise partout : *Placuit ubique*. Remarquez bien que le concile ne dit pas que sa décision devra être observée partout, mais qu'elle a été prise partout. Ceci est capital. Dom Gams traduisant en allemand notre canon lui donne la teneur suivante : *Ueberall, und besonders an dem Orte, wo sich der erste Stuhl des Episcopates befindet, sollen diejenigen, welche Briefe der Kirchengemeinschaft überbringen, befragt werden, ob . . .*, etc.¹ Cette traduction suppose que les porteurs de *formatae* devront être interrogés partout, et particulièrement dans le lieu où est la première chaire de l'épiscopat. C'est un contre-sens. Le canon dit expressément : Il a été décidé (*placuit*) partout,² et particulièrement dans le lieu où est la première chaire de l'épiscopat. Le concile fait sienne une décision prise ailleurs, une entente convenue entre tous les évêques de la *catholica*, car tel est bien le sens de *ubique*.

Optat de Milève, pour ne citer que lui, écrit : *Ubi erit proprietas catholici nominis, cum inde dicta sit catholica, quod sit rationabilis et ubique diffusa?*³ Et encore : . . . *hanc esse catholicam, quae sit in toto orbe terrarum diffusa, . . . cuius dotes apud illam ubique sunt.*⁴ Et encore : *Ubique nefas est . . .*⁵ Et encore : *(Lex) in cordibus credentium manet et librorum milia ubique recitantur.*⁶ Et encore : *Nihil*

¹ Gams, p. 117.

² Rapprochez Cyprian. *Epistul.* lxxviii 5 (p. 748) 'Quam rem omnes omnino ubique censuimus', une décision de l'épiscopat universel.

³ Optat. ii 1 (éd. Ziwsa, p. 33).

⁴ *Ibid.* 9 (p. 45).

⁵ *Ibid.* vi 1 (p. 143).

⁶ *Ibid.* vii 1 (p. 163).

*diest Ecclesiae: per loca singula divinum sonat ubique praeconium.*¹
Par *ubique* Optat désigne l'extension de la *catholica* à tout l'*orbis*.

De quoi va-t-il être question? Des lettres qui accréditent un fidèle auprès des Églises autres que son Église d'origine, donc un fidèle qui circule. Il importe que la réglementation qui concerne ces lettres soit concertée entre les Églises, non point seulement d'une province, mais de toute la catholicité. De là l'emploi de *ubique* et sa signification.

Mais si *ubique* désigne la catholicité, il est clair que *maxime in eo loco in quo prima cathedra constituta est episcopatus* est fonction de la ~~catholicité~~, non d'une province, et l'on est ainsi amené à inférer que ces termes désignent l'Église romaine.

* * *

Cette affirmation, à savoir que Rome est l'Église qui possède la *prima cathedra episcopatus*, c'est-à-dire la *cathedra* qui a été la première établie (dans la personne de saint Pierre) et dont toutes les autres sont issues, est une affirmation qui ne saurait nous surprendre à l'époque du concile d'Elvire. Écoutons ici encore Optat :

*Negare non potes scire te in urbe Roma Petro primo cathedram episcopalem esse conlatam, in qua sederit omnium apostolorum caput Petrus . . .*²

A Rome a été donnée à Pierre le premier la *cathedra episcopalis* sur laquelle Pierre chef de tous les apôtres a siégé. — Cette phrase n'est pas aussi cohérente que l'on voudrait, car ce n'est pas à Rome que la *cathedra episcopalis* a été donnée à Pierre par le Christ. J'aimerais lire: . . . *in urbe Roma primam cathedram episcopalem esse conlocatam, in qua . . .* Mais je ne veux pas être accusé de corriger un texte pour l'accorder à ma thèse. Il reste que Rome possède la *cathedra episcopalis* qui a été celle du chef des apôtres. Et Optat ajoute :

In qua una cathedra unitas ab omnibus servaretur, ne ceteri apostoli singulas sibi quisque defenderent.

Le Christ a donné à Pierre en premier et à Pierre seul une *cathedra* unique, pour enseigner que l'unité (de l'Église) devait être préservée dans (l'union à) cette *cathedra* unique. Aussitôt Optat donne le catalogue des évêques de Rome depuis saint Pierre jusqu'au pape Sirice, et il énonce que tout l'univers est en communion avec l'Afrique catholique dans la personne de Sirice par l'échange des *formatae* :

*Cum quo nobis totus orbis commercio formatarum in una communionis societate concordat.*³

Le *commercium formatarum* s'étend à tout l'univers et il a son point

¹ *Ibid.* (p. 165).

² *Ibid.* ii 2 (p. 36).

³ Optat. ii 3 (p. 37).

de convergence à Rome.¹ Cela expliquerait, s'il était besoin, que le concile d'Elvire nous dise dans son canon 58 que la réglementation du *commercium formatarum* ait été procurée par l'Église romaine surtout, mais d'accord avec l'univers catholique.

L'idée que l'épiscopat a été institué dans la personne de l'apôtre Pierre, que Pierre a été investi le premier de la *cathedra episcopalis* par le Christ, est une idée qu'Optat tient de saint Cyprien.

L'évêque de Carthage, on le sait de reste, est le dogmatiste de la monarchie épiscopale: une Église, un évêque. L'argument qui lui sert à justifier cette unité est tiré par lui de l'institution de l'Église par le Christ: l'Église, en effet, a été instituée dans la personne de Pierre, mais de Pierre seul: *Dominus noster . . . episcopi honorem et ecclesiae suae rationem disponens in euangelio loquitur et dicit Petro: Ego dico tibi quia tu es Petrus etc. Inde, per temporum et successionum vices, episcoporum ordinatio et ecclesiae ratio decurrit, ut ecclesia super episcopos constituatur . . .*² Ainsi, en la personne de Pierre, le Christ institue l'épiscopat, '*episcopi honorem*,' et à cette prime institution remonte tout ce qui s'est ordonné d'évêques ensuite dans l'univers, *inde . . . episcoporum ordinatio . . . decurrit*. Il en va de même du pouvoir de remettre les péchés par le baptême: ce pouvoir a été donné à Pierre d'abord: *Petro primum Dominus, super quem aedificavit ecclesiam et unde unitatis originem instituit et ostendit, potestatem istam dedit . . .*³ Il suit de là que la *cathedra* de Pierre est la première en date de toutes les *cathedrae* épiscopales, et aussi bien l'Église qui possède la *cathedra* de Pierre. C'est le sens strict que Cyprien donne à la primauté romaine dans le texte célèbre: *Navigare audent et ad Petri cathedram atque ad ecclesiam principalem unde unitas sacerdotalis exorta est.*⁴ Cyprien ne dit pas: *exoritur*. Cyprien entend que le principe: Une Église, un évêque, autrement dit l'unité sacerdotale, l'unité d'évêque en chaque Église, est un principe posé par le Christ quand il a fait de Pierre le fondement de son Église, quand il a donné à Pierre sa *cathedra*, quand il a institué en sa personne l'Église la première de toutes, *ecclesiam principalem*, car tel est bien, croyons-nous, le sens de *principalis* chez Cyprien, et aussi bien de *principalitas* chez Tertullien et chez Irénée.⁵ L'Église romaine n'est pas *principalis* parce qu'elle est l'Église fondée par Pierre qui était le *princeps* des apôtres, et *princeps* par l'ancienneté,

¹ 'Le concile de Sardique, en 343, dans sa lettre au pape Jules, le pria de faire connaître les décisions du concile aux évêques de Sicile, de Sardaigne, d'Italie, 'ne ignorantes eorum accipiant litteras communicatorias, id est epistolia, quos iusta sententia degradavit.' *Constant Rom. pontif. epistulae* (1721), p. 398.

² Cyprian, *Epistul.* xxxiii 1 (éd. Hartel, p. 566).

³ *Ibid.* lxxiii 7 (p. 783).

⁴ *Ibid.* lix 14 (p. 683).

⁵ *Église naissante*, p. 252 (huitième édition). *Catholicisme de saint Augustin* p. 102.

comme le veut H. Koch.¹ Elle est *principalis* parce que la *cathedra* que Pierre y a installée est la *cathedra* la première en date,² celle que le Christ a établie et donnée à Pierre, la *cathedra* type et norme de toutes les autres : *cathedra principalis* ou *ecclesia principalis*, c'est tout un.

Nous pouvons conclure que la désignation de Rome, dans le canon d'Elvire, par la périphrase (*locus*) *in quo prima cathedra constituta est episcopatus*, s'insère bien entre saint Cyprien et saint Optat.

* * *

En Espagne même nous lui pouvons trouver des points d'attache. On possède, en effet, le *libellus* envoyé au pape Damase par Priscillien, quand il s'adressa à Rome pour tenter de se justifier. La déférence est grande que témoigne l'évêque d'Avila à Damase. Il lui écrit : 'Tu es arrivé à la gloire du Siège apostolique formé par l'expérience de la vie et par les exhortations du bienheureux Pierre, toi qui es le *senior* de nous tous' : . . . *apud te qui senior omnium nostrum es*. Le terme *senex* est une appellation de respect que l'on donne en Espagne aux évêques, en Afrique plus particulièrement aux primats.³ Priscillien entend que Damase est un évêque plus vénérable que tous les autres.⁴

Il le lui dit plus expressément plus loin : *Praestes audientiam, depraecamur, quia omnium senior et primus es*.⁵

Cette fois *senior* prend un sens autrement rigoureux : Damase n'est pas seulement le *senior* de tous les évêques, il est bel et bien le premier. Et ceci est un rappel de la conception qui voyait dans la *cathedra* romaine l'aînée des *cathedrae* épiscopales de l'univers, la *prima cathedra episcopatus*. Mais Priscillien entend que l'aînesse de la *cathedra* où il siège fait l'évêque de Rome *omnium senior et primus*.

Le pape Sirice, qui succède à Damase, ne croit pas étonner Himerius, évêque de Tarragone, quand répondant à la *relatio* qu'il a reçue de lui il lui dit :

Ad singulas causas, de quibus per filium nostrum Bassianum presbyterum ad Romanam Ecclesiam, utpote ad caput tui corporis, rettulisti, sufficientia quantum opinor responsa reddidimus.⁶

L'Église romaine est *caput tui corporis*, c'est à savoir la tête de

¹ H. Koch *Cyprian und der römische Primat* (1910), p. 96.

² L. Saltet 'Saint Cyprien sur la primauté romaine,' *Bulletin de litt. eccl.*, 1920, p. 198.

³ Mansi, t. iii pp. 1005 et 1007, textes du concile de Tolède de 400. Augustin. *Epistul.* cxc i (beatissimus senex Aurelius, de Carthage); cxlvi i (venerabilis senex Donatianus, primat de Byzacène); cxli (Silvanus senex, primat de Numidie); etc.

⁴ Priscillian. p. 34 (éd. Schepss).

⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 42-43.

⁶ Coustant, p. 637 : 2 février 385.

l'épiscopat. Dans une lettre de l'année suivante aux évêques d'Afrique, on trouve une formule plus claire de la même doctrine :

*Cum in unum plurimi fratres convenissemus ad sancti apostoli Petri reliquias, per quem et apostolatus et episcopatus in Christo coepit exordium . . .*¹

Pierre a été fait apôtre le premier et en lui l'épiscopat a été inauguré. On pourra donner le même sens à la déclaration du concile de Sardique, en 343, dans sa lettre synodale au pape Jules :

*Hoc enim optimum et valde congruentissimum esse videbitur, si ad caput, id est ad Petri apostoli sedem, de singulis quibusque provinciis Domini referant sacerdotes.*²

De toutes les provinces il convient que les évêques en réfèrent à la tête (la tête de l'épiscopat, dira Sirice), et cette tête est la *cathedra Petri*. Dire *caput episcopatus* revient à dire *prima cathedra episcopatus*, sans préjudice d'une valeur plus pleine que peut impliquer le mot *caput*. Il ne sera pas indifférent d'avoir retrouvé cette formule, avec son sens archaïque, dans un canon d'Elvire.

Par sens archaïque, je veux dire celui qui explique la primauté de la *cathedra Petri* par le fait qu'elle est la première *cathedra* établie par le Christ. Je suis tout prêt à reconnaître que cette primauté est, pour Cyprien, ce que H. Koch appelle une 'zeitliche Priorität', une 'amtliche Anciennität', à condition de bien marquer (avec L. Saltet) que cette antériorité n'est pas sans signification pour l'unité de l'Église,³ et à condition d'ajouter que Cyprien systématiquement s'est refusé à tirer de la *principalitas* la conclusion que saint Irénée en tirait, et que les contemporains de Cyprien en tiraient, à commencer par les gens à qui il reproche de s'adresser à Rome, *navigare audent*.

* * *

Si l'interprétation est correcte que nous proposons du 58^e canon d'Elvire, il faudra en inférer que, au début du iv^e siècle, ce qu'Optat appellera le *commercium formatarum*, ou échange de *communicatoriae litterae* entre les Églises de la catholicité, avait été l'objet d'une entente concertée entre toutes ces Églises et principalement (*maxime*) l'Église romaine. Rome était vraiment le point de convergence de ces lettres de communion : c'est en communiquant avec Rome que les Églises dispersées dans l'univers communiquaient entre elles.

P. BATIFFOL.

¹ *Ibid.* p. 651 : 6 janvier 386.

² *Ibid.* p. 395.

³ Koch, p. 47. Saltet, p. 195.

PISTIS SOPHIA.

MR MEAD is to be congratulated upon having twice edited *Pistis Sophia*, the strange book of Gnostic lore preserved in a very ancient codex in the British Museum.¹ It is now a quarter of a century since he first translated it, mainly from Amélineau: in the interval has appeared Carl Schmidt's admirable rendering into German in the Berlin Corpus (1905), and Mr Mead has very wisely corrected his earlier translation by this. It thus can be recommended to the English reader as an introduction to Gnostic literature; at the same time neither Schmidt's edition nor Mr Mead's translation of it dispenses the investigator from the study of the Sahidic original, so admirably edited in 1851 by Schwartze and Petermann, or from consulting their Latin translation, which, bald as it is, sometimes gives a better sense than Schmidt does.² To the translation Mr Mead has prefixed a readable Introduction, followed by an Annotated Bibliography of 60 items (pp. lii-lxix), which is a most useful guide to the investigator and, indeed, a positive contribution to learning.³

I.

There are two main ways of studying such a book as *Pistis Sophia*. We may start backwards from the actual MS and try to trace the various stages of the growth of the text before us, or we may start from the general ideas of the 'Gnostics' and see how they are reflected in *Pistis Sophia*, whatever its date may be. Now that a good deal is known about what it is the fashion to call 'the Gnosis',⁴ we can begin by the latter and easier way. At first sight *Pistis Sophia* seems a very confused medley, but there can be little doubt that to its compiler it

¹ *Pistis Sophia* by G. R. S. Mead. New Edition. (London, Watkins, 1921.)

² A curious instance may be found *PS* 358 (beginning of the 5th book), where *ἰω* is explained to mean '*Iota*, all things have gone forth; *Alpha*, they will return within; *O*, there will be the end of all ends'. When Mr Mead (p. 295) translates this '*iōta*, because the universe hath gone forth', &c., he is following Schmidt (p. 232), who has '*weil das All*' &c. But here the particle *dje* only corresponds to inverted commas (*ὅτι*), as often, e.g. *Dan* v 26-28.

³ I take this opportunity of pointing out that 'Skemmūt' (*PS* 354 = Mead p. 292) is not a *Nomen barbaricum*, but a native Egyptian name for a star or constellation, almost certainly the Pleiades, as in *Job* ix 9, xxxviii 31. The Pleiades are connected with the Flood in Jewish lore also.

⁴ After all, *Gnosis* in Greek is nothing more than 'knowledge'; it is only when transliterated into English or Coptic that it acquires a special mysterious meaning. It is a pity that Mr Mead does not distinguish between *gnosis* transliterated in *PS* (16 init.; 75 med.; 254, l. 12, but not l. 13), and the use of the ordinary Coptic word for 'knowledge' (*sooun*), which occurs e.g. *PS* 182, l. 12, and nine times in *PS* 232 f. Mr Mead uses 'gnosis' for both words.

was a simple and practical guide to the most important branch of knowledge, viz. how to attain after death to a blessed immortality. The Gnostics imagined this Earth as the centre of the Universe, encircled with starry spheres on the whole unfriendly to man but controlling his destiny. At death a man's spirit flies upwards to the free regions of Light beyond the spheres, but the rulers of the Fate seize it, and it is punished for its sins and then born again (*PS* 344): the only escape is to know the names of these rulers and what 'apology' should be given to each. To reveal these passwords, or rather a master-password superior to them all, was why Jesus, the Saviour, came down from the heights of otherwise inaccessible Light in which He dwells. 'For the sake of sinners it was that I have this once troubled Myself to bring them the Mysteries, that I might free them from the aeons of the Archons and bind them into the heritages of Light—and not only the sinners, but also the righteous, that I may give them the Mysteries to be taken into the Light, for without a Mystery they cannot be taken into the Light' (*PS* 351 = Mead, p. 290).¹

The word which I have translated 'troubled myself' is *κυτταλι παμοι*, an adaptation of *σκυλλεσθαι*, familiar to us from its use in the Gospels (*μη σκυλλον*, Luke vii 6). The word once meant 'to flay', and is translated '*nich zerren*' by Schmidt and 'tear myself asunder' by Mead. But there is nothing in any of the contexts to suggest this concrete meaning, and the metaphorical sense of 'trouble myself', found in the Gospels and Patristic writers, is actually attested in Greek papyri from Egypt.² The matter is important, because the word gives us a glimpse into what the compiler of the *Pistis Sophia* thought about the mind of God. With the corrected meaning of *κυτταλι παμοι* the striking passage in *PS* 248, 249, becomes far clearer: the Saviour tells the disciples that men and angels and archons are all made of the same sort of stuff, a Mixture of Light and Matter; the great heavenly Powers have been purified, yet not by their own will or effort, but only by the compulsion of the Supreme God, the Ineffable. These great Powers have been purified, but they had not concerned themselves about it (248, l. 16). Men, meanwhile, are formed of the refuse of the Powers, but they have struggled of themselves and not left off seeking for the Light; and so Jesus for the sake of mankind concerned Himself to bring them the purifying Mysteries of the Light, without which no soul could have been saved (249, l. 15).³

¹ I quote *Pistis Sophia* by the Coptic pages of Schwartze, given in the margin of all editions of *PS*.

² Milligan *Greek Papyri* 44; also *Oxyr. Pap.* 1669, where Grenfell and Hunt translate *σκυληθι . . . ενθαδε* by 'be at the pains of coming here'. See also Eus. *H. E.* i 13, and Athan. *Vit. Antonii* 50 and 72.

³ Contrast this view of 'the mind of Christ' with the Stoic doctrine: 'the Wise

And when we go on to ask what these Mysteries are, we find that we should renounce the world and its care (250, also 218), and beyond that there is only One Mystery, properly so called: in orthodox terminology it would be called the mystery of the Incarnation. No doubt the Gnostics regarded Jesus as human only in appearance, but they thought of Him as having *really come*¹ to visit this world of men, and they believed that this Visit and the reason of it was the key to all mysteries in heaven and earth. 'Hearken', says Jesus to the Disciples, 'concerning the knowledge (not "gnosis", 219, l. 5) of that mystery. That mystery knows why the highest of all high Powers of the Unbegotten (enumerated one by one, *PS* 219-224) have concerned themselves to come forth, for It knows why It has concerned Itself to come forth from the Ineffable, the ultimate Ruler of them all (224). The soul that receives this mystery will soar into the height as a great light-stream and no power will be able to hold it down at all (227), for it will go straight up to the Ineffable and become incorporated with the Ineffable "in the time a man shoots an arrow"' (228). Such an enlightened soul is a man in the world, but he towers above all supernal principalities and powers (229). 'He is a man in the world, but he will rule with Me in My Kingdom. He is a man in the world, but he is King in the Light. He is a man in the world, but he is not one of the world. Amen, I say unto you: That man is I, and I am that man' (230). And further, Jesus says: 'That mystery is I, and I am that mystery' (231).

It should be noted that the mystery of the Ineffable which is Jesus includes, according to the *Pistis Sophia*, a great deal besides purely 'moral' and 'religious' insight. That mystery knows the reason of darkness and light, of the impious and the good, of adultery and purity, of tears and laughter, of poverty and wealth, of freedom and slavery, of death and life (206-209); besides these things it knows the reason of reptiles and wild beasts, of cattle and birds, of the precious metals and even of glass and wax, why the matter of the world has arisen and why it will be utterly destroyed (210 f). It knows also all about the atmosphere and the heavenly bodies, and why the Archons of the Sphere have arisen, in a word it knows all the lore of astrology (211-212). 'Man was not to concern himself with his brethren' (E. R. Bevan *Stoics and Sceptics* p. 66).

¹ I cannot help feeling that modern writers sometimes confuse the ancient Christian theory or heresy known as 'Docetism' with modern subjectivity. Modern disbelief in the Incarnation is essentially a disbelief that Jesus the Nazarene had been really sent from Outside, from the Power behind phenomena; the Docetic Christians believed that Jesus was really the Messenger from Outside, but they differed from the orthodox as to the stuff of which His visible body was made.

216). The same thought is familiar to English churchgoers from Bp Christopher Wordsworth's hymn, which tells of the Saints who
'all truth and knowledge see

In the Beatific Vision of the Blessed Trinity.'

I venture to quote this modern Hymn, that we may remind ourselves that the substance of thought in *Pistis Sophia* is not after all so very far removed from the aspirations of Western traditional religion.

II.

When and where was *Pistis Sophia* compiled? It is a difficult question. As I said above, we may either start from the book itself, or from leading ideas found in it. These leading ideas can very often be paralleled from documents or schools of thought which were certainly ancient, and so a very high antiquity has sometimes been claimed for *Pistis Sophia* as we have it. Let us now try the other method and work backwards.

The MS in the British Museum (Add. 5114) is itself old, perhaps of the fifth century (Schmidt, p. xiii), or the sixth (Hyvernat). It is written in Sahidic, the dialect of Upper Egypt, so that the first question that comes before us is whether it is a Coptic 'original', or a translation from the Greek. I venture with some diffidence to urge that the matter is still far from clear, notwithstanding Prof. Schmidt's assertion that 'no one who knows Coptic has ever thrown doubt upon the fact of translation' (Schmidt, p. xiii).¹

There is no doubt, of course, that a great deal of the fundamental doctrine in *Pistis Sophia* comes from Gnostic schools of thought already known to, and therefore earlier than, Irenaeus. The figure of Barbelo, Virginal Spirit and Mother of the Only-Begotten, was part of the celestial hierarchy of the Gnostics whom Irenaeus confutes, and therefore her appearance in *Pistis Sophia* was something inherited from elsewhere. But is it not likely that our book is a compilation from sources of different age and character? And I think it not out of place to put down here one or two facts which tend to shew that our book, as it stands, has an Egyptian, non-Greek origin.

The direct question of style appears to me not easy to answer. The author was a man of curious learning, writing for a circle of disciples. No doubt he did not write in the unadulterated (was it unadulterated?) idiom of the unlettered peasantry of Upper Egypt. But do we know how much Greek syntax, as well as Greek vocabulary, was thought suitable for a learned work compiled by a Christian Egyptian of the Ša'id? I imagine the whole language was something of a jargon, and very likely the most idiomatic native style was the least literary.

¹ In reply to F. Granger, *J. T. S.* v 401.

The first thing that struck me was that out of 37 sins that men are warned against in *PS* 255 ff, only ten are expressed wholly or partly by Greek words, the remaining 27 being altogether Coptic.¹ This seems to me to shew that the writer, whether he was compiling in his own language or translating from another, had a large and flexible native vocabulary: if he does not always use it, it is because he preferred a more exotic style. It may be noted in passing that the ultimate Supreme Power, called by Irenaeus *Pater innominabilis*, has a vernacular name. I spoke of Him just now as the Ineffable, following Mr Mead, but what *Pistis Sophia* has is 'the-No-word-for-it'.²

The quotations from the Bible follow the Sahidic Version closely, not only in the formal citation of whole Psalms, but also in isolated verses, such as Lk. xiv 34, 35, quoted *PS* 308, ll. 13-15. It has been stated by Rahlfs (see Mead, lxii) that the quotations of the Psalms in *PS* 86-110 'are so totally different that they must be an independent translation from the Greek', but this is an over-statement. Even in this section the renderings of the Psalms are at least strongly influenced by the choice of words in the Sahidic version: the differences do not seem to me to be greater than those which might be produced by quoting from memory.³

Another point which deserves notice in this connexion is that the Greek names of the Five Planets, Zeus, Hermes, &c., seem to be quite devoid of any associations with idolatry. 'Aphrodite' is identified as Bubastis (*PS* 367) and 'Zeus' is even called a good regent (*PS* 361): is this possible in a *Greek* text dating from ante-Nicene days?

Finally, the very name of the personage from which the work is commonly called, Pistis Sophia,—is not this a 'barbarous' formation, whether it be written 'the Pistis Sophia' (*PS* 42 and generally), or 'the Pistis, the Sophia' (*PS* 361, l. 19)? Is there any real analogy for it in any of the names of the Aeons excogitated by Greek-speaking thinkers?

I am very far from suggesting that the coherent and consistent

¹ A Coptic equivalent is found even for a word which corresponds to *ἀπαιδευσία* (cf. Hos. vii 16). For 'sloth' (Mead p. 216, l. 4) read 'folly', *ἀπνομία*.

² See the Bohairic, but not the Sahidic, of 2 Cor. ix 15 (*ἀνεκδιήγητος*).

³ A few quotations, e.g. that of Lk. xvi 9 (*PS* 334), are not taken from the Sahidic version, but this quotation also diverges very widely from the Greek also. Note that here the Biblical quotation precedes the Gnostic explanation, while in the case of the Psalms and Odes the Gnostic paraphrase comes first.

⁴ Something has gone wrong in the text of *PS* 366, l. 23: a semi-colon should come after 'the Ram' (Mead p. 303, l. 4), and the translation should go on: 'when Boubastis, that is Aphrodite, cometh . . . to the Balance'. The particle before 'Boubastis' is not here the sign of the genitive, but of the subjunctive, as may be seen from the parallel *PS* 370, l. 4.

element in the 'gnosis' taught in the Askew Codex is not derived from Greek thinkers, even if they were semi-barbarian, or at least Levantine, by race. But as we have it, *Pistis Sophia* seems to me non-Greek. I cannot help thinking that it is a *réchauffé*, a hash-up, of older Greek materials. The long repetitions of exactly the same formula (e.g. 'that mystery knoweth why . . .' repeated 86 times in *PS* 206-216, and 'he is a man in the world but he towereth above . . .' repeated 17 times in *PS* 229 f)—these can hardly have been conceived in Greek. Somewhat similar is the case of the 'repentances' of *Pistis Sophia*. These are all quite obvious paraphrases of Psalms of David or Odes of Solomon; after each one a Disciple comes forward and announces with extreme naïveté that this 'repentance' had been prophesied aforetime by David or Solomon in such-and-such a Psalm, which is then quoted in full. It is difficult to suppose that the paraphrase and the literal quotation were both made by the same person from the same original, but if the 'repentances' were paraphrases of the Greek Psalter, a text imperfectly understood by the compiler while at the same time it was believed by him to be full of all sorts of hidden meanings, then there is some point in indicating that the paraphrastic repentance is the real meaning of the more or less familiar Coptic Psalm.

I venture therefore to claim that the question of the language in which our *Pistis Sophia* was composed is still open. And what I have said about *Pistis Sophia* may, I think, be said also of the two Books of Jeu (or Yew, as Mr Mead spells it), preserved in the Bruce Papyrus at Oxford and edited by Prof. Schmidt in *T. u. U.*, vol. viii 1, 2 (Berlin, 1892). On the other hand the 'nameless' Gnostic treatise, also preserved in the Bruce Papyrus, has more the character of a Greek work: as it stands it is more coherent, and passages like Schmidt 235 (= Woide 72) do read like a translation from a Greek text which the Coptic translator did not understand, as Professor Schmidt observes on p. 285, note.

Exactly; behind the Coptic gibberish lies a real doctrine, but what we have is not the real doctrine, but an imperfect representation of it, imperfect not so much (at least in *Pistis Sophia*) because of linguistic difficulties, but chiefly because the ideas themselves have only been imperfectly apprehended by the compiler of the book.

If we pass on to Prof. Schmidt's *Apocryphon Iohannis*, of which he gives a full account in the book called *Philotesia*, pp. 317-336,¹ we find ourselves in a different atmosphere. Here obviously we are dealing with a translation from the Greek, the same Greek work that Irenaeus contends against in *adv. Haer.* i 29. The difference is quite perceptible and may be expressed in a single formula: in the Greek work God is

¹ *Philotesia* (Essays in honour of Paul Kleinert's 70th birthday), Berlin, 1907. Schmidt's Essay is called *Irenäus u. seine Quelle in adv. haer.* i 29.

described psychologically, in the Coptic magically and mythologically. When we read in *Pistis Sophia* 289-292 of the upward passage of the enlightened soul through the Archons of the Midst with their Destiny, the Aeons of Fate with their 'imitation Spirit', the Regions of the Tyrants of King Adamas, the Archons of the Left, the Virgin of Light with her Virgins, Sabaoth the great and good who is at the gate of life in the Region of the Right, to Melchisedec the great Receiver of the Light who leads the soul into the Treasury of the Light from whence it goes into the region of the Inheritance—when we read of all this we are not in regions of thought but of mythology, and not a mythology that really expresses anything but a mere external lore. Why is Melchisedec above Sabaoth? Why, indeed! And what meaning can we suppose the compiler of *Pistis Sophia* attached to 'the seven Voices and the five Trees and the three Amens and the Twin-Saviours and the nine guards and the twelve saviours' (*PS* 195)? Very likely, if we knew all, the mention of the Twin-Saviours may be a survival of the cult of the Great Twin Brethren, about which Dr Rendel Harris has written so ingeniously. Yes, but there is no sign that there is any knowledge of any part of this cult in *Pistis Sophia*; as mentioned by our Coptic writer it is so much meaningless foreign tradition.

When on the contrary we read in the *Apocryphon Iohannis* that the ineffable, invisible Existence, the ultimate Source of all things, Who had dwelt from eternity contemplating Himself in the pure Light-water with which He is surrounded, once had a notion (*έννοια*), and that somehow this notion is the cause of everything incorporated and visible, then we are not in the regions of mere tradition but of rational reflexion. It is now the regular commonplace to say that Magic comes before Metaphysics, and that such rational reflexion is therefore later than the merely traditional lore of the greater part of *Pistis Sophia*, and particularly later than the Gnostic sacramental ritual set forth in *PS*, bk. v, and in the Second Book of Jeu. But this theory does not always hold; especially is it not true of the age in which the philosophy of Plotinus begot the theurgy of Jamblichus. After all, in the case of the 'Gnostics'—I include all the schools—the thing given, and calling for theoretical explanation, was not Christian rites, but the Christian Revelation in general. Gnosticism is an attempt to give, in terms of the philosophy and the cosmology of the second and third centuries A. D., a sufficiently dignified and scientific account of the entry of a new hope for mankind into this visible world. The science is not our science, and so to us the explanation is far less credible than the alleged fact which it attempts to illuminate. But at least the whole movement began in thought rather than in ritual, and the oldest monuments of Gnosticism shew the most thought.

III.

This seems a not inappropriate opportunity to say a few words on the *Nomina barbarica*, the monstrous names for heavenly and hellish beings which some of the Gnostics excogitated. There can, I should think, be little doubt that some of the names found in *Pistis Sophia* and the *Books of Jeu* are the free inventions of irresponsible editors, however faithful the immediate scribes of our MSS may have been. Thus in the sacramental rite described in *PS* 376 and in 2 *Jeu* 107 Jesus invokes His Father, the Father of all Fatherhood, to send the magic Power. But whereas in *PS* 376 the prayer is that 'the forgivers of sins may come, whose names are Šiphirepsnichieu, Zenei, Berimou, Sochabrichêr, . . .', in 2 *Jeu* 107 it is that 'the fifteen Helpers may come which serve the seven Virgins of the Light who are set over the baptism of Light, whose unspeakable names are Astrapa, Tesphoide, Ontonios, Sinêtos, Lachon, . . .' Who can doubt that here we have nothing more than the independent fancy of two Egyptian Gnostics, one of whom wished to give his 'angels' Greek-sounding names, while the other preferred something definitely non-Greek? In either case we have to do with something essentially arbitrary. The names mean nothing, and never did mean anything. I venture to guess that the name of the 'true God', viz. 'Ioeiaôthôuichôlmiô' is as arbitrary as are the three horizontal straight lines in his 'Type', which we are told are the three cries, *ie ie ie*, which he emitted when he was moved by the Unapproachable Father of All to utter praise (1 *Jeu* 48-51, 146-148).

But the matter is different when we come to the documents which were certainly written in Greek and find in them certain *nomina barbarica* that occur in all this literature, names which are mentioned by Irenaeus himself and therefore belong to the creative period of Christian Gnosticism. What are we in particular to make of *Barbelo* and of *Ialdabaoth*?

In the later works, such as *Pistis Sophia*, *Barbelo* is obviously an inherited name. She is the mother of *Pistis Sophia* among other things (*PS* 361), but from the book no clear idea can be gathered of her original function. As we go back, *Barbelo* becomes more prominent and her nature clearer: it is a name for the Holy Spirit, i. e. that which came forth in the beginning from God and was somehow the parent, both for Creation and for Jesus. *Ialdabaoth* also in some way traces his being back to *Barbelo*, but he is more directly connected with evil and evil matter. In most systems where he occurs he is hostile to man and a rebel against the Highest God, while *Barbelo* on the other hand is never represented as unkindly or rebellious.¹

Besides *Barbelo* and *Ialdabaoth* we find other names, such as *Sabaoth* and *Iabraoth*. Most of this series have a vaguely Semitic flavour, and

¹ In particular *Isai.* xlv 5, 21, is supposed to be the utterance of *Ialdabaoth*.

it was formerly the custom to seek derivations for them from 'the Aramaic' and to think of them as originally significant terms invented by the 'Syrian' Gnostics, such as Simon Magus was supposed to have been, or the mysterious Saturninus. It was easy to do this formerly, for little was known of the history of opinion in Aramaic-speaking Christian communities. The matter is somewhat different now that we have, from the Prose Refutations of St Ephraim, a very fair knowledge of the opinions of Bardaisan and of the Syriac-speaking Marcionites. Had names such as Barbelo and Ialdabaoth been current among early Aramaic-speaking Gnostics—where, it may be asked in passing, were such persons ever to be found?—some echo of them might have been expected to survive in the cosmogony of Bardaisan.¹ But we find nothing of the kind. We find a knowledge of the heathen doctrine of Fate and speculations about the ultimate physical constitution of Matter, but none of the characteristic Gnostic mythology with its apparatus of curiously named Archons and Demonic Powers.

This apparatus appears to me to be essentially Egyptian; Alexandrine and Graeco-Egyptian in the first instance, and later on persisting among the native Copts of Upper Egypt. And further, the nomenclature does not suggest any real acquaintance with Semitic languages or Semitic alphabets, but only a superstitious veneration for Hebrew names found in the Greek versions of the Old Testament, eked out by scraps of ill-digested bits of Hebrew supplied (no doubt) by Jews.

Consider first the name Sabaoth. It does not matter at the moment what powers or functions were assigned to 'Sabaoth' by this or that Gnostic school; the point is, that they all treat it as a Divine Name. Obviously they did not get this from Jews, or from any Aramaic-speaking school, but from the Book of Isaiah in Greek, where a reader ignorant of Hebrew might easily suppose that the *Κύριος Σαβαώθ*, so often mentioned there, was a lord Sabaoth, perhaps not the Supreme God. Hebrew and Syriac speculation never took 'Sabaoth' for a proper name: in the 'Book of Protection' edited by H. Gollancz (a collection of native Syriac charms) we find all sorts of Names of God, but Sabaoth is not among them.² It seems to me clear that the use of Sabaoth as a proper name stamps any school that uses it as non-Semitic.

Again, the use of Iao, Adonai, and Eloī—or Iao, Adonaios, and Eloaios—as the names of different inferior Deities, co-ordinate with but different from Sabaoth, is hardly possible among persons who knew any Hebrew.

¹ I venture to refer here to my Introductory Essay in C. W. Mitchell's *Ephraim* vol. ii pp. cxi-cxliv.

² On the other hand 'Āhiāh Āshārāhiāh' plays a great part in the 'Book of Protection', because the Peshitta so transliterates the Name in Exod. iii 14. The Gnostics, who read in their Bibles only *Ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ὢν*, took no magic Name from this verse!

These considerations do not give us direct help in obtaining a derivation for Barbelo and Ialdabaoth, but they warn us from attempting to find a rational meaning for these names in Hebrew or Aramaic. If they are Hebrew they will probably be, like 'Sabaoth', a misunderstanding of some word or phrase from the Hebrew Bible transliterated into Greek. I find it difficult to dissociate Ialdabaoth from יהוה צבאות. Origen (*c. Celsum* vi 31) says it came to the Gnostics from *μαγεία*, by which he surely means 'Magic' rather than 'the theology of the Magians': if it then has had an extra long pedigree as a *Nomen barbaricum* we may be prepared for more than ordinary deformation. I can imagine various ways of corruption: ΛΑ might be Σ on its side, or ΛΑ might be for Μ an attempt to write the letter Σ, or ΙΑΛΑ may have arisen from a confusion between the initial syllables of ΙΑ(ω) and of ΑΛ(ωνας). Bad as these suggestions are from a strictly palaeographical point of view, I feel that derivations which altogether neglect the word *Sabaoth* are even more far-fetched.

For Barbelo I cannot help thinking that the general character of the presentation of her in the *Apocryphon Iohannis* and in Irenaeus *adv. Haer.* i 29 drives us to look for a derivation in Genesis i 1. How little second-century Christians really knew about the Hebrew text, and how much they thought was contained in it, is clear from Irenaeus's quotation (*Demonstr.* 43, J. A. Robinson's trans., p. 108), where he gives Gen. i 1 in an almost unrecognizably corrupted transliteration, and persuades himself that it means 'The Son in the beginning: God established then the heaven and the earth'. If this was possible for Irenaeus, it seems to me quite likely that some Gnostic in Alexandria got a Jew to transcribe for him the first verse of the Bible, and that in transmission *bara elohim* became corrupted into *barbelo*. 'In the beginning Barbelo, with the heaven and with the earth.'

If the name Barbelo did not come in this, or some such way, it is difficult to imagine what its source could have been. It is like nothing in any language I have ever heard of. There is no trace of it in any Semitic literature, although the Holy Spirit was generally treated as feminine by Syriac-speaking Christians before the fifth century. It is perhaps worth noticing that Barbelo has the same vowels as *παμμήτωρ*, a word used in the 'unnamed apocalypse' edited by Schmidt from the Bruce Papyrus.

Perhaps no really satisfactory explanation of these names can be offered till a derivation has been found for Ἀσφαφάος, a Gnostic name for one of the inferior Gods, coordinate with Ialdabaoth and Sabaoth. Origen tells us that it also comes from Magic, but no one seems to know what it means. 'And God knows best', as the Arabs say when *they* don't know!

F. C. BURKITT.

TOGA IN THE EAST.

IN the preceding number of this JOURNAL Dr Feltoe has shewn that Christians in Spain used to speak of the martyr and saint in glory, arrayed in his heavenly robe, as *togatus*. The use is clearly derived, as Dr Feltoe points out, from the white *toga* of Roman civil life. The object of this Note is to suggest that in the East, where the *toga* was only known as an article of the costume of Proconsuls and other high Roman officials, the idea conveyed was quite different: a *toga* to the Oriental was a scarlet cloak or wrap.

John Malalas, bk. ii (*Dindorf* pp. 32, 33), thus narrates the discovery of 'Tyrian purple' (abridged):—In the time of King Phoenix, from whom Phoenicia is named, Hercules the Philosopher, called the Tyrian, discovered the purple shell-fish (κογχύλη = *murex*); for a shepherd's dog having eaten some of the shell-fish, the shepherd thought its mouth was bleeding, and he wiped it with a lock of wool, which remained so fine a red that Hercules took it and gave it to King Phoenix, who so admired the colour that he forbade any to wear clothes dyed with the *murex* except himself and his successors. Other kings afterwards did the like. 'Long afterwards', adds Malalas, 'when the Romans got possession of Phoenicia they prepared for themselves from the *murex* the true royal dress, which they called in the Roman tongue *toga* (τόγαν), that Roman Consuls wear to this day.'

Clearly to Malalas of Antioch in the sixth century the *toga* was a blood-red coloured cloak, and it was appropriate not to ordinary folks but to the highest officials and to royalty. As is well known, the *toga* had begun to go out of fashion by Juvenal's day, but it remained in use for official dress, which, from the second century A. D. at least, was not white but scarlet-purple.

The interest of the matter is the light it throws on a picturesque detail from the 'Hymn of the Soul' in the Acts of Thomas. In the Hymn, the hero, son of the King of Kings, is stripped of his heavenly clothing before he goes down to the unclean Land of Egypt (this Earth), but he puts it on again at his victorious return. This clothing consists of a bright and mysterious robe or tunic, embroidered with precious stones: it is, in fact, an altogether magical garment, the image of the hero himself, his heavenly Double (*fravashi*). Over this garment is worn 'a *toga* of scarlet'. Unlike the robe this scarlet *toga* has no life or magical properties; it is just a fine article of clothing, suitable for a Prince. There is no doubt about the colour intended, for the same word is used for 'scarlet' as in Matt. xxvii 28, and the word translated *toga* is the Latin word itself transliterated into Syriac

letters. It seems to me that the passage from Malalas explains both why a Prince should be dressed in a *toga* and why it should be thought of as bright red.¹

F. C. BURKITT.

ΣΠΙΛΑΣ.—ΑΠΑΡΧΗ ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΟΣ.

1. σπιλάς.

In his note on Jude 12 (*J. T. S.* xiv 547, cf. xvi 78) Mr A. D. Knox writes that the word σπιλάς was understood in the sense 'squall' by 'the inventor of the word κατασπιλάζειν', for which he refers his readers to the *Thesaurus* (ed. Valpy or Dindorf). In this work various examples of the use are given from Patristic and Byzantine sources, but the references are somewhat inaccurate. The quotation from 'Eusebius' on Isaiah is in reality drawn from Cyril's Commentary on Isa. xvii 13 (Migne lxx 434 c): whilst the words incorrectly cited from Simocatta (the quotation should run: ἀτὰρ ἀδοκῆτως τοῖς βαρβάροις . . . κατεσπίλασεν) occur in 2. 10, not in 7. 3, where we read: περὶ τὴν πόλιν οἷα διάττοντες οἱ βάρβαροι κατεσπίλαζον.

By far the earliest example of this use has been brought to light by Dr Rendel Harris, in his *Fragments of Philo* p. 28, where, in an excerpt from the *Quaestiones in Genesim* contained in the Codex Rupefucaldinus, we read: πᾶς οὖν σοφὸς οὐκ ἄνθρωπος ἀλλὰ νοῦς καταθεώμενος καὶ περιεθρῶν περιπέφρακται πρὸς τὰ ἐνεστῶτα καὶ τὰ ἀδοκῆτως κατασπιλάζοντα.

This passage, by implication, carries the use of σπιλάς = 'squall' back to a date anterior to the Epistle of Jude; Mr Knox's earliest example is drawn from an epigram of Philippus of Thessalonica (*Anth. Pal.* vii 382), of which both the date and the interpretation are doubtful.

2. ἀπαρχὴ πνεύματος.

In 1919 W. Schubart published, as the first part of the fifth volume of the *Berliner Griechische Urkunden*, a papyrus of the first importance for Roman law and history, which contained an abstract of portions of the Γνώμων τοῦ ἰδίου λόγου, or Code of Regulations issued by the Department of Special Revenues in Roman Egypt. In § 47 of this Code we read:

ἄσπῃ συνελθοῦσα Αἰ[γ]υ[π]τίῳ κατ' ἄγνοιαν ὡς ἄσπῳ ἀνεύθυνός ἐστιν. ἐὰν δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ ἀμφοτέρω[ν] ἀπ[α]ρχῇ τέκνων τεθῇ, τηρεῖται τοῖς τέκνοις ἡ πολιτεία which may be translated thus:

'If a woman, being a citizen [i. e. of Alexandria], marries an Egyptian in the mistaken belief that he is also a citizen, she is not liable to penalty; and if both parties present birth-certificates, their children preserve the status of citizens.'

¹ It should perhaps be stated that I gave this explanation of the colour of the Prince's *toga* in my revised translation of the 'Hymn of the Soul' published in the *Quest* (vol. v, no. 4) for July 1914.

Schubart, in his brief note, besides citing parallels for ἀπαρχή from other papyri, refers to Rom. viii 23. This seems to throw a new light on that passage. To put the matter briefly, ἀπαρχή is the technical term for the birth-certificate of a free person, just as οἰκογένεια is for that of a slave. This is made clear by a comparison of cols. iv and vi of the Cattaoui papyrus, included by Mitteis in his *Chrestomathie*, no. 372. Unfortunately Mitteis failed to grasp the precise nature of the distinction, but in *Berl. phil. Wochenschrift*, 1914, 136 ff. Gradenwitz, comparing other papyri such as *PFlor.* 57 and *PTeb.* 316, gave the true explanation, which is now generally accepted.

The parallel with Rom. viii 23 has not been noticed by the more recent editors of the Gnomon, viz. Paul Meyer *Juristische Papyri* (1920), no. 93, and Théodore Reinach in *Nouvelle revue historique et de droit* 1919, p. 608, 1920, p. 31. But it appears to deserve the serious consideration of theologians. I may perhaps be permitted to quote the following words from a lecture on the Gnomon which I delivered in March 1920¹:—

‘When we read the passage which begins at verse 16, we see that St Paul is here arguing that our claim to spiritual freedom is based on the witness of the Spirit to our sonship, just as in Egypt the μαρτυροποιήσις of the parent was among the documents put in evidence in the procedure of ἐπίκρισις by which claims to privileged status were judged; and that in spite of this—in spite of the fact that we have, as it were, obtained through the mediation of the Spirit the certificate which entitles us to be registered as the Sons of God—we are still awaiting our formal release from the bondage of the flesh and the law.’

My knowledge of the Patristic exegesis of the passage is not sufficient to enable me to say whether any trace of such an interpretation is to be found in our sources: but it may be worth while to mention the curious fact that the text of the Vetus Italia gives *receptaculum* as a translation of ἀπαρχή.² The occurrence of this word in the Commentary of Ambrosiaster so puzzled Erasmus that in the fourth edition of his *Annotaciones in Novum Testamentum* (Basel, 1527, p. 357) he suggested the emendation *inceptaculum*! The paraphrase (as Erasmus points out) throws no direct light on the meaning to be ascribed to *receptaculum*, though the use of the phrase ‘qui Dei Spiritum adiutorem habemus’ suggests that Ambrosiaster took it to mean ‘refuge’: could the translator have read καταφυγὴν for ἀπαρχήν? It has also been suggested to me that *receptaculum* might refer to the case in which the precious document which certified an individual’s free birth was preserved: but this seems hardly possible.

H. STUART JONES.

¹ *Fresh Light on Roman Bureaucracy*, p. 21.

² In this connexion I have to acknowledge the kind help of the Dean of Christ Church.

A LOST LEAF OF CODEX PALATINUS (e) OF THE OLD-LATIN GOSPELS RECOVERED.

THE manuscript at Vienna (Palatinus 1185) commonly known as e, contains the four Gospels in Latin uncial characters of the fourth or fifth century. The vellum has been stained purple, and the letters are inscribed in silver lettering, gold lettering being occasionally employed for the sacred names. Textual critics have shewn that it represents a form of Gospel text read in Africa in the fourth or fifth century, and the book may very well have been produced there. But nothing is known of its history till the eighteenth century, when it was in the bishop's palace (or castle) at Trent. In July 1762 it was sent to Rome that a copy of it might be made for Giuseppe Bianchini, the well-known student of Old-Latin texts. Bianchini died in 1764, and appears to have made no use of the copy. The original must have been returned at once to Trent, for about 1762 a friar found it lying neglected among the bishop's possessions and evidently called his attention to it. About the end of 1770 or the very beginning of 1771 the bishop of Derry (Lord Frederick Hervey, afterwards Earl of Bristol), when travelling in North Italy for the benefit of his health, received from the bishop of Trent a leaf of the precious codex, containing Matt. xiv 11-22. Hervey had displayed much interest in the venerable MS and compared many of its readings with the Vulgate for his own satisfaction. He also examined in the course of his journey the MSS b at Verona and f at Brescia, as well as others, and copied small portions of their texts. His interest was rewarded by the gift of the leaf of the Trent MS. This he did not, however, retain, but despatched as a gift to his friend John Garnett, bishop of Clogher (1758-1782), accompanied by a letter dated Vicenza, January 20, 1771. The bishop of Clogher parted with it in 1776 to a friend, in whose family the leaf has probably since remained. It is probable that another Irish bishop received a gift of another leaf from the bishop of Trent about the same time as Hervey, for about 1840 Dr Todd purchased the conjugate (?) leaf in Dublin, containing Matt. xiii 13-23.¹


The MS, minus these two leaves, journeyed to Salzburg, and from there to Vienna, where it arrived in November 1806. There Tischendorf copied it, and in 1847 he published its text, the very year in which Dr Todd published the text of his own leaf² in the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, naturally quite unknown to Tischendorf. The next step in our growing knowledge of the MS was the discovery by

¹ Now in the library of Trinity College, Dublin.

² Republished in exquisite reproduction by Dr T. K. Abbott in 1880.

Hugo Linke in the Vallicellian Library in Rome (under shelf-mark U. 66) of the copy of *e* made for Bianchini by Giuseppe Martines. Linke observed in this copy the transcript of Todd's leaf, as well as that of another leaf unknown to Todd or Tischendorf. It is this latter leaf that has now turned up.

On October 8, 1921, the British Museum purchased the leaf along with the letter of the bishop of Derry,¹ from which the new information given above is derived. I am indebted to the kindness of Sir Frederic Kenyon and Mr J. P. Gilson for permission to spend time making a copy of the leaf, now numbered Additional MS 40107, and for furnishing me with all requisite information about its history.

A full account of the palaeography of this manuscript, satisfactory to the standards of modern knowledge, may be expected in the comprehensive work on the Latin uncial script now in preparation by Dr E. A. Lowe. It will be sufficient here to call attention to three of its characteristics which seem to distinguish it from most of the known uncial MSS, and to point perhaps to a little known centre like Africa as the place of its origin. I refer, first, to the fact that the initial letter of each column, whether it be the beginning of a word or not, is always a very large capital; second, the horizontal stroke beyond the end of a line indicating omitted M or N is neither a horizontal stroke pure and simple (with or without a . or ,) nor a gracefully curved line (with or without a . or ,), but a horizontal stroke with a short angular hook at each end, thus ; third, the letter G is not represented by a C with a faint oblique stroke at the foot, but by an additional curl of the lower part of the curve of the C itself.

The copy which Linke published from the transcript is very accurate, but it seems worth while to reprint the text here, first because neither the transcript nor Linke represents the text line for line; second, because the proceedings of foreign learned academies are not of all publications the most accessible²; and third, because one or two errors of the transcript are here silently corrected. Probably the second line of the second column would repay examination by another pair of eyes.

I need only say that I have made no attempt to reproduce the uncial characters of the MS, that I have separated the words, which are of course written continuously, but that for the rest I have faithfully reproduced it column by column, and line by line. The correction of *is* to *e* in the fifth line of the fourth column appears to me to be by the first hand. The gaps in the reproduction of the second page do not appear in the MS.

¹ Which merits complete publication for its own sake, and adds some particulars to the article on him in *D. N. B.*

² *Sitzungsberichte der philos.-philol. und der hist. Classe der k. b. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München*, Jhrg. 1893, 1^{er} Bd. (München, 1893) pp. 281-287.

MATTHEVM

Disco et da
tum est puellae
puella autem
pertulit matri
suae
Et accesserunt
discipuli eius
et tulerunt ca
daber et sepeli
erunt illud et
uenerunt et
renuntiaue
runt ad ih̄m
Cum audisset au
tem ih̄s secessit
inde in nauī
in locum deser
tum singularis
et cum audissent
turbae secutae

Sibi escas
Ille autem dixit
non habent cau
sam ire date il
lis uos mandu
care
Aiunt ad illum
non habemus
nos hic nisi qui
que panes et du
os pisces
ILLe autem dixit
adferte illos
mihi et iussit tur
bas recumbe
re in herbis
et accepit quin
que panes et du
os pisces et as
piciens in caelu

Sunt eum pe
desirae a ciui
tatibus
Et exiuit et uidit
turbam multa
et commotus
est super eos et
curauit infir
mos eorum
Cum sero autem
factum esset
recesserunt dis
cipuli ad eum
dicentes deser
tus est locus hic
et hora iam prae
terita remitta
mus turbas et
euntes in cas
tella emant

SECYNDYM

Benedixit fre
git et dedit dis
cipulis suis et dis
cipuli turbis si
e
militer et dispis
cibus et man
ducauerunt
omnes et satia
ti sunt et tulerunt id quod
superfuit frag
mentorum XII
cophinos ple
nos · qui man
ducabant au
tem erant quin
que milia homi
num exceptis pu
eris et mulieri
bus.

A. SOUTER.

ON PSEUDO-JEROME, EPISTLE XXX.

THE provenance of this piece is one of several problems which I have encountered during my lexicographical researches for the forthcoming S.P.C.K. Dictionary of Later Latin. Being in Scotland and therefore remote from adequate libraries, I can only outline the problem, leaving it for more fortunately situated students to work out.

Recollection of those phrases pointed out by Dom Morin¹ as characteristic of Arnobius Junior, led me to the discovery that, from § vi onwards, this letter is taken entirely from Arnobius's *Comm. in Psalm. cxxxviii* (*P. L.* liii 544 ff). Having no copy of Arnob. Jun. at hand, I applied to my patristic 'guide, philosopher, and friend', Dr Souter, who confirmed my suspicions: 'Practically the whole comm. [of Arnob.'s] is in, without a word of acknowledgement. Moreover, that [Hier.] is the borrower, and not Arnob. Jun., is clearly proved by the inferiority of [Hier.]'s text.'²

Since then I have compared the texts and find ample evidence of Ps.-Hier.'s alterations and of his dogmatic motive:—

ARNOB. IUN.

(*P. L.* liii edn. 1865)

545 A *post* accepit *add.* solus enim § vii.

Dominus Iesus Christus dicebat, 'Ego sum Pastor bonus', et iterum 'Me', inquit, 'sequuntur oves meae'. Hoc ergo nomen sanctum

ib. B negatus negatori suo hanc quam solus habuit tribuit potestatem

hoc contra Manichaeum qui dicit, alterius principis sunt tenebrae, alterius principis lux est. de nostro autem Deo . . .

ib. catta (ed. 1865 cartae !)

PS.-HIER.

(*P. L.* xxx 229 A ff)

om.

om. negatori suo

§ xi *om.* (he has jumped from the first citation of the Scriptural words to the second)

noctivagae bestiae

¹ *Études, Textes et Découvertes* p. 309 ff.

² Private letter of November 11, 1921.

Deo, quod non solum *corda*, sed
renes scrutatur. cum ergo dicit
 paenitens Deo

§ xii *om.* (he has again jumped *du
 même au même*—from *Deo* to
Deo)

§ xiii another jump from *oculi tui*
 to *oculi tui*, omitting *carens* . . .
videbunt (nine words)

om. Petro

cum Apostolo Petro

haec Petrus in Ecclesia loquitur

§ xiv *om.* in Ecclesia

om.

et de pastoribus tuis

vide si via iniquitatis diabolus est/

vide si via iniquitatis in me est.
via iniquitatis diabolus est

&c.

Ps.-Hier. is clearly the borrower, and, as far as we may trust the printed text, a rather careless one, though in the last example given above he enables us to correct Arnob.'s text. His motive is equally clear.

With the first five sections arise several more serious difficulties. These seek to provide a *raison d'être* for the Feast of St Peter's Chains on August 1, and may be briefly summarized:—

§ i. Eustochium has asked why this festival is held on August 1, and how Psalm 136 (*sic*) applies to St Peter.

§ ii. August 1 was not the day of Peter's delivery from prison under Herod (Acts xii); this was *post Pascha*, not *in Kalendis Augusti*.

§ iii. It was on this day that, after overcoming M. Antony, Augustus entered Rome; this day was therefore decreed to be held as a day of celebration *ob triumphum Augustalis victoriae*.

§ iv. So till Constantine; *harum solemnitatum phantasmata perhorrescens*, he, after being visited by St Peter and St Paul and baptized *per Silvestrum papam*, asks Silvester to see how this day may be dedicated *beato Petro Apostolo*. Silvester, *cum sui cleri concilio*, answers: *Est carcer in quo b. Petrus Apostolus pro Christo agonizans vinculatus fuit, et sacri fontis lavacro (-um) pluribus ibi baptizatis dedicavit; hunc omni sorde purgari facias, quatenus, Ecclesia ibi fabricata, ad honorem tanti Apostoli, fidelium vota perenniter reddantur*. This is done; the Church is built, and consecrated *ab eodem papa*.

§ v. Constantine proclaims that this day is to be kept holy to St Peter, *ut sicut celebrabatur ad honorem terreni principis, ad decus celebretur clavigeri caelestis. Accepit autem haec celebritas nomen 'b. Petri Apostoli ad vincula', propter vinculorum quae ibi passus est tormenta*.

It should not be difficult to fix certain limits for the date of this piece of legend. The association of the festival with the Neronian

imprisonment was 'certainly not the primary idea',¹ nor is it that found in Ps.-Bede *Hom.* 94 (*P. L.* xciv 498), or in Petr. Bles. *Serm.* 31 (*P. L.* ccvii 653), or in Innocent III *Serm.* 24 *de Sanctis* (*P. L.* ccxvii 561).² The festival itself does not seem to be earlier than Gregory the Great. Its date was already, in the early empire, a celebrated one, as classical students know; it was, moreover, the *natalis* of four temples.³ Wordsworth (*Ministry of Grace* pp. 414-415) has conjectured 'a kind of suggested rivalry between Peter and Augustus'; further, he states that 'this festival was merely the dedication day of the old Church of the Apostles on the Esquiline Hill, which according to legend was the first built by St Peter in Europe (*P. L.* lxxviii 399)'. The former conjecture is borne out by this piece, whatever be its worth, though it adds another to the legends that cluster round these early churches. The present legend contradicts directly what we know of both S. Pietro in Vincoli on the Esquiline and S. Pietro in Carcere on the Capitoline, and seems to be rather confused in its archaeology.

But the whole has an appearance of plausibility. Where did the fabricator find the ingredients for his medley? For Augustus, he is on the whole correct, but he did not draw from Suetonius, or Orosius, or Sulp. Severus. Where then? Constantine, again, is described as 'defensor Fidei'; does the history of this phrase help towards a solution? St Bernard uses it, e.g. of the Pope.⁴ The language of the earlier sections, which is, we may perhaps assume, to a fair extent original, does not supply many clues; *superbiae suae ramos extendens* (§ ii) is perhaps the most striking, but it is an imitation of Scripture (*Ecclesiasticus* xxiv 22), so not so useful. *Custoditor* is a late word, not perhaps found before the eighth or ninth century; it is absent from Forcellini-de Vit and the Thesaurus.⁵

I should suggest that the date is eleventh-twelfth century, though Dom Morin tells me he would place it in the 'xii^e siècle ex., au plus tôt',⁶ and his opinion is more likely to be right than mine. Some further information is likely to be forthcoming from the list of MSS of these Ps.-Hier. *Epistulae*, which, I understand, Professor Hilberg, formerly of Czernowitz, has in his possession. The treatise of Monsacratus *de Catenis S. Petri* . . . (Romae, 1750) may be of some service. Dom

¹ *Dict. Christian Antiq.*, s.v. PETER (ii p. 1627).

² Or in Notker (*P. L.* cxxxi 1129A), referred to in D.C.A., *loc. cit.*

³ Wissowa *Religion u. Kultus d. Römer* p. 582 (*sub hoc die*).

⁴ e.g. *de Consideratione* iv vii 23.

⁵ Though given by Maigne d'Arnis.

⁶ I ought to say I have now learned, as one might have known who knows Dom Morin, that he too had noticed the borrowing from Arnob. Jun., but without making any use of it. My thanks are due to him for much help received on this and many other matters.

Morin kindly supplies me with two further references on the subject : De Rossi *Inscript. christ. Urb. Romae* ii 110, 134, and 164, and H. Grisar *Gesch. Roms*, i 172, note 1.

Here then is some material for the solving of an interesting little problem. Its solution will be instructive as providing some more light on the development of legend, and also as contributing to elucidate the genesis and growth of Pseudo-Hieronymiana.

J. H. BAXTER.

LEXICAL NOTES FROM EPICTETUS.

(SUPPLEMENTARY to the writer's *Epictetus and the New Testament*, London, 1914—referred to as *E. and N. T.* The references are to Schenkl's Editio minor in the Teubner series (1898): 'Bk.' = Dissertationes; 'Frag.' = Dissertationum Fragmenta; 'Ench.' = Encheiridion; 'Cod. Vat.' = Sententiae Codicis Vaticani 1144.)

ἀγῶνα ἀγωνίζομαι.

καὶ τοῦτον ἔδει τὸν ἀγῶνα ἀγωνίζεσθαι τὸν διδάσκαλον ὑμῶν—Bk. i 9. 12. Cf. 2 Tim. iv 7.

ἐκείνος used for emphasis.

εἰ κακῶς αὐτῷ φαίνεται, ἐκείνος βλέπεται, ὅστις καὶ ἐξηπάτηται—Ench. 42. Cf. John v 11 and *E. and N. T.* p. 38.

θεῖος, 'divine'.

οὐδὲν θεοῦ μείζον καὶ ὑψηλότερον εὐχόμενος τοιγαροῦν θεοῖς αἰτεῖ τὰ θεῖα—Cod. Vat. 4. Cf. 2 Pet. i 3, 4.

τὸ θεῖον, 'the deity'.

οὔτε ὁ κολακεύων τιμᾷ τὸ θεῖον—Cod. Vat. 1. Cf. Moulton-Milligan *Vocab. Gk. Test.* part iii, p. 285.

θυρίς, 'window'.

ἔχεις καλὰ ἱμάτια . . . θυρίδα ἔχεις, θέλεις αὐτὰ ψῦξαι . . . θυρίδα μὴ ἔχε, μὴ ψυχέ σου τὰ ἱμάτια. κἀγὼ . . . ἀκούσας ψόφον τῆς θυρίδος κατέδραμον—Bk. i 18. 13-15. Cf. 2 Cor. xi 33.

ιδιώτης, 'boorish'.

ἀν νῦν ἀμελήσης καὶ ῥαθυμῆσης . . . ιδιώτης διατελέσεις καὶ ζῶν καὶ ἀποθνήσκων—Ench. 51. 1. Cf. ἰδ. τ. λόγῳ 2 Cor. xi 6. Similarly ιδιωτικός—Ench. 33. 13, and ιδιωτισμός—Ench. 33. 15.

ἴστημι—*transitive* perfect.

According to the papyri, in Hellenistic the verbs in -μι formed new tenses like ἔστακα (transitive). Cf. Moulton *Prolegomena* p. 55.

Similarly in Epictetus

κέκλεικε τὴν θύραν, ἔστακέν τινα πρὸ τοῦ κοιτῶνος—Bk. iii 22. 14.

Τριπτολέμῳ μὲν ἱερὰ καὶ βωμοὺς πάντες ἀνθρωποὶ ἀνεστάκασιν—Bk. i 4.

30.

Cf. ἐξιστακέναι—Acts viii 11.

καθόλου, 'in general'.

τοιούτων τι καὶ ἐν τῷ καθόλου πάσχομεν . . . μεμνησθαι οὖν ἐν τοῖς καθόλου
—Bk. iv 13. 6. 24. Cf. Acts iv 18.

κοιτῶν, 'bedroom'.

According to Moulton-Milligan (cf. *Vocab.* pt. iv, p. 353) a late word,
in Bk. iii 22. 14 (v. sub. ἴστημι). For N. T. cf. Acts xii 20.

οἰκονομία, ἀναστροφή.

εἰς οἰκονομίαν καὶ ἀναστροφὴν τὴν ἐν τῷ βίῳ, 'for the administration and
conduct of life'—Bk. i 9. 11. Cf. *E. and N. T.* pp. 18, 25.

σάρεξ.

In Epictetus and 1 Peter = σῶμα. Cf. Bk. iii 7. 2. 3, and 1 Pet. iv 1.
It has no moral significance.

τυχόν, 'perhaps'.

According to Moulton *Prolegomena* p. 74, the one surviving instance
in N. T. of accus. abs.

ἄ τυχὸν μὲν ἀκατάληπτά ἐστι τῇ ἀνθρωπίνῃ γνώμῃ—Frag. 1.

Cf. *E. and N. T.* p. 101.

ψυχή.

In 1 Peter and Epictetus has two meanings :—

1. 'Person', 'individual'. Cf. 1 Pet. iii 20 and *E. and N. T.*

p. 34.

2. The whole immaterial nature of man.

Cf. 1 Pet. i 9, ii 11, and Bk. iii 7. 2. 4.

Cf. also Bigg *I. C. C. St Peter and St Jude* p. 40.

ψυχικός, 'belonging to the soul'.

ἡ ἡδονὴ ἡ ψυχικὴ . . . ἐπὶ τίνι οὖν ἡσθησόμεθα ταύτην τὴν ψυχικὴν
ἡδονήν;—Bk. iii 7. 5. 7.

D. S. SHARP.

WAS THE *SACRAMENTARIUM LEONIANUM* EVER AT MILAN?

I HAVE been struck by the number of 'Leonian' prayers in the Am-
brosian books—many of them in the modern Breviary. Scipio Maffei,
the enlarger of the Chapter Library at Verona, says that, when he found
the *Sacr. Leon.* there in 1714, it had been lying hid for 100 years and

more. How he knew this, he does not say, but that brings us to the beginning of the seventeenth century, the period of the two Borromeos' activities in revising the Ambrosian books: Card. Charles Borromeo appears to have published his (first?) revision in 1574, and the Prefect of the Ambrosian Library informs me that Card. Frederick Borromeo introduced the keeping of the Christoforia (on Jan. 7) between 1626 and 1629. I think it is not at all unlikely that the MS had been used by one or both of them at Milan before it found its way to Verona. The numerous marginal marks all through the MS (evidently systematic, but the clue to which has hitherto baffled us—see my edition, *Sacr. Leon.* p. x) may be theirs after all. But to find out whether that was so would require a careful investigation of their revisions and then a reference to the MS itself. I am most inadequately equipped for such a search in several ways, but have been trying—unsuccessfully at present—to obtain some book (by an Italian?) on the more recent history of the Ambrosian Rite. If this note incites some more competent student to take the subject up, I will give him all the help I can.

C. L. FELTOE.

REVIEWS.

The Sayings of Jesus, from Oxyrhynchus, by HUGH G. EVELYN WHITE, M.A. (Cambridge, 1920.) pp. lxxvi, 48.

WE have here the first complete edition in English of the Oxyrhynchus Gospel Sayings, furnished with a full Introduction, *apparatus criticus* of suggested readings, and an adequate commentary on the several sayings. In it Mr Evelyn White, whose work, done mainly before the war, has since been revised, makes a valuable contribution to the subject, especially in its more formal aspect of text-reconstruction. In the interpretation of the Sayings, both in detail and still more as a collection, he seems less successful. He disclaims the right to speak with authority of their theological bearings, though his remarks here are careful and discriminating on the whole. But it is in the reconstruction of the historical situation implied by the Sayings, and their nature as a collection, that he appears to fall most short. Particularly is this so with his view that 'the Sayings are taken from the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*' (p. lxi), and put together simply 'as a thesaurus designed to give in a small compass so much of a Gospel as was judged most likely to be of help and comfort in daily life' (pp. lxxii-lxxiii).

After a Bibliography of 'the editions and studies which directly or indirectly have influenced' his own study (no titles are seemingly later than 1905), he prints the text of the papyri, followed by a restored text. The Introduction of over fifty pages, after showing that pap. 654 (the opening of the Collection) and 1 are both fragments of literary works and contain parts of the same literary Collection of Sayings, passes on to discuss 'Collections of Sayings in General' (§ 3). Here the finding is that our collection 'was made . . . by some person familiar with the Jewish and Egyptian practice of treasuring up the pregnant Sayings of famous teachers'. Its 'Relation to the Canonical Gospels' is defined (§ 4) as follows: 'There are instances of literary dependence upon Matthew and Luke; there are no clear traces of Marcan influence; and Johannine influence has occasionally coloured the Sayings, but is superficial.'

In arguing, however, that 'the Sayings are nowhere in literary dependence on the Johannine books', he distinguishes them sharply from the Prologue prefixed in our present Collection. Here he begins to get on dubious ground. It may be true that 'the Sayings were formed at a period when Johannism was already in the air but still nascent and undeveloped' (p. xxxvi). I am ready to concur in this verdict, since I believe that the separate Sayings took shape in the spiritual atmosphere of Alexandria (their mysticism and Christology being akin to those of 'Barnabas' and the 'Odes of Solomon'); and

this atmosphere was adequate to produce Johannism without any personal Johannine influence. But is Mr White equally free to interpret the phenomena in this way? For he assigns the Sayings themselves to the 'Gospel according to the Hebrews', which was surely a Palestinian work of almost purely a Synoptic type. Indeed its Christology was quite un-Johannine, though Mr White so interprets (p. lx *fin.*) 'the Rest of the Holy Spirit' on Jesus at the Baptism, as described in Jerome's citation (the Holy Spirit 'descendit . . . requievit super eum', with the words 'Exspectabam te ut venires et requiescerem in te. Tu es enim requies mea'), while he ignores the un-Johannine conception, 'my mother the Holy Spirit', put by that Gospel into the mouth of Christ. The fact seems to be that the Palestinian 'Gospel according to the Hebrews' has no Johannine affinities; and so far as the Sayings have, this tells against their derivation from that Gospel, which is more narrowly Jewish than any of our Synoptics.

'The Nature of the Collection' (§ 5) discusses and rightly sets aside the discoverers' claim that it is 'a Collection of Sayings hitherto current orally and by tradition independently of written sources'—thus possibly adding genuine utterances of Jesus. The Sayings shew 'clear signs of a somewhat later plane of thought than that of the Synoptic Gospels, signs such as the sense in which ὁ κόσμος is used in Saying VII (Logion II) or as the doctrine of Pre-existence implied in Saying VIII (Logion III)'. Both of these, in fact, belong to the same 'plane of thought' as 'Barnabas', the latter being suggested by *Baruch* iii 28 μετὰ τοῦτο ἐπὶ γῆς ὤφθη, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις συναναστρέφη (so used by *Iren.* IV xxxiv 4, ed. Harvey). Yet Mr White fails to follow up this clue, which points away from his favourite 'Gospel according to the Hebrews' as source, though he quotes with approval Dr Sanday's judgement that 'the individual stamp which they shew belongs to a later generation and to a more developed stage of reflection than do the authentic Sayings' in the Synoptics. And when he adds that we are now reduced to a choice between two alternatives, he narrows our choice unduly.

'Either the Collection is entirely spurious and is a literary invention by a writer of the early second century who set himself to invent Sayings and made some use of Synoptic materials in order to make his work seem genuine; or the Collection is a Treasury of Sayings culled from one or more of the Apocryphal Gospels. The evidence which supports the second alternative excludes the former. Now in an independent Collection (whether spurious or genuine) each Saying must be complete in itself and will reveal no traces of a context: in a Collection of extracts, however, some Sayings may be quite self-contained, but others may be expected to shew signs of the context from which they have been torn. The Oxyrhynchus Sayings seem to shew such signs of extraction.'

This quotation (p. xl) is given at length because it is central to Mr White's conception of the problem and its answer. But the bed is too Procrustean, and shews defective historical imagination in the field of enquiry concerned. Another possibility is that the Collection is a fresh grouping of (a) historical Sayings of Jesus as already thus shaped (out of Synoptic sources) by oral *catechesis*, in a church with a different mentality and spiritual *ethos*—say the Alexandrine—from the Palestinian, in terms of which the Synoptic Sayings are mostly couched; and (b) non-historical Sayings, partly attributed to Jesus in apocryphal sources (e.g. Saying III), adopted in substance rather than in exact wording by the author of the Collection, and partly framed by free creative action of the compiler's mind (e.g. II, V) as answers in spirit to certain questions, such as men of a later day and non-Palestinian mentality were asking touching the Gospel of Jesus, conceived as the complete revelation of God touching human life and destiny. Some such theory meets all the conditions of the case as implied above and others also. It explains the mode of address, sometimes to the individual in the second person singular—that of direct appeal to the enquirer, natural in *catechesis* in the name of Jesus—or again in the third person singular—'Whosoever', 'the seeker', 'a man' (Prologue, Sayings I and III)—and sometimes to the first disciples, the Twelve, the original recipients of the 'wonderful Sayings', which it is the aim of the Collection to set forth. It explains, too, the enigmatic λέγει Ἰησοῦς, at times as historic present in dialogue with the Twelve, but elsewhere in ideal, timeless address to any and every 'seeker', in the spirit of Cowper's

'Jesus speaks, and speaks to thee',

so happily cited by Dr Lock, on the discovery of the first instalment without the historic setting which the second now furnishes—so filling out our conception of the true setting of the whole Collection.

As regards the view that certain of the Sayings shew 'signs of extraction' from other contexts, the above theory affords another, and surely a preferable, account of the phenomena, once we put aside two notions which Mr White strongly maintains, one with a good deal of support among scholars, the other rather in opposition to general consensus since the recovery of the opening section or Prologue, as he styles it. This runs as follows:—

'These are the life-giving¹ Sayings which spake Jesus the living . . . to the ten (disciples) and Thomas: and He said to them, Whosoever heareth these Sayings shall by no means taste of death.'

¹ Mr White justifies this restoration, first put forward by Bruston, as suiting the whole emphasis of the Sayings (e.g. 'Jesus the living one', and their result as exempting from 'death'). Yet II Clement, which perhaps uses them, and is certainly near them in date, supports 'wonderful' (see v 5, xiii 3).

Here surely the author of this Collection or Gospel has in mind not only the words of Jesus, as 'living' after death, found in Luke xxiv 44, 'These are my sayings which I spake unto you', but also the occasion of His thus speaking, defined by the reference to the disciples *and Thomas* in our papyrus as that in John xx 26, followed up by a summary declaration of the quality of the Sayings in terms of John viii 51 f. Mr White tries, indeed, to evade this conclusion by reading ὁ ζῶν κ[αὶ ὀφθεῖς τοῖς δέκα] καὶ Θωμᾶ, so separating ἐλάλησεν in thought from the ten disciples and Thomas. This he does partly because he imagines that to connect them 'singles out Thomas (presumably as the recorder of the Sayings)'—whereas in reality the reference to Thomas simply defines the occasion as after the resurrection; and partly because, on the analogy of 'their Synoptic parallels, we must conclude that neither were they the fruit of private revelation'. But this is to beg the whole question as to the idea of the Sayings, which are in fact a *modified* and more fully 'revealed' form of the same sayings as given in the earthly ministry recorded in the Synoptics (cf. Acts i 3 λέγων τὰ περὶ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ θεοῦ as the burden of teaching after the resurrection). That idea is the very key-note of the whole series of Sayings, struck in the first of them as a sort of prelude: 'Let not him who seeketh (the meaning of those life-giving Sayings) cease from seeking¹ until he hath found; and when he hath found, he shall be amazed (at their truth and beauty); and having been amazed, he shall reign, and having reigned he shall have rest.' Such 'seeking' in order to 'find' and share in the Kingdom, and so enter upon Rest (an idea present in *Barn.* xv), runs through the Sayings—not only in II to IV, but also in VI to VIII, X. To this Saying is *adjusted* the setting of the next (which arises naturally out of the reference to the Kingdom implicit in βασιλεύειν in I), whatever the exact reconstruction² of the question which Jesus there sets Himself to answer.

The same holds good of the 'leading' question of the disciples in Saying V, where instruction as to the true kind of fasting, prayer, and alms is asked for in response to Jesus' encouraging Saying just before,

¹ So Mr White, after Heinrici, probably rightly in the light of Clement of Alexandria's citations of this Saying.

² It is surely a mark of that lack of coherence in his exposition, due to work done on it at different times, to which our author himself refers as causing 'a certain unevenness of treatment' (p. viii), that his own ingenious and possibly correct reconstruction λέγει 'Ιουδας (modelled on John xiv 22) gives away his whole case. For it implies (1) that this 'Saying' is *not* an extract (with context adhering) from the 'Gospel according to the Hebrews', but implies use of the Fourth Gospel—elsewhere denied in the Sayings, as distinct from the Prologue; and (2) that the setting is here due to the compiler of the Collection—a view which is denied throughout the Introduction.

that 'What is hidden shall be revealed'. And this in turn follows on the words 'A man shall not hesitate to ask questions', a Saying where White's reconstruction is the least convincing of all his own suggestions.

For he would restore Saying III as follows. 'Shall a man [who has found the way] not fear to ask . . . [determining ([*διαίρων*] all things] concerning the place of [his seat]? Ye shall [find] that many first shall be last, and the last first, and [they shall inherit life].' Here the last clause is excellent, as coming in Matt. xix 28 f just before the words which precede in our Saying (cf. *υἱοὶ καὶ κληρονόμοι* which Mr White restores in II, with support from Matt. xxv 34, *δεῦτε οἱ εὐλογημένοι τοῦ πατρὸς μου τὴν . . . βασιλείαν*, even more than from Lk. x 25, which he cites). But the restoration of the first two *lacunae* is very forced and rather pointless, even if one accepts *οὐκ ἀποκνήσει* 'as an indignant question'. Accordingly I venture to repeat with increased confidence, on the score of the analogy furnished by the widespread interest of the sub-apostolic age in the mysterious theme in question, my own suggestion (in the *Cont. Rev.* lxxxvii, 1905, p. 117) which Mr White sets aside without discussion. It is based on our Greek fragment of the *Apocalypse of Peter* (now known also by the Ethiopic form of it, as cited in this JOURNAL, vol. xii), and runs: 'A man shall not shrink from asking questions *about the Fathers*¹ (*περὶ τῶν πατέρων*), *freely enquiring* (*παρησιᾷ καθιστορῶν*) touching the place of *glory*; and ye shall find that many first (in light or opportunity) shall be last, and the last (in this) first, and they shall inherit life' (or 'shall have eternal life', as Grenfell and Hunt).

This form of Saying III (which agrees with my earlier suggestion in the essential points italicized) gives good sense, while shewing dependence on the *Apoc. Petri*: it also seems to give a fresh sense to 'first' and 'last' quite in keeping with the style and point of view of our Collection as a whole.

From what has been said thus far it will be seen that Mr White denies that the historic setting of the Sayings (apart from the Prologue), which gives them at points the character of dialogue between Jesus and His Disciples, is due to the compiler of the Collection and its Prologue: it belongs instead to the contexts from which the Sayings are taken. The proximate source of them all he thinks to have been the Palestinian 'Gospel according to the Hebrews', mainly because the first of them is the same as that cited by Clement of Alexandria from a Gospel so described. Yet Clement, writing in Alexandria for Greeks, and without any personal knowledge of Aramaic, might more naturally be supposed

¹ In the sense of Rom. xv 8, 1 Cor. x 1, Heb. i 1, i. e. those of old time, especially O. T. worthies, the Patriarchs and Prophets.

to refer to a Greek Gospel,¹ not the one otherwise known to us as only in Aramaic down to Jerome's day. Mr White, indeed, postulates that an earlier Greek version of it was known to Clement as current in Alexandria: but of this there is no positive proof. The Saying in question is as alien from what we know of the Palestinian Aramaic Gospel (Mr White recognizes this of Saying X) as it is akin to the Alexandrine *milieu* in which it appears in Clement's pages, viz. as parallel in idea to a principle of Plato in the *Theaetetus* touching 'wonder' as the beginning of the discovery of Truth. This being so, I cannot see much in what our editor has urged against my view that Clement cites as the Gospel καθ' Ἑβραίων, as distinct from that καθ' Αἰγυπτίων, the same Gospel as Origen 'pairs off with' the latter as the 'Gospel of the Twelve' (not 'According to the Twelve'). In particular it is natural enough that Origen, who knew and wrote about the Palestinian 'Gospel according to the Hebrews' by that title, should mean another Gospel² when he referred to that 'of the Twelve'. And if we suppose that it was none other than our Oxyrhynchus Gospel, which the Prologue, naturally understood, represents as a version of Sayings of Jesus after the resurrection, given to 'the Twelve' on the new level of their more enlightened receptivity—as a spiritually minded Alexandrine Christian, c. A. D. 120, would be apt to conceive the situation—we have a complete synthesis of all the known facts of the case.

Such a view implies that there is a real sequence of thought running through the Collection of Sayings, which the writer has put together with some connecting setting—though a minimum of it, as was natural in an address of Jesus to mankind after the resurrection under the ideal form of aphorisms uttered in a series to His chosen disciples. This, however, Mr White is at pains to deny. He admits indeed that 'here and there a catchword may have led the compiler to group together Sayings which happened to deal with one subject'³ (p. lxxii). But this seems a very minimizing way of describing the connexion which surely subsists between the first five Sayings at any rate; and in Sayings VII–VIII the sequence seems fairly obvious.

¹ White seems to feel this when he throws out the surprising suggestion (p. lxii note) that the 'Gospel according to the Hebrews' was composed in Greek and used in this form by Clement, 'but was almost at once rendered in Aramaic, perhaps in deference to national prejudice; and that this *original* Greek version was then lost'. Surely rather a desperate hypothesis!

² So Waitz in *ZNTW*, xiii 341, though he does not identify it with the Oxyrhynchus Gospel, but with the Ebionite Gospel of Epiphanius.

³ In a footnote he adds: 'It should be noted that while Sayings I–III deal with the Kingdom, the same subject is brought up again in Saying VII many pages further on: this does not seem to indicate an orderly arrangement such as is required by the theory of arrangement on a definite principle.' But if one supposes, as the

But this delicate matter can be discussed more hopefully in connexion with the phenomena of the citations in II Clement which may come from the same Collection, or Gospel, as I have already argued elsewhere.¹ I must content myself here with questioning whether 'the order of the Sayings is almost fortuitous', and asserting on the contrary that there is discernible enough continuity of underlying thought to support the view that, if we had what precedes and follows pap. 1, we should recognize the sequence of the Sayings as suited to the situation suggested in the Prologue, viz. a setting-forth afresh after the resurrection, in logical and quasi-historical form, of the more universal spiritual teaching contained in largely Jewish setting and form in our Gospels—along with certain themes borrowed from apocryphal sources, such as the 'Apocalypse of Peter' (Saying III). In this connexion the first half of VIII, in particular, appears to shew the creative hand of the compiler of this 'Gospel', one of a type novel to us (though akin to the Fourth Gospel in parts) but probably quite common in apocryphal Gospels. In illustration of this last statement one need go no further than the other Oxyrhynchus fragment which the editors published with pap. 654, in *Oxyr. Papyri* iv, as from 'A lost Gospel'. For the present I am content to assert no closer affinity between that fragment and the other two than the editors themselves imply (though I hope ere long to carry the kinship yet further). 'The Gospel from which 655 comes is likely to have been composed in Egypt before A.D. 150, and to have stood in intimate relation to the Gospel according to the Egyptians and the uncanonical source used by the author of II Clem.' (p. 28).

On the whole, then, what Mr Evelyn White seems to give us is an excellent collection of materials for forming a judgement on the contents of the Sayings in advance of that otherwise within reach of most of us. But his own theory of the nature and genesis of the Collection seems to the present reviewer far from satisfying. Instead of its being a mere series of eclectic extracts from any form of the 'Gospel according to Hebrews', arranged in an order 'almost fortuitous', it appears to be through and through Alexandrine in its distinctive features—those in which it diverges from the Synoptic Gospels on which it draws. This is just what we should expect in the 'Gospel of

Prologue warrants our doing, that the Collection purports to contain teaching of Jesus 'when He gave injunctions to the Apostles through Holy Spirit', 'speaking τὰ περὶ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ θεοῦ' (Acts i 2 f); then it would be natural that the idea of the Kingdom should occur again and again, in the course of the dialogue between the Living Master and His disciples, in which the Sayings seem to be couched.

¹ *The Expositor*, Feb. 1922.

the 'Twelve' which Origen 'pairs off' with that 'According to the Egyptians'—the more Jewish, with the more purely native, local type of interpretation of the Gospel of Christ—and which Clement, who did not use the Palestinian Aramaic work with the same descriptive title, naturally and without fear of confusing his local Alexandrine readers, referred to as the 'Gospel according to Hebrews' or Christians of Jewish birth. So viewed, it becomes a Gospel with a history, of which II Clement may present the first page.

VERNON BARTLET.

A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians,
by ERNEST DE WITT BURTON, Professor of N. T. Interpretation in
the University of Chicago (International Critical Commentary).
(T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1921.)

THE author of this Commentary on an Epistle containing six chapters, and occupying nine pages in Souter's Edition of the Greek Testament, which includes short textual notes on each page, tells us that it is the outcome of twenty-five years' work, in which he determined to give his chief attention 'to a fresh historical study of the vocabulary of the letter, and then to an endeavour to trace its course of thought with exactness and to state it with clearness,' and also to make clear to readers the 'close relationship between the experiences of the early Christian Church', as disclosed in this letter, and 'those through which Christianity of our own day is passing'.

The work is monumental and will last. It will remain the standard work of reference and complete store-house of all the help that the study of Greek grammar and vocabulary can contribute to the interpretation of the Epistle. It will be wanted and used by every student of every book of the New Testament.

The introduction deals with the usual problems. The story of Galatia and the Galatians is told in four pages, into which all the relevant and necessary facts are compressed: this is followed by a fuller answer to the question, where were the Galatian Churches? The alternative opinions are stated, and a short sketch of the history of opinion is given, consisting almost entirely of a list of the scholars who support either view. Prof. Burton decides in favour of the 'South Galatian' theory, on the grounds of St Paul's general use of geographical terms and his preference for the Roman official meaning of such terms. It is interesting to notice that he modifies the position usually held by supporters of this view. He accepts Zahn's suggestion of a difference between Lucan and Pauline usage, and finds in Luke's Γαλατική χώρα the old Galatian territory and not the Roman Province. He thus gets rid of

the forced interpretations of Acts xvi 6 and xviii 23, which are a real, though not insuperable, difficulty in the way of accepting the 'South Galatian' theory.

Prof. Burton holds that the account given in Gal. ii 1-10 refers to the visit of St Paul to Jerusalem described in Acts xv, and rejects the reference of it to the earlier and second visit recorded in Acts xi. He naturally rules out the early date for the Epistle suggested by Lake and Emmett. As he does not form a high estimate of the trustworthiness of the Lucan account of the conference he is perhaps not under obligation to explain why the Epistle contains no reference to its decrees, which is the decisive argument against a late date for the Epistle in the minds of many who accept the Lucan account as in the main historical. But the evidence is not decisive, and Prof. Burton leaves the question of date open within the limits of the latter part of the Apostle's stay at Corinth on his second missionary journey, and his stay at Ephesus or even in Macedonia or Achaia on his third, if the letter is destined for the churches of Southern Galatia. The discussions of the occasion and purpose of the letter and the questions at issue are admirably clear and instructive, even if they do not raise any new points of interest. Soundness of judgement is of greater value than originality of invention in dealing with these questions at the present time.

The Commentary, which occupies 362 pages, makes a permanent contribution of the highest value to the elucidation of St Paul's meaning, especially if the limitations which the writer deliberately imposed on himself are taken into account. Of special importance is his insistence on the facts that St Paul, in arguing against the Law, deals with Law as conceived by the legalists, not as the basis of God's judgements on men: and also that St Paul's arguments in general are conditioned by the use of the O. T. made by his opponents to prove their points. The strength of the Commentary is in grammatical and linguistic study. After reading it through we are perhaps tempted to find here weakness as well. Linguistic studies of the use of words are essential to the elucidation of the writer's meaning, but they may be carried too far. Their predominance obscures the more important parts of the Commentary, and induces a sense of weariness which may discourage the use of the whole. One instance, of no importance in itself, may illustrate this feature of the book. Half a page of small print (p. 330) is taken up with a discussion of *φρεναπατάω* and its cognate noun, to shew that the word means 'to deceive', not 'to deceive one's own mind', to be conceited. The end of the note is surely somewhat lacking in sense of humour. 'There is the less reason for taking the verb as itself reflexive in that it is here accompanied by *ἑαυτόν*.' Lexicographers are no doubt interested in the exact meaning of *φρεναπατᾶν*: students may be; but the student of St Paul's meaning in this Epistle is not helped when the Pauline phrase

can only mean 'he deceives himself'. Might not the half page have been filled with more helpful matter?

Again, grammar may be a good handmaid but a bad mistress. The strict application of grammatical principles and laws may rule out as impossible interpretations of passages and sentences which those who translate Greek into English, and then think the meaning out in English, may not see to be impossible. It may occasionally determine one meaning and one only to be legitimate. But generally its determinative power is less supreme. As a decisive canon it can be pressed too far, especially in the interpretation of the writings of a man whose mind is Semitic, even if he writes Greek fluently. Again one instance may serve to illustrate. On p. 115 f, while rightly distinguishing between what belongs to the interpretation of Galatians and what belongs to that of Acts, Prof. Burton points out 'certain results' of the former 'which are of service to the student of the life of Paul'. There are fourteen of them. From a study of them the present writer drew the conclusion that all are compatible with the view that Gal. ii 1-10 refers to the visit described in Acts xi, while many of them distinctly lend support to that view. In 2 and 13 it is definitely ruled out on the ground that the aorist (ἐσπούδασα) in ii 10 excludes the possibility that the visit recorded in Gal. ii 1-10 was for the purpose of relieving the poor of Jerusalem (on p. 1 Prof. Burton speaks rather less decisively). To some of us the grammatical and linguistic argument in this particular case is far from decisive. But in any case a great deal is made to hang on the tense of a single word.

The Commentary is followed by 150 pages, in small print, of 'detached notes on important terms of Paul's vocabulary'. The question of proportion is again raised. But there is no question about the value of the notes, which form a new and permanent contribution to the lexicography of the N. T. and the study of the Pauline vocabulary. Their excellence leads us to hope that, this great task ended, Prof. Burton may be able to make the fuller investigation of the mystery religions, and especially of the words used in connexion with them, which he decided not to make for the special purposes of this Commentary. No one could guide us better through a subject which greatly needs the accurate knowledge and scholarly patience for laborious investigation of which his commentary on Galatians affords so brilliant an example.

A. E. BROOKE.

The Style and Literary Method of Luke, by PROF. H. J. CADBURY.
(Harvard Theological Studies vi, part ii, Cambridge, Mass., and
Milford, London, 1920.)

THERE is little to be said with regard to this concluding portion of Prof. Cadbury's work in addition to what will be found in this JOURNAL,

vol. xxi, p. 342. This second portion displays the same clearness and excellence of arrangement as the former one. It consists, in great part, of well-considered lists illustrating Luke's style and methods, together with sensible passages of introduction explaining the lists.

The value of the whole work consists not in any new discoveries, but in the confirmation it gives to the main results of Synoptic criticism. There may come a time when a new generation will be tired of the alleged discoveries of 'Gospel Criticism' and will be inclined to question what is now generally held. But any one who now sets out to deny that the Gospel of Luke is directly based on Mark will have to explain away Prof. Cadbury's lists. It is a great advantage to have the work, securing our communications (so to speak) and protecting future advance.

One small criticism may be added. On p. 149 Prof. Cadbury gives nine passages where Luke has added a copula, or similar verb, to complete the grammatical sense of his source. In Lk. xxii 20 (τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη ἐν τῷ αἵματί μου) there is no copula, which he calls 'difficult to understand, as all the parallels contain it', viz. 1 Cor. xi 25, Mk. xiv 24, Mt. xxvi 28. It is therefore instructive to notice that this is among the clauses in the Lucan account of the Last Supper omitted by *Daffil* and placed by Westcott and Hort within their double brackets. The fact that the longer reading is now found to contain an un-Lucan idiom is surely a fresh reason for regarding the shorter text as alone genuine.

F. C. BURKITT.

Mithraism and Christianity, by L. PATTERSON, M.A. (Cambridge University Press, 1921.)

'A STUDY in Comparative Religion', which is a meritorious little piece of work. Its heavily documented pages testify to much painstaking research, nor does Mr Patterson lean only on the great authorities; he himself goes—and takes his readers with him—to the fountain-heads; invariably courteous to those from whom he differs, he can be self-assertive on occasion; I observe that he breaks a lance with Cumont for sarcastic reference ('galimatias triple') to the magical text claimed by Dieterich as a genuine Mithraic liturgy: 'it is surely possible that some sort of Mithraic liturgy was incorporated or interpolated into this magical formula, possibly to disguise its character, and save it from destruction by the Christian Church'—which may be the case or not. Merely remarking that interesting matter is contained in the pages which treat of 'Sacrifice' and 'Ethics', 'Liturgy and Orders', and 'Eschatology', I pass to the chapter headed 'Summary and

Conclusion'. Similarity and resemblance, points of contrast, are carefully discussed; if, says Mr Patterson, Mithraism 'was, in itself, a pure and manly religion', Christianity had all its virtues 'and a few more'; 'its weakness was its narrow exclusiveness' (in its practical exclusion of women from the mysteries); a 'remarkable power of self-adaptation to environment' was, no doubt, another of its merits, but this very facility was 'damaging to the moral reputation and integrity of Mithra'; what it gained in extension and many-sidedness it lost in intensity and definiteness; 'it was bound then to succumb to a religion that would brook no rivals and would grant no concessions.' Of the three theories of comparative religion two, the plagiaristic and the psychological, are examined only to be set aside; 'the progressive theory is the only one that does justice to all the facts'.

So Mr Patterson. The question is: has he proved his case? I confess to doubts; and indeed it has now and again occurred to me that, open-minded and ready as he is 'to welcome any fresh knowledge which may come to us', he has yet to emancipate himself from the spell of time-honoured conception and traditional belief. But he deserves a welcome into the field of comparative religion; and the hope shall be expressed that, later on, he will give us another—and a more thoroughly considered—work. The first sentence in his Preface will scarcely be allowed to stand: 'The science of comparative religion has made gigantic strides in the last two centuries.' It would be nearer the mark to say 'the last two decades'.

H. LATIMER JACKSON.

The Origin of Paul's Religion, by J. GRESHAM MACHEN, D.D.
(Macmillan Company, New York, 1921. 8vo. pp. 239.)

THIS is a very useful book. It is a study of the origin of St Paul's religion and theology, not simply for its own sake, but as a contribution to a study of the origin of Christianity. It is a plea that nothing less than a supernatural Christ is adequate to explain St Paul's personal devotion to the Christ and the essence of his 'Gospel' as redemption from the power and guilt of sin. It is spiritual in tone, it shews a wide acquaintance with modern criticism, it is temperate and level-headed in argument, and lucid in style, though a little marred by undue repetition of the argument here and there and rather wanting in lightness of touch: yet it rises to terse epigrammatic summaries which provoke thought and 'sit within the house' of memory: thus—Jesus came not to reveal to men that they were already children of God but to make them God's children by His redeeming work' (p. 164); 'Christianity did not reveal the fact that all men were brothers. Indeed it revealed

the contrary. But it offered to make all men brothers by bringing them into saving connexion with Christ' (p. 226); 'The mysteries were cherished for the most part not because they offered goodness but because they offered happiness' (p. 276).

In a very useful introductory chapter Dr Machen surveys the ground on which he is going to travel, giving an outline of the 'liberal' view of Christ as represented by Harnack and the criticism of it by Wrede and Bousset: in the following three chapters he gives an outline of the main facts of St Paul's life, dwelling especially upon the conversion, upon the correspondence between the Epistles and the Acts, the general trustworthiness of which he defends, and upon the evidence of St Paul's knowledge of the facts of the life of Jesus, and the real unity between his teaching about the Person of Christ and that of the original Apostles. In the remaining chapters he criticizes in detail the chief naturalistic interpretations which have been given of the sources of St Paul's Christology, taking one by one the Jewish teaching about 'the Wisdom' and 'the Word of God', the Apocalyptic conceptions of the Messiah, and the influences of Greek philosophy and of Pagan mysteries.

I have little doubt that the author is right in his main contentions, which are: (a) that the main staple of St Paul's theology comes from the Old Testament and is essentially Jewish, and (b) that a supernatural Personality in the Lord is needed to supplement all other influences if we are to explain adequately both St Paul's personal devotion to Christ and the full implications of his Christology. Yet his argument is open to certain criticisms. It is a minor point that the examination of the possible influence of Philo is slight and inadequate. It is more important that in his anxiety to prove his main point, he explains away too strongly the subordinate influence of the theories which he shews to be inadequate as the central influence. Thus he rightly insists that the conversion was not merely subjective but due to some objective vision, to some action of the Risen Lord Himself; but he is too shy of recognizing any psychological preparation in St Paul's own mind which fitted him to receive such a vision and respond to the action of the Lord. The internal conflict in Romans vii, and the external facts of St Stephen's speech, St Stephen's vision, St Stephen's death, supply us with witness both from his own consciousness and from the historian's testimony to facts that would have had such an effect. The same criticism applies to the main argument: he is doubtless right that neither Jewish theories nor Pagan philosophy or religion can adequately explain the supernatural belief about Christ without a supernatural reality in Christ's life; yet each may have prepared the way for such a belief and each almost certainly coloured the language in which the

belief was ultimately expressed ; further, it is not merely the separate contribution of each that has to be considered by itself, but also the combination of them all. It is one of the surest indications of a supernatural Personality that as soon as the Life of Jesus had been lived and had triumphed over death, all the highest truths both in Jewish and in Greek thought were felt to have a contribution to lay at His feet : He served as a magnet which drew to itself all that was longing for redemption, all that was aspiring to goodness and immortality. These theories were partly in the air, partly rudimentary and inadequate in their expression upon earth. There was needed a supernatural Personality dwelling on earth to make them quite real and universal : a Personality which stirred in those who knew Him feelings of devotion that rose to the level of worship and which passed on from them to others, each of whom tried to express the truth in language which was expressive of the Divine. Without such a personality we have a Philo : with it a St Paul.

There is not much exegesis of separate passages of the New Testament in the book. What there is is careful and correct : but here and there it is over subtle and perhaps unduly dominated by the desire to support a particular argument. Thus in 2 Cor. v 16 the reference to 'a fleshly conception of Christ which laid stress on his Davidic descent' is unnecessarily explained away (p. 130), and in 2 Cor. xi 4, the explanation of *καλῶς ἀνέχεσθε* as 'bear with me in my boasting', though ingenious, is very improbable in the light of *vv.* 19, 20, and it does not give *καλῶς* the ironical note which it seems to require. But these are small blemishes. I end as I began. This is a very useful book.

W. LOCK.

Kristus-Mystiken hos Paulus, av JOHANNES LUNDBERG. (Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift, 1916, Band 1.)

THE many-sidedness of St Paul, which made him aim at being all things to all men, has certainly been exemplified in the impression, which he has made upon posterity, no less than upon his contemporaries. Whatever feature in his teaching or element in his character we may take to be the most fundamental and central, there will always remain other elements eluding our attempts to make him conform to any particular type or scheme. According to the classical tradition since Luther he is pre-eminently the Apostle of Justification by Faith. But in recent times even Lutherans have not been always content to regard him in this light. Hellenism, Rabbinism, and Eschatology are adduced in turn to afford a clue to the interpretation of his writings. Now, finally,

we are invited to accept the portrait of St Paul the Mystic, and to rewrite our New Testament theology on the assumption that the fundamental point of Paulinism is a mystical union between Christ and the believer. This theory is partly intended to account for the mysticism of the Johannine writings; partly it is a protest against excessive intellectualism in the interpretation of Pauline theology. Partly, too, perhaps it is an unavowed excuse for looseness of thought and convenient vagueness in dealing with the more complicated and pregnant passages in the Epistles. And at a time when mysticism or pseudomysticism is the fashion, the temptation is strong to bring our portrait of the Apostle into line with the dominant contemporary tendency.

Just because the new theory has crept into vogue rather than established itself point by point, it is desirable to subject it to a stringent scrutiny, in order to determine what precisely are the limits of St Paul's mysticism, what is the evidence upon which it rests, and what is the sense in which the term may be applied. Such an investigation is offered in the present study. Hardly any, except perhaps extreme Ritschlians, would venture to deny completely the existence of any trace of mysticism in St Paul's writings. Lightfoot barely glances at it. Deissmann makes a great deal of it. Johannes Weiss, in his *Urchristentum*, regards it as important but not quite central. Deissmann asserts, Johannes Weiss denies, that St Paul shews the mystic trait of 'contemplation'. Dr Lundberg in the present treatise claims to have reduced St Paul's mysticism to almost negligible proportions. With what success, it remains to be considered.

The investigation is limited on the whole to passages describing the relation between Christ and believers. It has been claimed that this is sometimes represented as mystical. Thus J. Weiss¹ adduces instances of a specially intimate association of the believer with our Lord, in which the relation of 'Master' and 'Servant' and even of 'I' and 'Thou' is transcended.² St Paul has been further supposed to hold that the personal identity of the glorified Saviour is dissolved into an impersonal universal 'spirit', and that the individual believer undergoes a similar process of depersonalization. Weiss regards this mysticism as a survival of primitive religion.

Lundberg classifies the passages to be examined under the following heads: (1) *Χριστὸς ἐν τῇ* and kindred expressions; (2) fellowship with Christ in His Death and Resurrection; (3) certain special instances; (4) *ἐν Χριστῷ*. Where a close personal relationship is clearly indicated, he prefers as a rule to describe this as 'enthusiastic' rather than

¹ *Das Urchristentum* p. 355.

² e. g. Rom. vi 5, Gal. iii 27, 1 Cor. vi 17, Col. iii 4, Gal. iii 28.

'mystical', meaning by 'enthusiasm' the control of one personality by another, the human personality being controlled by the Divine. On this view the transcendence and personality of Christ, expressed in the standing title *Κύριος*, are better preserved. Thus Christ controlled St Paul since his conversion, and thus He controls the Church, using it as His organ in the world. The evidence of mysticism in a supposed peculiar genitive *Χριστοῦ*, and in the 'local-psychological' relation denoted by the constantly recurring phrase *ἐν Χριστῷ*, on which Deissmann builds so much, is largely discounted. Many of the genitives are quite ordinary genitives. And *ἐν Χριστῷ* is frequently used with no mystical suggestion in the context, to form a paraphrase, because St Paul had no simple adjective corresponding to our 'Christian'. There is no justification for finding in St Paul the notion of Christ as an impersonal spirit. For where it is supposed to occur, the context generally excludes it by some reference to His transcendent personality or to His earthly life. Thus in 2 Cor. iii 17 *τὸ Πνεῦμα* and *ὁ Κύριος* seem to be identified, but later the expression is varied to *τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ κυρίου*. Lundberg admits a certain mystic tone in particular passages, specially those in which St Paul refers to Baptism and the Eucharist and to the fellowship of Christians with Christ in His Death and Resurrection. But he finds that tone evanescent, and will not allow that the permanent relation established between Christ and the believer was regarded by St Paul as mystical.

The work is a careful and scholarly study, and contains a valuable bibliography of recent literature on the subject. It is probably not the last word on the mysticism of St Paul. The number of passages which lend themselves to a mystical interpretation is so large that it requires a good deal of special pleading to rule out such an interpretation in all of them. Those who are sympathetic towards mysticism will find traces of it where it does not exist; those who are antipathetic will fail to recognize it where it does. St Paul certainly did not regard souls as impenetrable monads, nor did he believe in the dissolution of personality in a pantheistic sense. His position lay somewhere between these two extremes. Christ was to him primarily the Lord, Who had subdued him in the vision outside Damascus. But later, on reflexion, he came to regard Christ as the Second Adam. Lundberg does not take this immanent side of his Christology sufficiently into account. But there is little doubt that this conception is at the root of his mysticism. Probably there was more mysticism in the Jewish environment in which St Paul lived before his conversion than we are apt to imagine, and we can understand why there should be at least a strain of mysticism in him after his conversion.

C. T. HARLEY WALKER.

THE RESURRECTION.

The First Easter Morning, by the Rev. N. P. WILLIAMS. (S.P.C.K., London, 1920.)

The Resurrection of Christ, by the Rev. J. MACKINTOSH SHAW. (T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1920.)

The Resurrection of the Flesh, by the Rev. J. T. DARRAGH, D.D. (S.P.C.K., 1921.)

The Spiritual Body, by the late Rev. C. E. ROLT. (S.P.C.K., 1920.)

THE relation of one's body to oneself is a mystery which increasing knowledge of the physical universe only deepens. In some measure it can be thought of as forming part of the external world whose existence stands over against one's own. And yet this externalization cannot be made complete. There is a nexus of some kind, which defies investigation. Nevertheless, if certain asserted Christian experiences can be accepted as they are stated, some conclusions of great practical importance with regard to this nexus can be reached. The Resurrection of Christ is the centre of these experiences. And the conclusions drawn from them all are expressed in the doctrines of the Spiritual Body and the Resurrection of the Flesh.

The four books under review will be seen to form a group more or less covering this whole subject.

Mr N. P. Williams's little study, *The First Easter Morning*, frankly acknowledges the impossibility of harmonizing the Gospel accounts of the Resurrection, and sets out to shew that the discrepancies are not such as argue remoteness of the writers from the events, but, on the contrary, indicate nearness and assurance.

The study limits itself to the morning of the Resurrection day, and supports the belief that the Resurrection was 'physical . . . in the plain, literal and grammatical meaning of the word'.

Mr Shaw's book is an expanded reprint of his article on the Resurrection of Christ in Hastings's *Dictionary of the Apostolic Church*. It discusses in turn the evidence as such, the nature of the Resurrection-Body, and the religious implications. It reviews the 'naturalistic' explanations of the Resurrection witness that have been given, and concludes in favour of the truth of 'physical' Resurrection, without raising any question concerning the nature of matter. It gives a complete summarized account of the modern Conservative presentation of the subject, and in its shorter article form has already won very favourable notice.

Dr Darragh's *Resurrection of the Flesh* is a much more elaborate undertaking, giving a complete history of the belief in individual resurrection to life after death. The author regards himself as faced

with a gap in English theology which no one since Dean Goulburn has tried to fill. It might have seemed better, under those conditions, to have written simply for students. But Dr Darragh aims at addressing himself to the educated general reader as well, with the result that the book is a little uneven in style. But it has had unstinted labour, and is, for the present, in undisputed possession of the ground.

The author writes with marked reverence for ecclesiastical tradition.

The fourth of the group is posthumous work. Dr Sparrow-Simpson has carried out the preparation of the manuscript for publication.

The author starts from the position that the New Testament is an entirely trustworthy record of experiences, objective and mystical, and proceeds to draw conclusions as to the causes behind those experiences. It is a work of philosophical speculation, and of an order that claims serious attention. Mr Rolt saw that facts such as the Christian tradition records must qualify our conceptions of matter, rather than be expressible in terms of them.

Accordingly he considers a necessary deduction from the New Testament teaching to be the existence of two intermediate terms between the material body and oneself, which he calls the 'soul-body' and the Spiritual body, respectively. He attaches corroborative value to the findings of psychical research.

He does not regard the material universe known to us through our senses as self-contained, but apparently as interpenetrated by a more comprehensive order, from which it is a precipitate, and into which it is resolvable again. To this order his intermediate terms belong.

If it be true that people divide on the credibility of the miraculous according as, for reasons at present beyond investigation, they feel that they have or have not room for it in their philosophy, Mr Rolt was emphatically one of those who had.

It would be manifestly unfair to criticize any looseness of phrase or lack of finish in work that sees the light under such conditions. Enough that it is work of the most marked interest and originality.

W. TELFER.

Historic Theories of Atonement, with Comments, by ROBERT MACKINTOSH, D.D. (Hodder & Stoughton, London, 1920.)

The Passion and Exaltation of Christ, by the Rev. FRANCIS J. HALL, D.D. (Longmans, Green & Co., New York, 1918.)

The Church and the Sacramental System, by the Rev. FRANCIS J. HALL, D.D. (Longmans, Green & Co., New York, 1920.)

IN their treatment of the Atonement Dr Mackintosh and Dr Hall start with very different points of view and presuppositions, yet the con-

clusions they reach are not unlike one another. Especially do they both emphasize in the Cross the presence of a moral necessity which has reference both to the revelation of God's righteousness and to the redemption of man. Thus the conception of an arbitrary will of God, with which Duns Scotus approached the doctrine of Atonement, is alien to both. Again, they allow no hint of an opposition, such as in certain theories has clearly emerged, between the divine righteousness and the divine love, to find a place in their theological construction, and they agree in rejecting the idea of penal substitution, though neither rejects the retributive notion of punishment.

But the two books differ widely in their setting and method. Dr Hall is the Catholic theologian, walking in well-defined paths and bearing in mind a great dogmatic scheme, within which the Atonement falls into its proper place, and is to be appreciated as part of a vast divine economy. In the new covenant established by Christ's death, and completed by His resurrection and ascension and heavenly priesthood, with sanctifying grace dispensed through the sacraments of the visible Catholic Church, which is His mystical body, there exists a 'living machinery of salvation'. Now no objection need be taken to this schematic treatment in itself, and if Christian doctrine is in any way a unity there must be an inter-relation of parts; but I think that there is a danger, in connexion with Dr Hall's very methodical and closely-knit exposition, of the atoning work of Christ being regarded as mainly an objective *prius* to the practical working-out of human salvation. When Dr Hall writes 'The doctrine of the Cross presupposes, as part of its context, the dispensation of saving grace; but as subsequently to be actualized and not as part of itself', he introduces a negative idea which does less than justice to the saving power of the Atonement itself as it is presented in the New Testament. Whatever difficult problems as to the way in which the act of one person can directly affect another may be raised, the redeeming work of Christ is, according to the New Testament interpretation, directly concerned with persons, and does not affect them through a sub-personal medium. And with every sympathy for Dr Hall's desire to guard against any pantheistic blending of persons, I regard it as exceedingly misleading to say that 'we have no evidence that divine grace can operate in us except through what catholic theology terms our "nature", as distinguished from "person" or inner self'. God's relationships with men are personal relationships, and conceptions of divine grace as operating impersonally come near to attributing to that grace a standing and power of its own apart from the personal God, of which we can make nothing, whether religiously or intellectually.

Dr Mackintosh leaves on me the impression of a theological free-lance more than any other recent writer on the Atonement, who could properly

be called a theologian. It is this, combined with great vivacity and directness of style, which helps to make his book so strikingly readable. His dislikes are many, 'Western Catholicism', with its doctrines of satisfaction and merit and its sacramental system, being chief among them, though perhaps one ought to bracket therewith 'Predestinationism = *God's unmotivated or secret will, used as the master-key*', which 'always works for the disintegration both of theology and of faith'. The thinkers for whom he has real respect are Anselm, Dale, and McLeod Campbell, though he has much to say in criticism, especially of the first two. He seems to feel in them, with whatever lack of instruction and consequent tendency to end up in this or that *impasse*, the movements of a powerful Christian conscience. His deep regard for Campbell is the more noticeable in view of his trenchant criticisms of R. C. Moberly. But Campbell and Moberly are very different in spirit and ethos despite the doctrine, or rather doctrines, of vicarious penitence which bring them together. Dr Mackintosh is sharply opposed to Moberly's sacramentalism. Yet, leaving that question on one side, it is possible to agree with Dr Mackintosh that his theology lacks joy and brightness (Dr Denney said it had no pulse, which is an equivalent criticism). Moberly's doctrine of forgiveness is summarized with the limitations attaching to an epigram, but not essentially unfairly, as '*There is no full forgiveness till nothing is left to forgive*'; and neither Christian religion nor Christian ethic can recognize its characteristic features in such a conclusion. Dr Mackintosh himself is prepared to 'press the analogy of repentance', and in the passage where he speaks of it he states what I conceive to be the central thought of his own positive view, namely that in Christ 'there is found under His sufferings that right human attitude towards the God of holiness and of salvation which is required by the moral nature of things—an attitude which passes from Him into us; which in Him and even in us pleases God'. Anselm and Abelard and Dale can all find something to satisfy them here.

The latter part of Dr Hall's volume deals with the Resurrection, the Ascension, and the Heavenly Priesthood, and by its emphasis upon, and theological interpretation of the meaning of, the abiding reality of our Lord's Manhood, prepares the way for the next section of his Dogmatic Theology which deals with the Church and the Sacramental System. Dr Hall is a very definite supporter of the necessity and the value of the institutional side of Christianity, and, while he rarely engages directly in controversy, his expository method of presenting the truth as he sees it serves both as an apologetic and as a polemic. And those who differ from him, whether in first principles or in particular interpretations, will have little cause to complain of his temper or to disparage the loftiness of his ideal. The book is mainly devoted

to a consideration of the Church and the Ministry: chapters on 'The Dispensation of Grace', 'The Sacramental System', and 'Outward Signs', serving as a prelude to the fuller theological treatment of the several sacraments still to come. Special attention is devoted to the Anglican position, and with regard to present tendencies Dr Hall discerns a growth within Anglicanism of 'a more adequate and more truly ecumenical conception of the catholic faith and religion, and of its own particular and provincial part in the catholic propaganda.'

J. K. MOZLEY.

Ecclesiastes, or The Confessions of an adventurous soul. By MINOS DEVINE, M.A. (Macmillan, 1916.)

The Story of Job: A sympathetic study of the Book of Job in the light of History and Literature. By the same author. (Macmillan, 1921.)

EACH of these books is described in the Foreword as not a Commentary, but a sympathetic study. This description is just: the author is acquainted with the general results of criticism, but his main concern is with the text of the two books as it is given in the Revised Version of 1885. Critical questions both in Job and in Ecclesiastes are relegated to a few pages, twenty or thirty, at the end of the volume. Sympathy Mr Devine possesses to the highest degree, and he is thus enabled to follow the changing moods of Job and Ecclesiastes with more success than many commentators. Moreover, his wide reading in English literature enables him to interpret Hebrew sentiments to the modern reader under striking modern literary forms. As popular expositions both these books must be pronounced excellent. Further, the brief critical discussions at the end of each book are well done; e.g. that on the theory of interpolation (*Ecclesiastes* pp. 208-212), and that on the connexion of Job xxvii 7-xxviii *fin.* with the rest of the book (*Job* pp. 283-285). Some readers will desire a more 'advanced' point of view, but Mr Devine has done excellently from his own.

W. EMERY BARNES.

De forma matris cum infante sedentis apud antiquos, by G. A. S. SNIJDER. (Vienna, 1920.)

THIS learned and painstaking dissertation by a Dutch scholar would have been more useful and attractive had it not been for the inexorable rule which required that it should be written in Latin, or some colour-

able imitation of that language—though it is hard to say that a work which abounds in such words as ‘caricatura’ and ‘impressionistice’ attains even to that level. It is also unfortunate that illustrations could not be provided on a more liberal scale, so that the succession and affiliation of types, in which the author’s main interest lies, might be made plain to the reader who has not access to a fully-equipped archaeological library; for the collection of material has been carefully done, although the provincial monuments of the Roman Empire are cursorily treated. This is a matter for regret, as the author has something interesting to say about those which he selects for mention, e.g. the *Nutrices Augustae* of Poetovio (Pettau), and also because they are contemporary with the formation of the Christian art-types to which the later chapters are devoted. Snijder writes from a point of view akin to that of von Sybel, and is cautious in his judgements. He furnishes an interesting piece of evidence with regard to the scheme of the Adoration of the Magi by drawing attention to a relief in Vienna from the lid of a sarcophagus found in Africa, where the central figure in a composition similar to that of the Barberini ivory is apparently a seated Emperor. The last word has yet to be spoken on the subject of these curious representations, which must surely have some connexion with the solar cult and Mithraic symbolism. Unfortunately the drawing of the Vienna sarcophagus published by Snijder is quite inadequate.

H. STUART JONES.

CHRISTIAN THOUGHT IN EGYPT ABOUT A.D. 400.

Der Papyruscodex saec. VI–VII der Phillippsbibliothek in Cheltenham . . .
 edited by W. E. CRUM, with an Essay by A. EHRHARD. (Karl J.
 Trübner, Strassburg, 1915.)

THE book here noticed contains the Coptic text of an ancient Papyrus MS bought by Sir Thomas Phillipps about 1836 and still forming part of his great collection. It was not always easy to find a publisher for Coptic works even before the War, but the *Wissenschaftliche Gesellschaft* of Strassburg accepted this text transcribed and translated by Mr Crum as one of their publications, and Prof. Ehrhard wrote for it an Essay which serves as a historical Introduction. Then came the War: the book was already printed, or nearly so, and not yet published, but Prof. Ehrhard saw it through the press and after long delays it appeared in 1915. In this way it came to pass that one of the last scientific publications of German Strassburg was the work of an Englishman.

It is a very interesting volume, very well edited. The translation of the Coptic text must have presented many difficulties, but Mr Crum's translation is clear and lucid. Prof. Ehrhard's Introduction is admirable; he gives reasons for believing that the first two sections, dealing with Cyril of Alexandria and with Horsiesius, are historical, while the rest, dealing with 'Agathonicus of Tarsus', is fiction, and I venture to think he has proved his point.

The special interest of these texts is that they throw a good deal of light upon the world of thought in which the monks lived who inhabited the monasteries founded by Pachomius at Pabau and Tabennisi in Upper Egypt, some 30 miles north of Luxor. Horsiesius was the third Abbot of Pabau (Fâu), and as his immediate predecessor only lived a few months he may be regarded as the virtual successor of Pachomius himself. The second of the tracts in the Phillipps Codex (38-73)¹ is an account of the visit made by Horsiesius to Alexandria on the invitation of Theophilus the Patriarch, uncle and predecessor of S. Cyril. Horsiesius was then an old man, he had been 66 years a monk, and Prof. Ehrhard (p. 140) shews reason for supposing that the date was somewhere about A. D. 386.

The account opens with the letter of Theophilus inviting Horsiesius to come to Alexandria, because at the annual blessing of the Font the usual miraculous rod of Light had not appeared to the Patriarch, and instead he had heard a mysterious voice telling him that if Horsiesius did not come he would not see what he desired to see (38-41, 46 f). So he sent his Deacons, Faustus and Timotheus, and they brought the old Abbot down the Nile to Alexandria, the narrative says, in six days.² Arrived at Alexandria, Horsiesius and the Patriarch greet one another with polite speeches and proceed to the Church. It is the very morning of Holy Saturday. Theophilus persuades the old man to accept a new burnous,³ and, as he puts it on, the Patriarch sees the rod of Light blessing the water! He was both pleased and frightened, and would have stopped then and there, but Horsiesius was unmoved. He told Theophilus to go on from the point he had reached when he heard the mysterious voice and to finish the service. This is why, adds our MS, that the Blessing of the Waters is combined with the ceremonies of Easter to this day (49).

The next morning, on Easter Sunday, Theophilus and Horsiesius

¹ The numbers are the pages of the Coptic MS, given also in the margin of Crum's German translation.

² This would mean that the boat went down stream at an average of three-and-a-half miles an hour, travelling day and night. Mr Crum (p. 66) thinks it is too quick.

³ Copt. *libiton* = λεβιτών. Pachomius's monks used this garment as a blanket at night (*Hist. Laus.* xxxii = Butler 89³), and to go to Church in (*Apophth.* 196 B).

went together to the Great Church. (καθολικῇ), the Patriarch on his donkey, while old Horsiesius trudged on foot with all the monks, who had gathered together at the news of his coming. After the Service Theophilus invited Horsiesius to the Feast (ἄριστον), and Horsiesius made no scruples about accepting, 'for', he said, 'it is the Patriarch who invites me' (49). Then follows their conversation during the meal: after pretty speeches—Horsiesius compares Theophilus to Lot, through whose prayers Egypt will be saved as Zoar was—the Patriarch asks him what made him become a monk, and Horsiesius answers that it was fear of punishment (κόλασις) after death. He had been a monk now for 66 years. He is then asked if they accept any one who has a wife and children. 'Yes', said Horsiesius, 'for it stands written "He who does not leave wife and children for My Name's sake is not worthy of Me"' (50-52).

Horsiesius was a layman and the Patriarch wished to ordain him, but the old man refused, saying that their wants were supplied by those that came to them: he took, however, an encomiastic letter from Theophilus to the monks of Fâu, which is given in full (53-59).

The account closes with a report of the questions asked of Horsiesius by the Deacons, Faustus and Timotheus, as they journeyed down the Nile. Conversation was conducted through Ulpius ("Ὀλβιος"), Horsiesius's interpreter, who was no doubt the original source of the whole narrative, as Prof. Ehrhard remarks (p. 145). The two deacons asked the old man about various topics, about Usury, the miracles of Pachomius and his character, the significance of sickness for good people and bad, the lawfulness of Marriage, why Galilee of the Gentiles was so called when it is evident that our Lord's countrymen were Israelites, whether it is a pious deed to build or ornament Churches, whether we ought always to give away our second coat if we have one, why Eli was guilty as well as his sons, and finally the Deacons ask, 'What sort of teaching ought we to give to the commercial classes, who are wholly immersed in trade?' (59-73). As Prof. Ehrhard points out, these questions are appropriate enough to the Alexandrine clergy, and are quite unlike the sort of things that would be invented in the monastic surroundings of Ulpius the interpreter. It is surely a transcript from the life.

Horsiesius is always sensible in his replies, as John the Baptist was before him. He is inclined to allegorize, both the Old Testament and the New. It is noticeable that he never treats the monastic life as the only way of salvation. There have been from time immemorial many Oriental ascetics who were kindly and wise in their general view of life, and Horsiesius seems to have been one of them. And he throws an interesting light on the character of Pachomius, a figure rather hidden

for us under the veil of conventional hagiography. Timotheus remarked that Pachomius was said to have done many miracles. Horsiesius replies: 'All the same, he would have no one know that they were done through him. For Abba Theodore used to say, that if they brought him any one who had a devil and begged him to cure him he would not be persuaded to do so, but if they waited about the door and flung themselves on the ground before him, he would look angry and take hold of the patient as if to drive him away—and he would cure him that way.' Faustus said: 'I heard he was never cross.' 'Yes', replies Horsiesius, 'he really was gentle with every one he met. The Lord always revealed to him every one's character, whether good or bad. With a sinner Pachomius smelt the stink of his sins, with a righteous man he smelt the odour of his good deeds. Yet he was gentle with sinners, to encourage them to make efforts for good. But if one of his disciples fell into evil ways, after reproving him he would turn him from the monastery' (62–64). No doubt, Pachomius was a striking and masterful personality! I cannot resist pointing out the noticeable parallel, all the more noticeable because unconscious, between Pachomius's cure of the demoniac and the story of our Lord and the Leper (Mk. i 40–44).

The opening section of the MS (1–38) gives the questions put by Anthimus and Stephanus, the Deacons—it does not say 'of Alexandria' (see p. 147)—to S. Cyril. This is not so lifelike a document as the story of Horsiesius's visit to the great world, but Prof. Ehrhard gives good reason for thinking it to be based on historical reminiscence rather than mere invention (pp. 145–154). The topics are very various, ranging from the fate of Judas Iscariot, and the time of penitence required for a man who has practised Magic, to a description of Heaven. It is interesting to notice that Cyril pronounces that little children who die before baptism will inherit the Kingdom of Heaven, because they are the offspring of Christian parents, and 'if the Root be holy so are the Branches' (20). In the definition of 'Magicians' we find they are people who invoke Demons by means of Names in strange tongues which they find in 'books'. Mr Crum suggests the use of Aramaic words found in the Gospels, such as Ephphatha: is it not more likely that it refers to the *Nomina Barbarica* found in such Gnostic works as Pistis Sophia, e. g. *αειουω* and *ψινωθερ*, not to mention 'Barbelo' and 'Ialdabaoth'?

The latter half of the Phillipps MS (73–138) is taken up with the dicta of 'Agathonicus, Bishop of Tarsus in Cilicia', a personage quite unknown to history. Prof. Ehrhard (p. 154 ff) shews good reason for treating him as altogether fictitious, a mere literary peg upon which to hang theological pronouncements against the anthropomorphism of the

monks of Scete and the spiritual pride of the Stylites of Syria. In any case it has not the same interest as the earlier pieces, which are a real contribution to history.

If 'popular piety, and the phrases and forms in which it clothes itself, are the truest tests of the genuine spirit of religion',¹ then this publication, which deals with the difficulties of ordinary Egyptian Christians belonging to the generation that saw the year A. D. 400, is truly important. It was an age of great theological controversies and definitions; it saw the last rally of the old Pagan religion. But the picture our document gives of Theophilus and Cyril is not that of the destroyer of the Serapeum or of the adversary of Nestorius, but rather that of two well-meaning ecclesiastics occupied in the difficult task of adapting a religion conceived and formulated for an obscure minority to become the Established Church of the civilized world.

I had thought of calling this notice of Mr Crum's publication 'Contemporaries of Hypatia', for the view of the times we get from the Phillipps Codex is almost contemporary with the scene of Charles Kingsley's Novel. It is a picture drawn in quieter, soberer tones: Cyril the Patriarch is a gentler, more human figure, and his uncle Theophilus, to whom in general the verdict of Church Historians is unfavourable, is portrayed quite sympathetically. But in both pictures we see the soulless mediocrity of secular Alexandria, and the men of good sense and firm character despairing of the world and taking refuge in the Thebaid. And over all who thought there broods in both pictures the fear of hell-fire. No doubt it was so all over the Christian world, but it was particularly the case in Egypt, where the old native doctrine of Amente, the Underworld of retribution, had only been reinforced by the ideas of the new religion. 'In the Day of Judgement what will happen?' asks Stephanus the deacon, and Cyril answers: 'A multitude of those who have been punished will find grace, but those who go on the left side go to a resurrection of Judgement' (20, 21). Other parts of Christendom might tremble at the thought of the Last Day: to the Egyptian Christian it brought the notion of a possible escape from Purgatory.

F. C. BURKITT.

The Book of Common Prayer, an edition containing Proposals and Suggestions compiled by JOHN NEALE DALTON, M.A., F.S.A., Canon of Windsor. (Cambridge University Press, 1920.)

SINCE 'Letters of Business' were issued in 1906 much has been agreed upon toward revision of the Prayer Book. What and how much

¹ Bethune Baker *Nestorius and his teaching* p. 15.

may be discovered by dry and difficult reading in S.P.C.K. reports. Canon Dalton, anticipating a pious hope of hesitating Convocation, has improved upon it. He has printed such a Prayer Book as would result from the adoption of all Convocation's 'proposals'; he has incorporated 'suggestions' of his own; and he has prefixed an introduction to explain this procedure. That is a bald description of his book. But it carries a far more lively promise to those who remember that Canon Dalton from the first *pars magna fuit* and *vivida vis* of all this care, zeal, and devotional sincerity; who glance through the introduction with its trenchant style; who glance through the book itself and linger over this or that of the remarkable 'suggestions'.

Such readers will not long be satisfied with glancing, nor with reading. They will take the book to church and worship from it: they will pray from it in their own rooms. Its winged spirit will invigorate their faith. The epigrammatic dedication will reveal the author's heart, his earnestness and charity, his perennial youth. The mottoes on the title-page will not ring conventionally:—

Thus saith the LORD, Stand ye in the ways, and ask for the old paths,
where is the good way, and walk therein:

and

Speak unto the children of Israel, that they go forward.

Canon Dalton is no petty critic, but appreciates 'hopes and efforts' when they are on a grand scale, and therefore, adopting a 'proposal', gives Epistles and Gospels in the Revised Version; right R.V. too, with discerning use of the margin. But he goes beyond that. Dissatisfied with timid corrections of the Psalter, and (to quote his own expression) 'greatly daring', he provides an even more vigorous version than came from Dr Cheyne's private pen. For this vigour is traditional. 'It will be evident how often recourse has been had to the earlier Coverdale, and how surprisingly modern are some of his renderings of the rocky terseness of the original'. Nevertheless there is thought here which did not come from Coverdale. Paraphrastic, but welcome, is Kimchi's theology, for instance, in Psalm li, 'Behold from my birth is my weakness of purpose: and by nature to sin am I prone'.

The masterful version brings freshness: what will bring the Psalms home to hungry hearts are the pregnant summaries in which a world of brooding imagination is distilled: e.g. to Psalm xxii (1-21) 'The Servant of the LORD, Forsaken'; (22-26) 'Triumphant, and he bringeth in the ideal age'; (27-31) 'Universal homage by future generations'; Psalm lxxvi 'The Lion of the tribe of Judah'; Psalm xli 'True source of power is the Invisible'; Psalm ciii 'The heavenly Father'; Psalm cxxxix 'The living energy of a personal God for whom time and

space are naught'; Psalm xcvi 'The God of Nature and of Grace'. As Invitatory at Morning Prayer Psalm xcvi ends with the seventh verse; true art, half more than whole.

The Psalter is followed, as in the old service books, by the Canticles from the Old Testament, 'to be said or sung at Morning Prayer instead of the *Te Deum* as occasion may require', and there is a noble page in the introduction about these Canticles:—

'They are one and all songs of praise to God, as an ever-present Saviour, who can devise means of deliverance for his people in the utmost extremity of peril or distress, whether national or personal, from persecutions, from care and anxiety, from sickness, from misunderstanding, from want, from doubt, from temptations. Be the present never so hopeless, their authors are able to look beyond it, and discern upon the horizon the dawn of a brighter age which is to follow, after a period of suffering has disciplined and purified the individual or national life. Though all spring from special incidents in the life of individuals or of the nation, yet all look forward to the kingdom and glory of Christ, and are thus peculiarly appropriate to be recited in our Daily Office of Morning Prayer between the first Lesson from the Old Testament and the second from the New'.

To each an Antiphon has been prefixed; each, like the Psalms, has its summary; and, like the Psalms, the Canticles are freshly rendered:—

'Ah! the uproar of many peoples: which roar like the roaring of the sea;

Thou hast trodden that sea with thine horses: their tumultuous surge of waters.'

So the waves break in Habakkuk's theophany; and what gain there is in truth by sacrifice of sentiment in Deut. 33:—'The Eternal God is thy home'.

Canon Dalton knows Mr St John Thackeray's discoveries in Habakkuk. The 'Evening prayer for self-control' (Psalm cxli) has been his own, and his most beautiful touches and combinations are generally gifts from others, not his particular inventions: such is Bishop John Wordsworth's 'Thou didst not scorn the Virgin's Child to be': such is the suggested conclusion of Evening Prayer, a summer dream of intercession.

In like manner a rich and reasonable Calendar has been completed by the Collects, Epistles, and Gospels it demands. Nor are the Saints' Days, greater or less, attended to alone. Epistles and Gospels are provided from 'ample and well-selected material ready at hand in the old Service Books' for Wednesdays and Fridays in Advent and after Epiphany, Septuagesima, Sexagesima; for every day in Lent and the week after Easter; for Wednesdays and Fridays in the next five weeks;

for Rogation Days and all Whitsun week ; for Wednesdays after Trinity ; and for all Ember Days.

The proposals and, still more, the suggestions in the Holy Communion are as surely good as they are few and simple. These may be especially noticed. The restoration of the old short form of the Commandments, or the alternative to this—so far more thoughtful than the vulgar form of this alternative—once used will be always used. The Prayer of Humble Access is brought back to the Comfortable Words, these remaining where they are now. The Consecration Prayer begins :—

‘All glory be to thee, Almighty God, our heavenly Father, for that thou of thy tender mercy didst give . . .’

When the priest lays his hands upon the Elements words from Cranmer’s *Epiclesis* are said at that point. After the Consecration Prayer the Prayer of Oblation, enriched by thanksgiving for ‘blessed Passion . . . mighty Resurrection, . . . glorious Ascension’, is introduced by the rubric ‘Then may he say’. How simple the permission : this Prayer Book is a book for peace as for holiness, for the peace of good sense and good will. The Lord’s Prayer is joined with the Canon, and here as always the Eastern doxology is omitted : on the other hand, Collects are generally concluded with their Western doxologies. A small emendation is ‘suggested’ in the translation of the Lord’s Prayer :—

‘Thy will be done :

In earth even as in heaven.’

That is faithful to the Greek, and in harmony with Eph. vi 12, Heb. ix 23.

The shorter and surely better opening of the Litany should be noticed. Those who have for a few months prayed

‘O God the Holy Ghost, the Comforter

O holy, blessed, and glorious Trinity, one God perfect in power, in wisdom, in goodness,

Have mercy upon us’

will hardly wish to go back to a more didactic piety.

These are but samples of an abundant merchandise. Compline, Baptism, Catechism, the very various intercessions and thanksgivings with much else must be left to readers and worshippers to test and enjoy. They will do so with the more ease because the book has been printed in the best style of the Cambridge Press, fine type, well spread page, unobtrusive art. Careful persons may like to draw a pencil through a superfluous *e* in the Latin heading of Psalm xlix, probably the only error of the kind.

A. NAIRNE.

CHRONICLE

OLD TESTAMENT AND RELATED LITERATURE.

DR S. A. B. MERCER, Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament in the Western Theological Seminary, Chicago, is the editor of a new 'Biblical and Oriental Series', the first volume of which, from his own pen, is *The Life and Growth of Israel* (Morehouse Publishing Co., Milwaukee, Wis., 1921). Here in 170 small pages he rapidly sketches the political and religious history, supplementing the Old Testament with the external sources, on which he had previously published a handy little volume (*J. T. S.* xvi 146). As a sympathetic, concise, and well-written statement, the book will attract many readers, who will find in it an agreeable introduction to the more serious treatment of problems which lie outside its scope. While adopting a moderate critical position Dr Mercer adheres as far as possible to the ordinary Old Testament narrative as a whole: hence his book is a critical restatement of the biblical framework rather than an independent history of Palestine in which the biblical and other sources find their proper place; and the difference is an important one. The chapters are on 'the rock whence Israel was hewn', Israel's infancy (Exodus, &c.), childhood (Joshua and Judges), youth (Samuel), coming-of-age (Solomon to Amos), maturity (Amos to the Exile), her ripened maturity (Fall of Jerusalem to the Maccabees), and her residuary gifts (thence to the destruction of Jerusalem). These titles fairly indicate the writer's view of Israelite developement; their picturesqueness and suggestiveness will be recognized. But they tend to ignore the highly developed ideas in Palestine before the entrance of Israel; they pass over periods of serious political and social disintegration, and, what is more essential, they ignore the evidence for the compositeness, not merely of the narratives but also of the actual perspectives of the past. So different were the conceptions of the past that prevailed that more has to be done in the way of literary-historical criticism before the stages in the developement of Israel can be followed, and a new synthesis of the historical and religious vicissitudes safely presented.

The edition of the Books of Nahum, Habakkuk, and Zephaniah by the late Prof. A. B. Davidson for the 'Cambridge Bible', has been re-issued under the competent hands of the Rev. H. C. O. Lanchester. Attention has been paid to the better known modern literature, the

notes have been adapted to the text of the Revised Version, and supplementary notes have been added in many places. It is admittedly difficult to revise another's work, especially in the case of the prophecies whose subject-matter presents such serious difficulties as these do, and Mr Lanchester decided, no doubt wisely, to avoid overloading the book and running the risk of confusing the readers for whom it is intended. At the same time, while attention is very rightly drawn to the discussions of Dr St J. Thackeray and Prof. Burkitt in the JOURNAL (xii no. 46, xvi no. 61), I miss a reference to Mr Stonehouse's useful book (*J. T. S.* xiii p. 134, cf. pp. 85 sqq.). It is true that Davidson's position as regards literary criticism was throughout relatively conservative, and this position is pretty closely kept even where, in my opinion, it is no longer tenable. Moreover, even if my own article on Zephaniah in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* contained views too radical to register in this book, yet, as a matter of principle, notice might have been taken of Canon Box and the Rev. Wheeler Robinson who write on Nahum and Habakkuk respectively in the same widely-circulated publication. In view of the fact that practically all the biblical articles in that work were brought up to date, and that—for good or for evil—theories and conclusions are there widely promulgated which sometimes represent an advance upon current text-books, it may be suggested that—if only as a matter of principle—in educational books like the present, more attention might perhaps be paid to what other works, also educational, and more or less popular and accessible, have been steadily instilling into their readers.

In *The Ship 'Tyre'* (Longmans, Green & Co., 1920), Mr Wilfred H. Schoff, secretary of the Commercial Museum, Philadelphia, has made a close study of the well-known chapters of Ezekiel, illustrating very fully and in an interesting way the details of ancient commerce, and discovering in them both a symbolism and a stern warning for our age. We have in fact, to quote the sub-title, 'a symbol of the fate of conquerors as prophesied by Isaiah, Ezekiel, and John, and fulfilled at Nineveh, Babylon, and Rome'. The author provides abundant notes on the subject-matter of the chapters, drawn from a large variety of sources. What he has collected, for example, on ancient ships, spices, precious stones, &c., gives his book an independent interest of its own. As regards his views of the symbolism it may be noticed that Tyre is taken to be Chaldea; the cargo of the ship is a symbol of the institutions of the priesthood and principedom of Judah which Babylon had profaned; and her doom is the doom of Babylon itself (p. 59). Proceeding, he ingeniously argues that in the Apocalypse of St. John Ezekiel's method has been closely followed. The Jews were then suffering under Rome as, in the days of Ezekiel, the oppressor was Babylon. Quoting

Rev. xviii he suggests that the 'list of articles of trade might stand for a sketch of the commerce of Rome, but when examined in detail it is evidently no more than a selection from the tabernacle and temple specifications (Ex. xxv-xxx, 1 Chron. xxix), with a few changes, due to the Rabbinical interpretations of Ezekiel'. Other points of contact are suggested, and Mr Schoff states that 'the expression of political defiance by substitution of names is the foundation of the Apocalypses'; the symbolical pictures of wealth and commerce are 'an assertion of civil right, and of the fate that awaits the conqueror in every palace and age'. Apart from a number of precarious conjectures and combinations, Mr Schoff's study has a twofold interest, partly in the suggestion that the symbolism of Ezekiel and the Apocalypse may be related, and partly also as an illustration of the perennial readiness to find symbolical meanings, whether they be there or no. As pointed out by Sir George Adam Smith in a brilliant, though little known, monograph on Trade and Commerce (*Encyclopaedia Biblica* vol. iv)—it is more than an 'article'—trade and commerce certainly exercised powerful influence upon religious and other ideas, and whether or no the author be correct in finding a biblical prototype of the 'ship of the state', he has at least shewn that the biblical ideas relating to commerce deserve a deeper study than they have received.

The Language of Palestine and Adjacent Regions by the Rev. J. Courtenay James, M.A., B.D. (T. & T. Clark, 1920), is really a unique book of its kind. Start with an interest in the Semitic languages as such, and collect from all possible sources all kinds of miscellaneous information relating to inscriptions, papyri, and other literature, and this book is the result. Classify an almost overwhelming mass of data to illustrate grammar, syntax, and vocabulary; trace the causes which operate in the rise and fall of languages; follow the path of varying dialects: and one can form some idea of what Mr James has done. The introductory chapter notes historical outlines, race-classification, evolution of thought and language, earliest writing, &c. Other chapters are on empire and language (the Babylonian, Persian, and Greek periods), linguistic genealogy, Semitic constructions, Aramaeans and Hebrews, inscriptions and the Old Testament, Semitic scripts, Aramaic dialects, Nabataean, the Targums, and an epilogue. It is the sort of miscellaneous and undigested work which drives the serious student to desperation; but it is eminently one likely to attract readers whom the graver and more systematic works would only repel. There are many flaws and signs of lack of co-ordination; thus, as regards the Amarna Letters, it is wrongly stated that they prove the use of Aramaic as early as 1400 B. C. (p. 151), while elsewhere it is said that they are in Canaanite (p. 14). The standard edition, too, is unfortunately said to

be that of Winckler (1896), whereas that of Knudtzon with notes by Weber and Ebeling (1915) is alone authoritative. Among other strange views is this, that the Semitic priests faced the south and, moving their hand to the east, the source of light and wisdom, naturally wrote from right to left (p. 18)! The book is the outcome of many years' study and, despite its defects, contains so much that is interesting that one may agree with the foreword contributed by Sir E. A. Wallis Budge who, testifying to its high interest, remarks that he knows of no other book in which the languages of Palestine are similarly treated, and points out that 'the need for such an introduction to the study of the languages, history, and archaeology of western Asia is very great at the present moment'.

Equally elaborate and ambitious in its scope is *Nile and Jordan*, by the Rev. G. A. Frank Knight, M.A., F.R.S.E. (Jas. Clarke & Co., 1921). It treats of 'the archaeological and historical inter-relations between Egypt and Canaan from the earliest times to the Fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70.' An extensive volume of nearly 600 large pages with five maps, appendices and three indexes, it is the work of an independent writer who has personal acquaintance with the lands in question, and has spared no pains to ransack almost every book or periodical dealing directly or indirectly with his subject. Indeed, one of the features of the volume is the index of over 1,700 different books and journals to which the text refers. It is impossible not to admire Mr Knight's zeal and industry, the fulness of his treatment, and the ease with which he marshals his data. Though written for the general reader, expert students will find it advisable to see what he has turned up, and repeatedly one has been struck to find that this or the other minute point has not escaped his attention. He has given a very vivid description of the course of history, illustrating social and religious life and thought, trade and commerce, political and military matters. The excavations in Palestine and Egypt on the one hand, apocalyptic and pseudepigraphical writings on the other, have been laid under contribution, and, throughout, the writer has striven to adopt an independent attitude. But where questions of judgement arise he is apt to prove disappointing, and, despite his admirable intensive study of the field, one must sincerely regret the absence of that wider knowledge which would have prevented unsafe or impossible views. In spite of all apparent evidence to the contrary it is simply impossible to date the Egyptian Twelfth Dynasty so early as he does (in 3459-3246 B.C.); and to place the Israelite oppression in the time of Thothmes III, and the Exodus under Amenhotep II, does intolerable violence to other evidence which must be held to be of superior validity. Nor may we co-ordinate the movements of the Khabiru (or Sa-Gaz) in the Amarna Letters with

an entry of Israel after forty years in the wilderness; for not only are these mysterious people found up to the north of Palestine, but, as Prof. Burney has fully shewn, there are no points of contact in the historical representations. It is rather significant that about one-third of a page is devoted to an old conjecture, admittedly baseless, that Judah is mentioned in the Letters (p. 220); and it is unfortunate that Knudtzon's edition was not used consistently in place of that of Winckler (p. 221, &c.). Mr Knight approves of Böhl's argument that if the Amarna Letters do not mention the well-known sites of Bethel, Jericho, Beersheba, Shiloh, or Gibeon, it is because (*ex hyp.*) they were already in the hands of the Hebrews (Khabiru); but the Khabiru took a number of cities which we cannot identify, some cities changed hands more than once, and according to Judges i and other passages, certain very important towns remained in the hands of the Canaanites, and one of them, Taanach, certainly was taken by the Khabiru—for a time, at all events. Mr Knight very characteristically looks for Egyptian influence in the account of the wanderings (ch. xiv), the Book of Job (ch. xxviii), not to mention Ecclesiastes, &c. There is no doubt that Egyptian influence in Palestine was deep, perhaps deeper than is usually suspected; but, on the other hand, it is necessary to determine whether any alleged Egyptian parallel or analogy is exclusively Egyptian. For example, he ingeniously emends the 'new' sword worn by Ishbi-benob, into the deadly Egyptian *Khopesh* (חרשׁ חפשׁ); but according to Prof. Sayce (*Quarterly Statement of the Palest. Explor. Fund*, 1905, p. 88), the *Khopesh* corresponds to the characteristic scimitar found at Gezer, and also familiar in Assyria as the weapon bearing the name of Adad-nirari I (now in the British Museum). Further, the phraseology of Palestinian and other chiefs in the Amarna Letters has many noteworthy points of contact with Egyptian style, and was probably to a considerable extent common to both lands. From Boghaz Keui tablets to South Arabian inscriptions, and from the Nile to the Euphrates we find a certain homogeneity such that specific influences are everywhere difficult to prove, except in the most obvious cases. On p. 390 Mr Knight places side by side, Job's confession and the Egyptian Negative Confession, but he rightly points out that 'we see at once their fundamental similarity, and their temperamental, ethical, and racial differences'. And this is essentially what we find elsewhere, and sober criticism has to do justice to both the differences and the resemblances. All in all, when allowance is made for some typical weaknesses, this bulky volume will always repay careful attention at the hands of a cautious reader.

Miss Lina Eckenstein, after working with Prof. Petrie at the Egyptian remains in Southern Sinai (1905-1906), was led to make a wider study

of the part this district has played in the history of religion. Her *History of Sinai* (S.P.C.K., 1921) is a concise and useful survey from the earliest records to the present day. As the site of an ancient cult of the moon deity (Sin), and associated with Amalek—a name with which she connects the *Melukkkha* of the old Babylonian records—it has another interest in the many traces of old Egyptian occupation, and the sanctuary of Serabit el-Khadim is of extreme archaeological importance for the Semitic features which have been recognized there. Prof. Petrie's *Researches in Sinai* (1906) not only showed the value of this place but made known a script which, if Dr Alan Gardiner is right, is the true prototype of the Semitic alphabet. It is a great advantage to have a résumé of the archaeological evidence in this little history, but it is as well to draw a distinction between it, for which we are grateful, and some of the inferences based thereupon. While we cannot follow the ingenious book of a foreign writer—who found traces of Kenites in Serabit—it is equally difficult to agree with the authoress in her effort to associate Moses with Serabit and the monistic reform of the 'heretic' Amenhotep IV. She urges that refugees of this reform fled from Egypt and settled down here; that the spot was visited by Moses; and she dates the Exodus at the time of the reaction in favour of the older religion. By a slip she also associates the feminine of Baal, viz. Baalath, which she writes Ba-alat, with the Alilat of Herodotus (p. 24), and not only does she place undue reliance upon the traditions of Amalek, but she dangerously combines the Egyptian Sopd with the Hebrew *shōphēt* 'judge'. Apart from her theory of Israelite associations with Serabit, and all that is bound up with it, there is much in the book that is of great interest. She surveys the Nabataean period, and the Sinaitic inscriptions, she treats of the hermits of Sinai and their writings, the famous convent, the visits of crusaders and pilgrims, and finally, after a few pages upon recent decades, she ends, as we all do, with a question on what the future will bring.

Seven members of the Glasgow University Oriental Society presented to (the late) Dr James Robertson *Studia Semitica et Orientalia* (MacLehose, Jackson & Co., Glasgow, 1920). Mr. J. R. Buchanan discusses various Hebrew synonyms ('shut, close, stop up'). Mr W. M. Christie identifies Capernaum with Tell Hum which contains the ruins of a very large and important town which would be quite unknown unless the identification be adopted. He enlarges upon the remains of an interesting Synagogue, the one which 'Christ Himself attended in company with His Apostles', and he refers to the clear traces of the figure of a Roman eagle which would obviously not have been tolerated in Jerusalem (Jos. *B.J.* i 33, 2-4), and which, now chipped and defaced, was probably mutilated when, after the fall of Bether, Judaism was

carried into Galilee. Prof. A. R. S. Kennedy gives an account of Jewish everyday life as reflected in the Mishnah Treatise Shabbath—the treatise which declared what must *not* be done on the Sabbath. We learn that children made pets of live locusts, that fat-tailed rams were accommodated with little carts to carry the tail, that false teeth were known, and even the ‘tooth of gold’; that the ‘golden city’ ornament was the mural or turreted crown depicted on coins on the heads of city-goddesses, and much else. Prof. Kennedy thus adds to his list of informing and exceedingly interesting excursions already familiar in the *Encyclopaedia Biblica* (articles on fish, food, fowl, &c.). R. B. Pattie briefly discusses the synchronisms of the book of Kings, urging, *inter alia*, that the northern calendar began six months later than the Judaeian, and that, as in Egypt, sons were often associated with their fathers. Prof. Edward Robertson translates a curious compilation on Arab calligraphy by Abu ’l-Mukārim Shams ad-Din Muhammad ibn Abd ar-Rahman al-Bakri (about A. D. 1517); it is of special interest for the variety of its sources, and for the light it throws upon the ‘*mansūb*’ writing’. Prof. W. B. Stevenson describes a number of Moslem charms. Finally, Prof. D. B. Macdonald writes, all too briefly, on ‘the Pre-Abrahamic Stories of Genesis as a part of the Wisdom Literature’. Critics have analysed the narratives and sought their ultimate origins; we have now to ask the redactor’s purpose. And Prof. Macdonald argues that he had more philosophic insight than we allow; he wished to convey certain philosophic ideas, and used the stories to clothe them, and so to teach a concrete-minded and pragmatic people to whom ‘truth of idea’ completely overrode ‘truth of fact’. The Wisdom Literature was not a sudden phenomenon, there was a pre-philosophical stage, which, however, for our purposes we dare not call ‘philosophy’, although philosophical ideas were in the germ. On the principle of continuity we expect such a prior stage, and when one recalls how primitive rite and ritual had implicit in it ideas which became explicit in ethical and theological doctrine, and how mythology has led to philosophy, Prof. Macdonald’s thesis is an attractive one. As a matter of detail it is curious that he should renounce Gen. xi as ‘an untouched piece of folklore’. Here, after an overwhelming catastrophe—ascribed to man’s iniquity—a new internationalism begins and men attempt to reach heaven. But quite in keeping with the ideas of the ‘jealousy of the gods’ and of divine transcendence, this is a piece of arrogance which is not to be borne. Mankind are once more divided, the scene is laid for the inauguration of a new drama, and the ancestor of the Hebrews is introduced. That is to say, we see here an implicit philosophy of history, a religious one, which must have originated at some period of disintegration and has curious points of resemblance with the current antipathy

to all forms of transcendentalism, with the supreme if not excessive self-assurance, and with the floating fears of a complete disintegration. At all events, Prof. Macdonald's little essay is in fact highly suggestive and opportune, and the Glasgow University Oriental Society is to be congratulated on a volume which, we hope, will have successors.

Among other results of the new outburst of archaeological zeal in Jerusalem we have to welcome the first Annual of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem (Yale University Press, 1920). It contains a selection of papers which have for some time past awaited publication. Prof. C. C. Torrey, the editor, and the director of the School in 1900-1901, gives the first detailed account of a Phoenician necropolis at Sidon, excavated in 1901. He describes a number of fine sarcophagi, and, *inter alia*, has to record a fine specimen of Sidonian dentistry; a 'bridge' of golden wire strengthening the loose lower front teeth of a bad case of *pyorrhea alveolaris*, the sound teeth on either side being used as 'pillars'. Incidentally we may remember that perhaps the earliest medical remedy, that alluded to in the papyrus Ebers (c. sixteenth century B.C.), came from 'a Semite from Gebal (Byblus)'. The late Prof. Hinckley G. Mitchell contributes a most elaborate account of the walls of Jerusalem with seventy-one plates. Prof. L. B. Paton has a short notice of survivals of primitive religion in modern Palestine. We may note, for example, that a holy tree south of Bāniyās has been rendered orthodox by being treated as the burial-place of the patriarch Judah. Here and elsewhere Christians and Mohammedans participate in the same cult. As usual, the *wali* is more feared than Allah, because he is near and more alive! To the shrine of Sheikh Abdullah, south of Damascus, a sheaf of wheat from every threshing-floor is presented, 'as in ancient times it was presented to the local ba'al'. As is well-known the points of contact between the modern beliefs and practices and those of the days of the Baals are extremely suggestive, but it is rather an exaggeration to say that 'at many places ... all the rites of the primitive sanctuaries of Canaan are still kept up' (p. 65). In any event, the facts are of great importance for the interpretation of the intervening centuries—after the Old Testament period, as we shall see in the next two works (below). Prof. Warren J. Moulton in 'Gleanings on Archaeology and Epigraphy' deals with cup-markings in a neolithic area near Beit Ta'amir, with some 'pyxes' (which, however, R. P. Ronzevalle asserts to be mirrors, amulets, &c., *Quart. Stat.*, October 1921, p. 172), and with some Palestinian figurines, unmistakable evidences of an Astarte (or related) cult, and dating as late as the early centuries of the Christian era. An account of a Greek inscription from Caesarea (Palestinae) also gives occasion for the mention of other indications of paganism underlying early Christianity.

A new and helpful contribution to the study of Old Testament religion from the industrious pen of the Rev. W. O. E. Oesterley, D.D., is on the subject of *Immortality and the Unseen World* (S.P.C.K., 1921). It is, as the introductory chapter explains, on the lines of comparative religion, which means, briefly, that from a survey of the average customary thought of man, and from a deeper study of the life and thought of south-west Asia, one is entitled to approach the Old Testament with certain presuppositions, and see how far it agrees with them, and where and why there are differences. Dr Oesterley does good service in emphasizing the far-reaching incompatibilities of thought in the Old Testament so far as the above subject is concerned. In the course of a rapid survey of the demonology, angelology, ideas of Rephaim and Sheol, ancestor-cult, necromancy, mourning and burial customs, he finds a cleavage between popular and orthodox ideas, and between current religion and prophetic teaching; and the result is that we have to recognize more clearly not only developements in time but contemporary differences among different circles. The book is simply written and exceedingly suggestive for what it contains, and the special questions it raises. As regards details, a fuller discussion of angelology is called for: it is noteworthy that in Judg. vi the 'angel of Yahweh' is addressed as Adonai, and only when he manifests his power does Gideon fear death; but in Judg. xiii the 'man of God' is *like* an 'angel of Yahweh', and when the 'man' manifests his true character as an 'angel of God' Manoah at once fears death—rather different conceptions of divinity prevailed. Further, the idea that God keeps men's souls in a bag (1 Sam. xxv 29) is essentially only a rudimentary form of the beautiful expression of personal confidence in Ps. lxxiii 23 sqq.—in each case man believes he is in some way bound up with his God, although naturally the forms taken by the belief represent different stages of developement.¹ To Dr Oesterley's statement that 'the origin of the idea of angels, so far as the O. T. is concerned, is probably to be sought . . . in Gen. vi 2-4' (p. 53), it must be objected that the first reference in the pages of the Bible is not to be confused with the reference itself which presupposes the existence of some fuller organic body of myth which has been lost, although later forms of it are familiar. Nor may one confuse the steps in the developement of ideas, as judged from our modern position (pp. 210 sqq.), with the actual chronological vicissitudes. The exile admittedly influenced life and thought most profoundly (pp. 202 sqq.),

¹ The passage in 1 Samuel is abundantly illustrated in Frazer *Folk-lore in the O. T.* ii 506 sqq. (1918), and had previously been pointed out by myself in the *Jewish Quarterly Review* 1901, p. 446 sq., where a reference is made to 2 Sam. xxi 17 for the conception of the life of a people as bound up with their king, a conception in keeping with old ideas of the divine kingship.

but it is very important to remember that about that age there was a certain disintegration, and a prominence of relatively simpler conditions; and these sever the older cultural history (to the fall of the two monarchies) from the new line of evolution which carries us down to the rise of Christianity. Attention may also be drawn to Dr Oesterley's chapter on the Rephaim, Nephilim, &c., who were in some quarters regarded as prehistoric giants of old time (pp. 72 sqq.). Such a belief is 'primitive'; but, as we can see from Arab ignorance of ancient history and civilization, it is of sociological rather than of chronological significance. That is, owing to special circumstances the knowledge of the past has faded away in circles which retain only legendary and mythical ideas of their predecessors.¹ There is much else that invites comment. The 'primitive' idea that death is abnormal, something to be explained (p. 193), brings with it the more complicated fact that beliefs and practices will often imply very definite ideas or convictions which, however, have not yet been formulated. Often in the rites for the dead the concept of death has hardly arisen; it is not that men are thought to be dead, but rather that they are not thought to be no longer living. Finally, there are many popular and persisting cravings and intuitions which insist upon some outlet, and these are apt to be hindered by reforming movements. There was clearly much in the old current religion—especially in and around Jerusalem itself—which we can term 'barbaric'; and the more spiritual aspects of the religion of Yahweh destroyed popular and current ideas, and failed to replace them. It is easy to see how the loftier types of the worship of Yahweh would seriously affect those ideas which, crude and superstitious though they were, were the outcome of universal psychical needs. And the study of popular religion gives us the result. The study of O. T. religion, or, rather, of the history of Palestine during the centuries covered by the O. T., passes into a new stage when we realize that we have not merely to trace some 'upward' course of religious developement, but also to trace set-backs and failures, and consider the religion and the religious needs of those who lay outside what we call the line of progress.

¹ A very instructive illustration of this is afforded by the later notion that the hill-country of Judah, &c., was held by Anakim, remnants of whom still remained in Gaza, and other Philistine cities (Josh. xi 21-23). These interchange with Philistines even as the latter interchange with Amorites in 1 Sam. vii 14. Now, in the fights between David's men and the Philistines, &c., we meet with 'sons of the Raphah' (2 Sam. xxi 16, 18, 20), and, as Budde points out (*ad loc.*), these are really Rephaim, prehistoric inhabitants of the land. The popular traditions of David's conquests are of victory over prehistoric worthies, and they associate themselves with what other traditions tell of similar worthies at Hebron and of the Nephilim seen by Caleb and the other spies (Num. xiii 33). The traditions of Ephraim itself were far more 'historical': see Josh. x 1-37, xi, &c.

The Doctrine of Merits in Old Rabbinical Literature is a subject of interest to Christians no less than to Jews, and the valuable monograph by Dr A. Marmorstein (one of the publications of Jews' College, London, 1920) throws welcome light upon the theology of the Rabbis. Nearly 200 pages crowded with excerpts and with numerous notes form a goodly storehouse of material, and although it is not very conveniently arranged and full of repetitions, an adequate index atones for shortcomings on this score. It requires some little trouble to steer one's way clearly through the mass of material, though at the end we realize that the author has given us a most exhaustive treatment of the subject and every facility for checking or criticizing his views. And the result is to display the prominent part which the discussions of the Rabbis hold in the actual developement of religious thought. The main outlines are easily recognizable. A merit is the beneficial effect—material, moral, or spiritual—of a meritorious deed. It is due to positive acts (pp. 3 sq. 31, 175), faith (p. 90), the Torah and the study of it (p. 65), chastity (p. 69), sacrifice, tithes, charity, circumcision, and the observance of the Sabbath and other festivals. It is also due to pious women (p. 172), and most especially to the acts of righteous men, in particular the men of old, like Abraham, Isaac, Judah, Joseph, Moses, &c.—these represent great ideals and 'personify the great moral teachings for which Judaism lives' (p. 25). Merits can be accumulated, they are efficacious in a variety of ways, and are the cause of what is otherwise unaccountable or undeserved (p. 9). If they fail, it may be because they will be effective only in the next world. They are an admirable illustration of fundamental convictions of solidarity. The merits of fathers affect the children, but children can also help their parents (pp. 156, 163). One member of the community can help the rest—one just man may atone for Israel or die for a whole generation (p. 173 sq.). But vicarious sin is the counterpart of vicarious merit; innocent wives or children die because of the ritual and other offences of husbands or fathers. So, one Israelite can endanger the rest (p. 187), one sinner can destroy many righteous. In this way the failure of merits can be explained; sin makes the innocent suffer. The solidarity is also international; Israel's sins can make the Gentiles suffer, but the latter also partake of Israel's merits (p. 187). It includes the animals—in the Alexander story; and it is cosmic, when a just man by his prayers brings rain, but only in his locality (p. 71, like a local saint!). There must be a 'merit' for everything; the Gentiles can have merits, and unless Rome had merits she could not have been a world-wide power. Why was the world created? Why did it exist? The Stoics discussed the question (pp. 28, 108), and Christians thought that all was predetermined for themselves or for the Church (p. 111). The Christians also said that

God had not forgiven Israel—the charge needed discussion (pp. 69 sq., 79, 152); they also alleged that the Jews were useless (p. 97)—the mobs in those days cared more for anti-Jewish denunciation than for the Sermon on the Mount. Attacked from without and weakened within the Jews as aforetime gained new confidence, they revived old apocalyptic teaching (2 Esdr. vi 56): the world was made for Israel, who was the source of all blessing (p. 97). Christian controversy led to reaction against the figure of Adam (p. 137); moreover, it was unsafe to stress the merits of Abraham, because the Gentiles could argue with the names of Ishmael and Isaac, of Esau and Jacob (p. 141). Further, the merits of martyrs were rarely exploited (pp. 57, 105). On the other hand, inter-Jewish controversies were far more instructive. Could a man's merits benefit himself, much less another (p. 38)? The doctrine of merits opened the way to obvious abuses (p. 30), which were freely recognized; and there was strong and anonymous opposition to the merits of the fathers, especially in the third century (pp. 164 sqq.). Emphasis is then laid upon the merits of the children and their effect upon others (p. 95). But in Judaism as in other religions the doctrine of vicarious merits was always more popular (p. 164); it is too stern a task for man to stand upon his own legs. Moreover, the doctrine of merits might seem to disparage God; the more the stress is laid upon human worth, the easier the path to magic. On the one hand, it could be declared that merits are not weighed, God through His mercy can make the slightest merit effective (p. 67 sq.); on the other hand, there are those, says the author, by whom even the words in the Kaddish are supposed to possess magical power (p. 163). In fine, the question of merits was fully discussed in the light of the age—man needed salvation and found it in this doctrine. There are points of contact with Stoicism and Buddhism. Fundamental ideas were being threshed out—vicarious atonement, solidarity, and the theory of causation. The Jews were still at the stage of a 'moral philosophy'; causation is on the moral plane, and not, as earlier, simply a theistic problem. In the Buddhist wheel of life and chain of causation we see other attempts to connect causality with behaviour. The doctrine of merits was almost as sweeping as that of Karma itself, and in these old religious and other discussions we perceive how the eternal problems are approached and solved. The Rabbis were true to their ancestry, and their conception of fundamental solidarity is the heir of the earlier teaching of Divine Righteousness. They made a worthy and permanent contribution to religious thought, and Dr Marmorstein's monograph is of very real value for the scientific study of religious ideas and their development.

STANLEY A. COOK.

RECENT PERIODICALS RELATING TO THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

(1) ENGLISH.

The Church Quarterly Review, January 1922 (Vol. xciii, No. 186 : S.P.C.K.). A. C. HEADLAM The modernist Christology—F. D. V. NARBOROUGH The Messianic secret—E. H. PEARCE Worcester Ordinations six centuries ago—G. H. BOX Some recent contributions to the study of Judaism—W. C. BISHOP The early Roman liturgy—H. L. GOUDGE Catholicism and Liberal Christianity—C. C. J. WEBB Professor Alexander's Gifford Lectures—Short Notices.

The Hibbert Journal, January 1922 (Vol. xx, No. 2 : Williams & Norgate). F. J. F. JACKSON The Cambridge Conference of the Churchman's Union—H. D. A. MAJOR Modern Churchmen or Unitarians?—P. H. BAGENAL The modern movement in the Church of England—L. M. WATT Columba—E. CLODD Occultism—E. W. COOK Materialism and Occultism—A. M. ADAM The value of Plato's Laws to-day—L. A. REID Logic and the imagination—A. MARTIN The father or the state—W. J. FERRAR The gloom of Dean Inge—C. J. KEYSER The nature of man—W. W. DAVIES Education for Internationalism—H. C. SHAWCROSS The question of responsibility—A. N. WILDER Ode in a German cemetery—Discussions, Survey, and Signed Reviews.

The Expositor, January 1922 (Eighth Series, No. 133 : Hodder & Stoughton). J. MOFFATT The story of the Farmer and his man—H. R. MACKINTOSH The place of forgiveness in Christianity—R. WINTERBOTHAM The city of refuge—B. W. BACON Jesus' 'native place' in John—J. G. MCKENZIE Theology and the social gospel—J. P. NAISH The Fourth Gospel and the Sacraments—E. H. ASKWITH The Songs of Ascents—G. H. WHITAKER 'Of the household': is the reading correct?—Oxford University Address.

February 1922 (Eighth Series, No. 134). J. K. MOZLEY The theology of Dr Forsyth—A. T. ROBERTSON Matthew the business man in the ministry—W. J. FERRAR The Stoic and the Christian—R. HARRIS The first Tatian reading in the Greek New Testament—A. SOUTER The importance of the Latin Versions for the textual criticism of the New Testament—V. BARTLET The Oxyrhynchus 'Sayings of Jesus' in a new light—W. H. G. THOMAS St John vii 37, 38.

March 1922 (Eighth Series, No. 135). J. K. MOZLEY The theology of Dr Forsyth—D. S. MARGOLIOUTH One jot or tittle—H. R. MACKINTOSH The attitude of God to sin—C. J. CADOUX The quest for John the Elder—J. M. SHAW Does prayer count in a world of law?—J. E. ROBERTS Jesus and Baptism—G. H. WHITAKER Hebrews iv 2 and Romans x 16 ff.

(2) AMERICAN.

The Journal of Religion, January 1922 (Vol. ii, No. 1 : University of Chicago Press). G. W. COLEMAN The contribution of the open forum to democracy in religion—C. H. MOEHLMANN What are the fundamentals of Christianity?—S. S. COHON The mission of Reform Judaism—W. C. KEIRSTEAD The leadership of the ministry in industrial and social life—J. M. P. SMITH Law and ritual in the Psalms—K. SAUNDERS Glimpses of the religious life of new Japan—D. C. MACINTOSH A neo-realist's conception of God—G. B. SMITH What shall Protestantism do with Modernism?

The Princeton Theological Review, January 1922 (Vol. xx, No. 1 : Princeton University Press). C. W. HODGE The significance of the Reformed Theology to-day—S. G. CRAIG The Christian way of life and the supernatural—H. C. SHELDON The psychology of religion interrogated—R. D. WILSON 'Daniel not quoted'—D. J. BURRELL The lost chord—W. A. HOLLIDAY Brainerd, Edwards, and Martyn—J. G. MACHEN Christianity and Liberalism—Notes and Notices—Reviews of recent literature.

(3) FRENCH AND BELGIAN.

Revue Bénédictine, January 1922 (Vol. xxxiv, No. 1 : Abbaye de Maredsous). G. MORIN Sermon inédit de S. Augustin sur les huit béatitudes—D. DE BRUYNE L'origine des processions de la Chandeleur et des Rogations à propos d'un sermo inédit—A. WILMART L'hymne de Paulin sur Lazare, dans un manuscrit d'Autun—U. BERLIÈRE La sécularisation de l'abbaye de St-Jacques à Liège—Comptes rendus—Bulletin d'histoire bénédictine.

Analecta Bollandiana, Vol. xxxiv-xxxv (1915-1916) (A. Picard, Paris). A. PONCELET Documents inédits sur S. Jean Berchmans—H. MORETUS Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum bibliothecae scholae medicinae in universitate Montepessulanensi—M. COENS Vie de S. Lébuin—Bulletin des publications hagiographiques—U. CHEVALIER Repertorium hymnologicum.

Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique, January 1922 (Vol. xviii, No. 1 : 40 Rue de Namur, Louvain). L. VILLECOURT Un manuscrit arabe sur le saint chrême dans l'Église copte—M. VILLER La question de l'union

des Églises entre Grecs et Latins depuis le concile de Lyon jusqu'à celui de Florence (1274-1438)—H. WATRIGANT Un disciple obstiné du semi-quiétisme guyonien à Rouen (1700-1704)—Comptes rendus—Chronique—Bibliographie.

Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuses, December 1921 (Vol. vii, No. 4: F. Nourry, Paris). A. LOISY La Didaché et les lettres des Pères apostoliques—L. COULANGE La réaction contre le Consubstantiel—Chronique bibliographique.

January 1922 (Vol. viii, No. 1). F. CUMONT Zoroastre chez les Grecs et la doctrine zervaniste—A. LOISY De la méthode en histoire des religions—H. GALLERAND La rédemption dans saint Augustin—A. LOISY L'apocalyptique chrétienne—G. P. WETTER L'arrière-plan historique du christianisme primitif—A. LAGARDE La doctrine pénitentielle du pape Grégoire.

Revue Biblique, January 1922 (Vol. xxxi, No. 1: V. Lecoffre, Paris). E. PODECHARD Notes sur les Psaumes: Psaume xlix—U. MORICCA Un nuovo testo dell' 'Evangelo di Bartolomeo'—DE BRUYNE Le texte grec des deux premiers livres des Macchabées—Mélanges—Chronique—Recensions—Bulletin.

(4) GERMAN.

Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche, December 1921 (Vol. xx, No. 4: A. Töpelmann, Giessen). A. v. GERKAN Eine Synagoge in Milet—A. RAHLFS Über Theodotion-Lesarten im Neuen Testament und Aquila-Lesarten bei Justin—H. PREISKER Sind die jüdischen Apokalypsen in den drei ersten kanonischen Evangelien literarisch verarbeitet?—A. JACOBY 'Ἀνατολή ἐξ ὑψους—W. SCHUBART Das zweite Logion Oxyrhynchus Pap. iv 654—H. GRESSMANN Ἡ κοινωνία τῶν δαιμονίων—W. SATTLER Das Buch mit sieben Siegeln: I. Das Gebet der Märtyrer und seine Erhörung—E. HENNECKE Zur apostolischen Kirchenordnung—K. ERBES Noch etwas zum ἀλλοτριοεπίσκοπος 1 Petr. 4 15—H. LIETZMANN Die Doppelkirche von Aquileja: Die Synagogen von Noarah, Tiberias und Jafa: Zur apostolischen Kirchenordnung.

Theologische Quartalschrift (Vol. cii, No. 3/4: H. Laupp, Tübingen) SÄGMÜLLER Der rechtliche Begriff der Trennung von Kirche und Staat auf der Frankfurter Nationalversammlung 1848/49—BROWE Die Kommunion in der gallikanischen Kirche der Merowinger- und Karolingerzeit—BRINKTRINE Die trinitarischen Bekenntnisformeln und Taufsymbole—ANWANDER Zur Trinitätslehre der nachorigenistischen alexandr. Theologie bis Arius—Rezensionen.

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NOTES AND STUDIES

LA TRADITION MANUSCRITE DE LA COR- RESPONDANCE DE SAINT BASILE

(suite).

CHAPITRE VI

LES PROBLÈMES D'AUTHENTICITÉ

Si l'esquisse que nous avons tracée (ch. V § iv) de la formation du Corpus Aa répond en gros à l'histoire, nous pouvons maintenant aborder d'un point de vue nouveau les problèmes d'authenticité posés depuis longtemps touchant certaines pièces insérées dans le recueil des lettres de S. Basile, et qui n'ont pas été tous résolus de façon définitive par les bénédictins Garnier et Maran, ni par les critiques qui les ont abordés après eux.¹

En premier lieu nous devons dresser la statistique des pièces qui manquent dans les manuscrits de l'ordre Aa, d'après le Patmius 57 (P), le Marcianus 61 (V), le Baroccianus 121 (O).² Ce sont, en reproduisant les adresses d'après l'édition Bénédictine, traduites en latin :

8	Apologia de secessu etc.	10	44	ad monachum lapsum
11	Sine inscriptione amicitiae ergo		47	Gregorio sodali
15	Arcadiocomiti privatarum		49	Arcadio episcopo
35	Sine inscriptione pro Leontio		50	Innocentio episcopo
36	<i>id.</i> auxilii causa		70	Sine inscriptione . . .
37	<i>id.</i> causa illius etc.		77	Sine inscriptione . . .
39	Iulianus Basilio		78	<i>id.</i>
42	ad Chilonem discipulum		83	Censitori
43	admonitio ad iuniores		88	Sine inscriptione . . .
		20	93	ad Caesariam patriciam
			106	Militi

¹ Entre autres Seeck (*op. cit.*), Markowski (*Berliner philologische Wochenschrift* 1910, 1538), Dräseke *Apollinarios von Laodicea*.

² Nous négligeons ici le Vaticanus 434, manuscrit relativement récent.

107	Iulittae viduae	287	Sine inscriptione . . .
108	Tutori haeredum Iulittae	288	<i>id.</i>
109	Helladio Comiti	289	<i>id.</i>
117	Sine inscriptione . . .	60 296	viduae
142	Numerario praesidum	297	viduae
143	Alteri Numerario	298	Sine inscriptione . . .
144	Tractatori praesidum	303	Comiti privatarum . .
153	Victori exconsuli	305	Sine inscriptione . . .
155	Sine inscriptione . . .	306	Principali Sebastiae
30 166	Eusebio episcopo Samosatorum	308	Sine inscriptione . . .
167	<i>id.</i>	309	<i>id.</i>
169	Gregorio Basilus	310	<i>id.</i>
170	Glycerio	70 311	Principali
171	Gregorio	312	Censitori
175	Magneniano comiti	314	Sine inscriptione . . .
182	Presb. Samosatensibus	315	<i>id.</i>
188	Amphilochio de canonicibus	316	<i>id.</i>
190	Amphilochio episc. Iconii	317	<i>id.</i>
199	Amphilochio de canonicibus	318	Basilii carens titulo . . .
40 202	Amphilochio Iconii episc.	319	Similiter . . .
209	Sine inscriptione . . .	320	Sine inscriptione . . .
214	Terentio comiti	322	<i>id.</i>
215	Dorotheo presbytero	80 326	<i>id.</i>
217	Amphilochio de canonicibus	327	<i>id.</i>
218	Amphilochio Iconii episc.	331	<i>id.</i>
232	Amphilochio Iconii episc.	333	notario
248	Amphilochio Iconii episc.	356	Basilus Libanio
249	Sine inscriptione . . .	357	Libanius Basilio
270	<i>id.</i>	358	Libanius Basilio
50 273	<i>id.</i>	359	Basilus Libanio
274	Himerio magistro	360	ex epistola ad Iulianum apostatam
275	Sine inscriptione . . .	361	Apolinario
278	Valeriano	90 362	Basilio Apolinarius
283	ad viduam	363	Apolinario
285	Sine inscriptione . . .	364	Basilio Apolinarius
286	Commentariensi	365	Basilus magno imperatori Theodosio
		[366	Ad Urbicium monachum de continentia]

Dans cette liste il faut distinguer :

§ I. La série anépigraphe.

La série des lettres sans adresse ou ἀνεπίγραφαι, étudiée plus haut (vol. xxiii p. 114). Sont communs aux deux listes les numéros 11 35 36 37 47 70 77 78 88 93 107 108 117 155 166 167 209 215 249 270

**273 275 283 285 287 288 289 296 297 298 305 308 309 310 314 315
316 317 318 319 320 322 326 327 331.**

Il faut joindre à ce groupe, comme en faisant effectivement partie, les numéros suivants : **15 49 50 83 106 109 142 143 144 153 169 170 171 175 190 218 232 248 274 278 286 303 306 311 312 333.** En effet notre tableau X (vol. xxiii p. 114) n'était qu'un moyen empirique de faire saisir les analogies des manuscrits contenant les *ἀνεπίγραφοι*, pour cette partie de leur contenu, mais il ne prétendait pas délimiter la série. Or il s'agit maintenant de montrer un recueil se soudant à un autre déjà existant. Il faudrait déterminer avec précision où commençait le recueil. Revenons au tableau II (vol. xxii p. 301). Il nous fournira le moyen de trancher ce petit problème, en comparant dans ce tableau tout le supplément contenu dans l'Estensis (E) et le Marcianus 79 avec les numéros cités ci-dessus (pour ce supplément voir p. 303). Ce supplément nous dit qu'il faut faire précéder les *ἀνεπίγραφοι* du tableau X des numéros suivants : **218 232 248 190 62 106 49 50 175 22 (356) 169 171 170 15 274 286 142 143 (144) 311 109 303 306 278 208 333 312 83 (153) (321).** Il n'y a pas lieu de s'étonner que pour cette section les manuscrits contenant les *ἀνεπίγραφοι* ne concordent pas, car justement ces lettres ne sont pas *ἀνεπίγραφοι*, elles ont un destinataire connu, et comme telles sont susceptibles de classement. Aussi les manuscrits qui classent les lettres par correspondants les ont-ils en effet classées. Ab fait exception, et cette particularité nous avertit que la famille Ab avait constitué son ordre quand la série anépigraphie fut répandue : aussi avons-nous trois manuscrits Ab qui ne la connaissent pas, et deux seulement (un peu plus récents) qui la connaissent. On remarquera que les manuscrits les plus anciens de l'embranchement B (Vaticanus 2209 [R], Parisinus 1020 S) l'ignorent aussi. Que faut-il conclure de ces renseignements ? Que la famille Aa, la plus ancienne, ignore comme tel le recueil des *ἀνεπίγραφοι*, que ce recueil s'est constitué de façon mystérieuse et s'est inséré tardivement dans la tradition manuscrite.

En revanche on trouve dans le recueil des *ἀνεπίγραφοι* quelques numéros qui figurent dans Aa.

Ce sont les lettres suivantes : **62 208 330 115.** On remarque que la lettre **62** est reproduite deux fois dans l'Estensis (E : famille Ab). Ce menu fait est de conséquence. Nous avons montré que l'ordre Ab est un remaniement de l'ordre Aa, et qu'en outre l'Estensis E et le Marcianus 79 avaient incorporé le groupe anépigraphie d'après un recueil que Aa ne connaît pas primitivement. Or la lettre **62** figure une première fois dans les cinq manuscrits Ab (voir notre tableau II au numéro 105) et une seconde fois dans l'Estensis et le Marcianus 79 dans le groupe anépigraphie. Le fait n'a rien de surprenant si l'on songe que la famille Ab rencontrant la lettre **62** dans les

manuscripts Aa qui lui servent de base l'incorporent et la classent une première fois, puis si l'Estensis et le Marcianus 79 la rencontrant une seconde fois dans le recueil anépigraphe étranger à Aa la reproduisent de nouveau.

Nous avons là une preuve sensible qu'en dehors du Corpus Aa il a été formé un recueil indépendant contenant les lettres qui figurent dans un grand nombre de manuscrits relativement tardifs, en supplément au contenu Aa, recueil que nous appelons assez improprement 'anépigraphe' et qui doit retenir encore notre attention.

Quand et comment s'est formé le recueil des ἀνεπίγραφοι? Nous en sommes réduits aux hypothèses. Voici ce qui nous paraît le plus vraisemblable. Ce recueil n'a pu se former que tardivement, longtemps après la publication du Corpus Aa. S'il s'était constitué en même temps que le Corpus Aa, dans l'ignorance de ce Corpus, il aurait contenu avec lui un plus grand nombre de pièces communes, et il resterait des traces plus nombreuses de ces rencontres que la lettre 62. D'autant plus que le dit recueil contient beaucoup de pièces insignifiantes. Disons même que c'est la majorité. Pourquoi se serait-on attaché à celles-là de préférence? Ce recueil a dû être conçu comme un supplément au Corpus Aa, où l'on inséra scrupuleusement, nous dirions aujourd'hui, tous les fonds de tiroir, tout ce qui circulait en matière de lettres sous le nom de S. Basile, à cause de la célébrité et de la diffusion du recueil déjà publié. Il dut paraître comme supplément au volume (ou aux volumes) de lettres déjà publié. On complète de même encore aujourd'hui les publications de correspondances, à mesure qu'on découvre dans les collections privées ou publiques des lettres inédites d'épistoliers célèbres.

Il y a lieu de passer en revue les lettres du recueil des ἀνεπίγραφοι.

218 232 248 190, quatre lettres à Amphiloque, évêque d'Iconium; attestées par les manuscrits de l'embranchement B (à l'exception de Bx), elles manquent dans les manuscrits de l'embranchement A qui ne contiennent pas le recueil anépigraphe. Rien ne permet d'ailleurs d'en suspecter l'authenticité. Nous pouvons joindre à ce groupe les lettres 188 199 217, c'est-à-dire les trois lettres canoniques adressées à Amphiloque, dont l'absence dans les manuscrits Aa et dans quelques autres peut s'expliquer par le fait qu'elles étaient attestées à part, ayant leur tradition à part (le Nomocanon). La lettre 209, toujours à Amphiloque, figure également dans la plupart des manuscrits autres que Aa et ne paraît pas suspecte. Quant à 191, l'adresse donnée par les manuscrits est fautive. Elle n'a pu être adressée à Amphiloque; 'luce clarius est ad eum scriptam non fuisse'.¹ Elle manque dans Aa,² mais elle est reproduite dans la presque totalité des autres manuscrits avec la fautive

¹ Note des Mauristes.

² [A slip on M. Bessières' part: see table I, no. 212 in cod. Patmius.]

adresse à Amphiloque. Le reste de la correspondance de S. Basile à Amphiloque figure dans Aa et semble très solide au point de vue critique.

Outre les quatre lettres ci-dessus à Amphiloque le groupe des ἀνεπίγραφοι contient encore un certain nombre de lettres adressées à des destinataires plus ou moins connus. Ce sont 62 — Ecclesiae Parnassi consolatoria — sur laquelle nous sommes déjà expliqués ; elle figure dans le Corpus Aa : aucun doute sur son authenticité.

15. Arcadio comiti privatarum. Lettre de recommandation. Manque dans Aa, Bx, Bu, Bz. Le Marc. 79 et l'Estensis (Ab) la reproduisent dans la série anépigraphhe. Ce qui sera dit plus loin des lettres réellement anépigraphes s'applique d'avance à la lettre 15. Son authenticité n'a pas été suspectée.

47. Gregorio sodali (Nazianzeno). Cette lettre manque dans Aa, Ac, Bx, Bz. Les manuscrits Bo la donnent dans le groupe des anépigraphes (elle figure deux fois dans le Monacensis [M] sous les numéros ζ et τμδ : mais le Monacensis a eu le début mutilé et restauré). Les mss. Ab donnent cette lettre dans les dix premiers numéros. Il y a un ms. Aa qui la donne, c'est le Laurentianus LVII 7 (L), mais elle y figure parmi les lettres de S. Grégoire de Nazianze (ce ms contient aussi la correspondance de S. Grégoire de Nazianze, voir vol. xxi p. 23) au numéro κζ. La lettre 47 n'est pas de S. Basile ; d'après les Mauristes elle aurait pour auteur S. Grégoire de Nazianze, écrivant probablement à Eusèbe de Samosate au nom de son père, évêque de Nazianze.

49. Arcadio episcopo. Manque dans Aa, Bx ; ne figure dans la série anépigraphhe que dans les mss Estensis et Marc. 79 (Ab). Cette lettre est assez insignifiante en soi, elle ne porte aucun signe d'inauthenticité.

50. Innocentio episcopo. Mêmes observations que pour la précédente. Les mss les donnent à la suite. Elle est un peu plus intéressante que 49.

83. Censitori. Mêmes observations que pour 49 et 50, sauf qu'elle manque en plus dans Bu.

93. Ad Caesariam patriciam. Manque dans les mêmes mss que les précédentes. Assez intéressante au point de vue doctrinal. N'offre rien de suspect au point de vue de l'authenticité.

106. Militi. Manque dans Aa, Ac, Bx. N'est pas parmi les anépigraphes dans Bo. Ab la contient partiellement (Estensis, Marc. 79). N'est pas suspecte.

107. Iulittae viduae. 108. Tutori haeredum Iulittae. 109. Heladio comiti. Trois lettres se rapportant au même objet, savoir : la défense d'une veuve et de ses héritiers. Ces trois lettres manquent dans Aa et Ab (sauf dans les mss qui contiennent le recueil anépigraphhe) : Ac donne 107 seulement. Elles manquent également dans le Parisinus 1020 S (Bx) et dans le Vaticanus 2209 (Bu). Il n'y a pas de raison de critique interne qui nous les rende suspectes d'une manière spéciale.

142. Numerario praesidum. **143.** Alteri numerario. **144.** Tractatori praesidum. Groupe se rapportant à un même objet, exemption d'impôts demandée en faveur d'un hospice pour indigents (πτωχοτροφία). Manque dans le Parisinus 1020 S (Bx), mais figure dans Vaticanus 2209 (Bu) et dans tous les manuscrits qui donnent le recueil anépigraphe. En elles-mêmes ces trois lettres ne semblent pas suspectes. Ce qui les cautionne dans une certaine mesure, c'est leur présence dans Vaticanus 2209 qui a dû les connaître par une autre source que le recueil anépigraphe.

153. Victori exconsuli (ce Victor avait été consul en 369). Cette lettre manque dans Bx et Bu ; dans les autres manuscrits elle ne figure qu'au recueil anépigraphe. La critique n'a pas de prise sur ce billet insignifiant, où la seule note personnelle bien vague est celle des calomnies dont l'auteur est l'objet. Il est certain que les calomnies ne manquèrent pas à S. Basile.

166. Eusebio episcopo Samosatorum. Cette lettre doit être attribuée à S. Grégoire de Nazianze suivant les Mauristes. Elle est fortement rythmée, avec antithèses, anaphores, allitérations. Le mouvement en est oratoire. On ne peut imaginer un style plus dissemblable du style épistolaire de S. Basile. On la trouve dans le Coislin 237 (C), dans le Vaticanus 435, dans le Vaticanus 713, et dans le Marcianus 79 (familles Bo, Bz et Ab).

167. Eusebio episcopo Samosatorum. Doit être également restituée à S. Grégoire de Nazianze, ainsi que le font remarquer les Mauristes. On la trouve dans le Coislin 237 (C) et dans le Vaticanus 713 (tous les deux Bo), dans le Marcianus 79 (Ab), et dans le Mediceus iv 14 (F : Bo).

169. Gregorio Basilius. **170.** Glycerio. **171.** Gregorio. Trois lettres relatives au diacre Glycère qui s'était réfugié chez S. Grégoire à la suite d'une affaire assez scabreuse. Bien qu'on n'ait aucune raison pour dénier la paternité de ces trois lettres à S. Basile, il ne semble pas qu'elles aient figuré de bonne heure dans le Corpus basilien. Il paraît assez plausible qu'elles aient d'abord figuré dans le recueil des lettres de S. Grégoire, et qu'elles fussent extraites de là assez tard pour être incorporées dans la série anépigraphe de S. Basile.

175. Magneniano comiti. Attestée par l'embranchement B en dehors de la série anépigraphe, par Ab où elle se présente dans le groupe anépigraphe des mss Estensis et Marcianus 79, et par Ac ; elle manque dans Aa. Cette lettre ne paraît pas suspecte.

215. Dorotheo presbytero. Basile détourne Dorothée de partir pour Rome autrement que par mer, et lui annonce que son frère Grégoire de Nysse n'est pas qualifié pour assumer une ambassade auprès de l'évêque de Rome touchant les affaires ecclésiastiques d'Orient. La lettre figure dans Bo, Bz, et dans le Marcianus 79 (Ab) parmi la série anépigraphe. À ne considérer que les manuscrits qui l'attestent, cette

lettre serait entrée tard dans le Corpus de S. Basile. Néanmoins elle ne semble pas suspecte en soi. S. Basile s'y exprime avec une pointe de mauvaise humeur sur l'évêque de Rome. Ceci explique peut-être pourquoi elle aurait été écartée intentionnellement des recueils primitifs.

274. Himerio Magistro. Simple lettre de recommandation, qui ne doit pas d'ailleurs être séparée de la lettre **273**, bien que beaucoup de mss les séparent (probablement pour cette raison que **274** porte une adresse, tandis que **273** est sans adresse). Les mss qui donnent l'une donnent l'autre. Ce sont les mss Bo, Bz, Ac et Ab partiellement (les deux mss qui contiennent la série anépigraphé). Nous n'avons aucune raison de suspecter ces deux lettres.

278. Valeriano. Figure dans Bo, Bz ; manque dans Bx et Bu, Ac, Aa et partiellement dans Ab. Seuls le Marcianus 79 et l'Estensis la donnent dans la série anépigraphé, tandis que Bo et Bz lui assignent une autre place. La lettre peut avoir quelque intérêt géographique. À tout autre point de vue elle nous paraît insignifiante. Son authenticité n'a jamais été suspectée.

303. Comiti privatarum. **306.** Principali Sebastiae. Deux lettres que Ab (Estensis et Marcianus 79) donnent seuls dans la série anépigraphé ; attestées aussi par Bo, Bz ; manquant dans Bu, Bx, Aa, Ac. Ces deux lettres n'ont rien en soi qui les rende suspectes.

312. Censitori. Figure dans Bu, Bz, Ab (partiellement) ; manque dans Aa, Ac, Bu, Bx. Lettre de recommandation très courte. Ne donne pas de prise à la critique.

333. Notario. Attestée par Bo, Bz, partiellement par Ab et Ac ; manque dans Bx, Bu, une partie d'Ab et d'Ac, et dans Aa. C'est un billet insignifiant sur lequel il est malaisé de prononcer un jugement d'authenticité.

Nous croyons maintenant pouvoir réunir ensemble les lettres qui ne portent réellement aucune adresse. Elles portent les numéros suivants : **11 35 36 37 70 77 78 88 117 155 209 249 270 273 275 285 287 288 289 296 297 298 305 308 309 310 314 315 316 317 318 319 320 322 326 327 331**. Elles sont la majorité dans la série que nous étudions et que nous avons appelée pour cette raison 'série anépigraphé'. Nous avons examiné dans le groupe précédent les lettres de la série qui portent comme adresse un nom propre, ou une indication quelconque sur le rang social. Ces dernières sont réellement anépigraphes, car l'indication du rang social a été sûrement déduite du contenu de la lettre.

Les lettres anépigraphes qui figurent dans la liste ci-dessus ont en général un point commun. Elles figurent dans les mêmes manuscrits et manquent dans les mêmes. C'est pourquoi, malgré les différences de contenu ou d'intérêt, on peut les grouper toutes ensemble. Le plus

grand nombre sont des lettres de recommandation. Elles manquent dans les mss Aa et dans les mss qui n'ont pas la série que nous appelons 'anépigraphe'. Rien, semble-t-il, n'autorise à en contester l'authenticité.

La lettre 155 est adressée, selon les Mauristes, à Iunius Soranus (*Bas. vita* cap. xxix paragr. vii, vers la fin). Elle n'est donc pas réellement anépigraphe, mais les mss la donnent comme telle.

Passant en revue les lettres qui manquent dans les plus anciens représentants de la famille Aa (Baroccianus 121 [O], Laurentianus LVII 7 [L], Marcianus 61 [V], Patmius 57 [P]), nous avons épuisé la section dite anépigraphe.¹ Manquent encore dans Aa les lettres

8. τοῖς Καίσαρεῦσιν ἀπολογία περὶ τῆς ἀποχωρήσεως καὶ περὶ πίστεως. Cette pièce manque dans tous les mss de lettres sauf dans le Parisinus 1020 S. L'adresse τοῖς Καίσαρεῦσιν est incompatible avec la teneur de la pièce. Dans leur apparat critique les Mauristes citent un Regius qui ne peut être un ms de la correspondance. Évidemment cette pièce n'appartient pas à la tradition des lettres, et nous n'avons pas le moyen, du point de vue qui est le nôtre, d'approfondir la question de son authenticité.

39. Ne figure dans aucun de nos mss. C'est une lettre de Julien l'empereur à un certain Basile qui n'est pas le nôtre. Claude Morel l'inséra en 1618 dans son édition en l'extrayant, semble-t-il, d'une édition des œuvres de l'empereur Julien.

42. πρὸς Χίλωνα τὸν αὐτοῦ μαθητήν. Aucun ms. ancien de la correspondance ne contient cette pièce. Elle figure tout à fait à la fin du Parisinus 967 (daté de 1377). En revanche elle figure dans plusieurs manuscrits d'homélies. Noter la remarque reproduite par les Mauristes, qui se trouve en marge du Codex Regius 2895 (ancienne cote) τινὲς τὸν λόγον τοῦτον τοῦ ἁγίου Νεΐλου εἶναι λέγουσι. Dès lors que la lettre 42 appartient exclusivement à la tradition des manuscrits d'homélies, nous n'avons pas le moyen de nous prononcer sur son attribution.

43. νοθεσία πρὸς τοὺς νέους. Cette pièce n'est pas une lettre, et elle ne figure pas dans nos manuscrits de lettres. Dans l'Ordo Vetus (édition de Paris 1618) elle porte le numéro 2 et figure entre les lettres 42 (ad Chilonem) et 44 (ad monachum lapsus). Elle a été prise vraisemblablement dans des manuscrits d'homélies, et n'a, semble-t-il, aucun droit à figurer dans un recueil épistolaire.

44. πρὸς μοναχὸν ἐκπεσόντα. Même remarque que pour le numéro précédent. Les manuscrits de lettres, sauf la famille Ac, ne la connaissent pas. Cette lettre semble avoir été éditée pour la première fois,

¹ Il est à noter que toutes les lettres sans adresse ne sont pas contenues dans cette section. Aussi figurent-elles en général dans Aa et dans la presque totalité des mss un peu complets. Ce sont 87 (que les Mauristes supposent avoir été adressée à un certain Hélias, a qui est adressée la lettre 97) 101 213 282 300 307 330 et 332.

ainsi que la lettre 42 à Chilon, à Venise en 1535 (cf. vol. xxi p. 14), et insérée ensuite dans les éditions ultérieures de la correspondance de S. Basile. Quelques manuscrits d'homélies l'ont recueillie. Il s'en faut d'ailleurs qu'elle ait été reproduite aussi souvent que 45 et 46. Nous avons eu l'occasion d'examiner sommairement tous les manuscrits Parisini qui contiennent des lettres de S. Basile. Si nos souvenirs sont exacts, nous avons trouvé la lettre 44 seulement dans un très petit nombre, trois au plus. Elle figure notamment dans le 505 (ancien Mazarinus : Regius 1908) qui est du xii^e siècle, dans le 763 (ancien Colbertinus 3057) du x^e siècle ; les Bénédictins citent encore un Colbertinus 457, et Combefis plusieurs autres (?). Malgré ces autorités nous conservons des doutes sur l'attribution de cette lettre à S. Basile. Elle n'appartient pas à la tradition des manuscrits de lettres (les mss Ac l'ont prise sans doute dans un ms d'homélies), ni à la tradition générale des mss d'homélies qui donnent habituellement 45 et 46.

182. Figure dans tous les mss autres que Aa ; n'est suspecte à aucun titre.

214. Même remarque.

356 357 358 359. Suite de la correspondance avec Libanius. Nous reviendrons plus loin sur l'ensemble de cette correspondance.¹ Notons seulement que les quatre numéros ci-dessus manquent dans Aa. 356 figure dans un assez grand nombre de mss ; 357 paraît manquer dans tous ; 358 et 359 figurent dans le Parisinus 967 (xiv^e siècle) qui est un Ac. Garnier et Maran reproduisent 357 358 359 d'après Cotelier (*Monumenta Ecclesiae Graecae* t. ii, pp. 96 et 97).

360. Manque dans tous nos manuscrits. C'est un morceau certainement apocryphe, qui semble remonter aux querelles des Images.

361 362 363 364. Ces quatre pièces figurent au Parisinus 1020 S (famille Bx) et au Monacensis 497 (M : de seconde main). En dehors de là la tradition manuscrite fait défaut. D'après Cotelier, suivi en cela par Loofs, ces quatre pièces sont des faux, destinés à accréditer l'opinion d'un vif commerce épistolaire entre S. Basile et Apollinaire de Laodicée, en vue de compromettre S. Basile. Il faudrait les imputer aux disciples d'Eustathe de Sébaste ; cette opinion est des plus vraisemblables si l'on songe qu'Eustathe fit circuler un faux manifeste, une lettre prétendue d'Apollinaire à S. Basile d'orthodoxie très louche (cf. ep. 224) qu'il s'agissait d'accréditer. Cette lettre prétendue est précisément celle qui fut éditée à Rome par Léopold Sebastiani en 1776, d'après l'Angelicus 13, et que donnent certains mss. Bo, en particulier le Coislin 237 (C).² Toute cette affaire a été exposée par Loofs³ et nous n'avons pas à y revenir.

365. Figure dans les mss Parisinus 967, Vaticani 435, 713, 434 et

¹ Voir p. 349 ci-dessous.

² Voir vol. xxi p. 10 n. 1, p. 39.

³ *Eustathius von Sebaste und die Chronologie der Basiliusbriege* (1898), p. 74.

dans le Laurentianus iv 14 (F). Cotelier, qui édita le premier cette pièce (*Monumenta Ecclesiae Graecae* t. ii, p. 97), la tenait pour apocryphe (voir note col. 559). Tillemont (t. v, p. 789) inclinait à l'attribuer à S. Basile, tout en admettant qu'elle n'avait pu, et pour cause, être adressée à l'empereur Théodose. Garnier et Maran la rejettent avec raison comme apocryphe.

366. Éditée par Mai (*Bibliotheca nova Patrum* iii 450) et reproduite dans Migne (*Patr. Gr.* xxxii, col. 1109 et suiv.), figure au Parisinus 334 S, au Patmius 57 (P) de main récente, au Marcianus 54, mais non, croyons-nous, au Marcianus 61 (V), comme l'annonce Mai (cf. vol. xxi p. 18 n. 1 *supra*). Malgré l'autorité du cardinal Mai nous tenons la lettre **366** pour apocryphe. La phrase, qui commence par ces mots ἡσθιεν καὶ ἐπινευ (1112 B 15), nous la rend suspecte, indépendamment du fait que la tradition manuscrite un peu ancienne l'ignore.

§ II. Lettres suspectes.

Certaines lettres qui figurent dans Aa ont été suspectées. Il y a lieu de les examiner rapidement.

45 et **46.** Ad monachum lapsam, ad virginem lapsam. Les Mauristes assimilent leur cas à celui de **42** et **44** ; il n'est pourtant pas identique au leur.

(a) Elles ont pour elles la tradition quasi-unanime des mss de lettres (**46** manque dans le Parisinus 1020 S).

(b) Une tradition très solide de mss d'homélies.

(c) La lettre **46** a été traduite en latin par Rufin comme homélie.

(d) En ce qui concerne **46**, des analogies de style, d'expressions familières, des citations préférées, qu'on retrouve dans l'œuvre oratoire de S. Basile. Voici des exemples (nous citons les œuvres oratoires d'après l'édition Gaume et la lettre **46** d'après Migne) :

Migne *P. G.* xxxii col. 380 A 4

... καὶ ἐκπορεύονται οἱ τὰ ἀγαθὰ πράξαντες εἰς ἀνάστασιν ζωῆς, οἱ δὲ τὰ φαῦλα πράξαντες εἰς ἀνάστασιν κρίσεως. Ioan. v 29.

ibid. 380 D 1

ἐτοιμός ἐστιν ὁ μέγας τῶν ψυχῶν ἱατρός.

Gaume, t. ii p. 82 A 1 (éd. Bén. ii 58 D)

μνήσθητι τῆς ἐνδόξου τοῦ Χριστοῦ παρουσίας, ὅτε ἀναστήσονται οἱ μὲν τὰ ἀγαθὰ πράξαντες εἰς ἀνάστασιν ζωῆς, οἱ δὲ τὰ φαῦλα εἰς ἀνάστασιν κρίσεως. (*Homilia in divites.*)

t. ii p. 23 B 4-5 (éd. Bén. ii 17 B)

ἀληθινὸς τῶν ψυχῶν ἱατρός... (*Hom. in illud, Attende tibi ipsi.*)

t. ii p. 72 A 3-4 (éd. Bén. ii 52 A)
ὁ μέγας τῶν ψυχῶν ἱατρός... (*In divites.*)

ibid. 380 B 8-9

καὶ σκώληξ ἀθάνατα κολάζων.

t. ii p. 32 B 3 (éd. Bén. ii 23 B)

οὗτος γενήσκει τὸν ἰοβόλον σκώληκα
ἀθάνατα κολάζοντα ἡμᾶς. (*Hom.*
in illud Attende tibi ipsi.)

ibid. 372 A 10

ὁμόσε τῇ τόλμῃ χωρεῖς.

t. ii p. 118 D 4 (éd. Bén. ii 84 D)

κατὰ τῶν συνῶν τοὺς ὁμόσε χωροῦντας.
(*Hom. adversus iratos.*)

ibid. 369 C 5

Φινεὺς μὲν ὁ ζηλωτής.

t. ii p. 125 D (éd. Bén. ii 89 D)

Exemple tiré de la saine colère de
Phinée. (*Hom. adversus iratos.*)

t. i p. 294 C 5 (éd. Bén. i 208 C)

κατὰ τὸν ζηλωτὴν Φινεῖς. (*Adver-*
sus Eunomium.)

ibid. 378 A 4

καὶ γὰρ ἡ δέσποινα ἡ ἄσωτος αὐτὴ
τῷ καλῷ Ἰωσήφ ἐπεμάνη· ἀλλ' οὐκ
ἐνίκησε τὴν ἀρετὴν τοῦ σώφρονος
ἡ μανία τῆς ἀκολάστου.

t. i p. 147 B 5 (éd. Bén. i 104 B)

νεφροὶ δὲ ἡτάσθησαν Ἰωσήφ ὅτε, ἐπι-
μανείσης αὐτῷ τῆς ἀκολάστου δε-
σποίνης, τὸ σεμνὸν τῆς σωφροσύνης
τῆς ἀσχήμονος ἡδονῆς προετίμη-
σεν. (*Hom. in Psalmum vii.*)

ibid. 377 C

À partir de διάγραφόν μοι . . . la
description du jugement dernier.

t. i p. 209 B (éd. Bén. i 147 B)

ὅταν ἔλθῃ ὁ κύριος . . . οἱ γὰρ τὰ
φαῦλα πράξαντες εἰς ὀνειδισμόν
καὶ αἰσχύνην ἀναστήσονται. Des-
cription du jugement dernier.
(*In psalmum xxxiii.*)

ibid. 369 B 9 τὰ πεπυρωμένα τοῦ
πονηροῦ βέλη.

t. i p. 149 D 8 (éd. Bén. i 105 D)

τὰ πεπυρωμένα βέλη τοῦ διαβόλου.
(*In psalmum vii.*)

Le tissu du style dans la lettre 46 est de couleur biblique. Il est fait ou de citations ou de réminiscences involontaires. On peut en dire autant de la lettre 45. C'est pourquoi les citations bibliques tiennent tant de place dans les rapprochements ci-dessus. En somme les copistes qui rangeaient ces deux pièces parmi les homélies ne se trompaient pas. Le style de ces pièces ressemble plus à celui des homélies toutes nourries de la Bible qu'à celui des lettres proprement dites où S. Basile est davantage lui-même. La liste d'exemples ci-dessus est loin d'être complète.¹ Il n'est pas de locution un peu caractéristique dans ces deux lettres qui ne se retrouve dans les homélies.

Relativement à la lettre 45 nous avons noté dans l'*Hexaemeron* homil. vi (Gaume, t. i p. 97 C (éd. Bén. i 69) tout un tableau des effets de la

¹ [And further I have omitted some of the more obvious direct Biblical citations in M. Beasières' list. They add nothing to the cumulative weight of the parallels printed above.]

famine sur les corps qui ne le cède pas pour le réalisme à celui qu'on lit dans ladite lettre sur les effets du jeûne. Il y a beaucoup de traits analogues. Nous concluons de ce qui précède à l'authenticité de 45 et 46. Garnier et Maran ont tort de laisser planer un doute sur ces deux pièces, en disant que si 42 est de S. Nil il faut lui adjuger aussi 45 et 46, sous prétexte que le style de toutes ces pièces serait le même.

40. Iulianus Basilio.

41. Basilius ad haec Iuliano.

Ces deux lettres ont été de bonne heure tenues pour apocryphes. On lit dans le Laurentianus IV 14 (F) οὕτε τῷ ἡθει οὕτε τῷ χαρακτήρι οὕτε μὴν τῇ λέξει τῆς ἐρμηνείας δοκοῦσί μοι προσήκειν αἱ δύο αὐται ἐπιστολαὶ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν οἷς ἀνέκεινται. Les raisons historiques, qui suffiraient d'ailleurs à emporter toute hésitation sur la question d'authenticité de ces deux lettres, sont exposées par Maran (*Vita S. Basilii* ch. viii § v). Ces deux pièces sont manifestement des faux. Mais il est intéressant de voir comment elles se présentent dans la tradition manuscrite. Dans Bo et Bu elles occupent un bon rang ; elles sont dans les 20 premiers numéros du tableau V (vol. xxii p. 106) ; dans Bz (Vatic. 435) également (vol. xxiii p. 118). Ab les ignore complètement ; dans Aa elles figurent seulement au Parisinus 334 S (manuscrit du xvi^e siècle), au Marcianus 61 (vol. xxi p. 26), et peut-être ont-elles figuré anciennement au Baroccianus 121 (*ib.* p. 23, et cf. *ib.* p. 297). Les autres mss. Aa les ignorent. Que faut-il retenir de ces constatations ? Que les lettres 40 et 41 se sont introduites tardivement dans la tradition, nous dirions presque subrepticement, d'abord dans quelque ms. Aa. De là elles ont été en quelque sorte promues en dignité par les autres familles qui les ont connues, et incorporées parmi la correspondance authentique. Le nom de l'empereur Julien ne permettait pas qu'on leur donnât une place chétive à la fin des mss. Alors on les fit bénéficier d'un *Ascende superius*. Nous constaterons un processus analogue relativement aux pièces apocryphes de la correspondance de S. Basile avec Libanius.

16. N'a d'une lettre que le nom, et n'est pas de S. Basile. C'est un chapitre du x^e livre de S. Grégoire de Nysse contre Eunome (*P. G.* t. xlv, col. 828). Voir Fr. Diekamp *Theol. Quartalschrift* t. lxxvii, 1895, pp. 277-285. Comment cette pièce s'est-elle introduite dans les mss de lettres de S. Basile ?

Dans Aa elle figure vers la fin (n^o 258, tableau I vol. xxi p. 296). Si Aa s'est formé successivement par juxtaposition de recueils séparés, qui eux-mêmes ont été conçus comme suppléments successifs de ce qui était déjà publié de la correspondance, le n^o 16 nous induit à croire que la dernière section, dont il fait partie dans Aa, n'a pu être formée avant la mort de Grégoire de Nysse, tout à fait à la fin du iv^e siècle. C'est un *terminus a quo*. Mais nous croyons que l'annexion de cette section

au Corpus épistolaire de S. Basile a dû avoir lieu au plus tôt dans les premières décades du ^v^e siècle.

321. La lettre **321** nous amène à faire une observation analogue, par rapport à la partie du Corpus Aa où elle est insérée. Elle occupe le numéro 152 du tableau I (*ib.* p. 295). Or cette lettre, adressée à Thecla, n'est pas de S. Basile. On y reconnaît le style travaillé, un peu précieux et affecté, de S. Grégoire de Nazianze. Aussi Maran n'hésite pas sur son attribution; on sait d'ailleurs qu'il existe trois autres lettres de S. Grégoire de Nazianze à Thecla. Si nous pouvons admettre avec vraisemblance que S. Grégoire de Nazianze édita un choix de lettres de S. Basile qui pourrait avoir été formé des 100 premiers numéros de Aa, on ne saurait en tout cas étendre ledit florilège jusqu'au numéro 151. Car il n'est pas admissible que S. Grégoire ait mis la lettre **321** au compte de S. Basile. Dès lors nous croyons que la section de Aa qui comprend cette lettre a été publiée postérieurement à la mort de S. Grégoire (+ 389 ou 390).

§ III. La Correspondance avec Libanius.

Cette correspondance (**335-359** dans Garnier-Migne) a été incorporée par Wolf dans le recueil des lettres de Libanius¹ (1580-1604) d'après les manuscrits de la correspondance de Libanius. On a déjà beaucoup écrit pour ou contre l'authenticité de cette correspondance. Tillemont et Maran ont été les premiers champions des deux thèses adverses. La question a été reprise par Otto Seeck dans son ouvrage *Die Briefe des Libanius zeitlich geordnet* (Texte und Untersuchungen N. F. xv 2 p. 30) et ses conclusions ont été contestées (cf. Markowski *Berliner philologische Wochenschrift*, 1916, p. 1538).

Tillemont et Maran n'ont développé, en dehors des raisons historiques, que des arguments subjectifs dont nous ne méconnaissons pas la force, mais qui ont le tort d'être trop généralisés de part et d'autre. Seeck fait appel à la tradition manuscrite, mais il ne connaît que celle de Libanius. Encore est-il qu'il n'envisage que trois manuscrits, savoir : le Vaticanus 83, le Vaticanus 85, et le Vossianus 77 qui est à Leyde. Le recueil des 25 lettres ne figure en entier, de façon homogène, que dans le Vaticanus 83. Le Vossianus n'en contient que trois, savoir : **343 345** et **358** (nous les transposons ici dans la numérotation de Garnier pour éviter les confusions). Sur les trois l'une est d'adresse discutable (**343**); nous y reviendrons. D'après Seeck le Vossianus 77 et le Vaticanus 85 représentent l'état le plus archaïque mais aussi le plus incomplet de la tradition épistolaire de Libanius. On y distingue :

¹ *Libanii Sophistae Epistolae . . . edidit, latine conuertit et notis illustravit Ioannes Christophorus Wolfius.* Amstelaedami, M.D.CC.XXXVIII.

1^o Dix-sept lettres de différentes époques.

2^o Six livres dont l'ordre chronologique est à rétablir comme suit :
v, vi, iv, i, ii, iii.

3^o Un appendice à subdiviser 1-226 (530-759) et 227-498 (760-1030).

Les lettres du Vossianus à partir de 18 jusqu'à 1030 commencent en 355, qui est l'année où Libanius se fixa à Antioche, jusqu'à l'année 393, avec une forte lacune qui commence en l'an 363 et finit en 388. La lacune est à situer entre les deux sections de l'appendice, et se trouve comblée, pour les années 363-365, par le Vaticanus 83, plus complet, mais de forme plus récente que les deux autres mss.

Libanius lui-même aurait publié les six livres du Vossianus en 361 — et les lettres s'y suivraient, à peu d'exceptions près, dans l'ordre chronologique — et la première partie de l'appendice en 363. La deuxième partie de l'appendice aurait été publiée après sa mort. La source de toute la publication aurait été une collection de cahiers de brouillon, qui ont pu être aussi des cahiers-copies, où Libanius lui-même relevait le double de toutes les lettres envoyées dans leur suite chronologique.

Pour les 25 lettres que nous étudions, elles figurent en bloc dans le Vaticanus 83. Mais leur source ne saurait remonter aux cahiers de Libanius. Quelle est-elle? nous l'ignorons. Mais Seeck croit qu'elles circulaient en groupe à part comme nous les possédons aujourd'hui, dès le iv^e siècle. Nous opposerons à cette opinion une série de faits qui la détruisent. En réalité le recueil en question nous apparaîtra comme étant de formation récente.

On voit d'ici le défaut des généralisations prématurées de Seeck. Elles ne tiennent pas compte de la tradition basilienne ou plutôt elles l'ignorent. C'est la cause des objections qu'on lui a faites. En comparant les deux traditions nous dégagerons ce qu'il y a de juste dans les vues de Seeck, tout en échappant aux objections que ses conclusions ont soulevées. Voyons donc comment les choses se présentent dans notre tradition.

Nous constatons en premier lieu que le groupe des 25 lettres, tel qu'il se présente dans Garnier-Migne, ou dans Wolf, n'est complet dans aucun de nos manuscrits. 357 ne figure que dans le Parisinus 1020 S (Bx), 358 et 359 ne se trouvent que dans le Parisinus 967 (Ac) et encore elles y figurent au folio 16, séparées des autres, et ajoutées postérieurement. Or le ms 967 est de la fin du xiv^e siècle, et ces deux lettres font l'effet d'avoir été tirées d'ailleurs que de notre tradition.

En second lieu, et ceci est plus important, les 22 ou 23 lettres que donnent les représentants les plus autorisés de chaque famille n'apparaissent pas comme ayant formé à l'origine un petit corpus homogène et suivi dans le grand. Sauf dans Ab, Ac, et Bo, familles qui donnent

un ordre plus ou moins profondément remanié, les lettres en question forment deux ou trois petits groupes très dispersés. C'est le cas pour Bx, Bz, et surtout pour Aa. Comme cette famille est la plus ancienne, il importe de préciser comment s'y présente le groupe des 21 lettres (335-355). Elles s'y répartissent en trois places qui sont, en nous référant au tableau I (vol. xxi p. 294), 22-30, 105-107, 214-222. Cette constatation nous apprend que le petit Corpus S. Basile-Libanus n'est pas une unité formée dès l'origine de la tradition, mais qu'il s'est constitué dans la suite des temps et à la longue. Il est le terme d'un effort de classement. Les tronçons dispersés n'arrivent à se rejoindre que dans les familles les plus récentes. Sans doute les 25 lettres se suivent dans le Vaticanus 83 (Libanius). Mais peut-on dire que ce manuscrit reproduit ici un état ancien? Ce manuscrit donne un ordre fortement remanié qui n'est peut-être pas plus ancien que les archétypes de Ab, Ac, Bo.

D'après ces constatations, nous devons envisager les groupes séparément, d'après leur place dans la plus ancienne tradition.

358. La première en date des lettres du groupe que nous étudions serait **358**. A la vérité la tradition des lettres de S. Basile l'ignore ou à peu près, du moment qu'elle n'est donnée que par le Parisinus 967, manuscrit tardif. En revanche elle est la huitième du livre vi dans le Vossianus. Ce livre, d'après Markouski, rectifiant Seeck, commence avec l'hiver 356/7. La lettre **358** ne saurait donc être antérieure à cette date; on ne saurait, d'autre part, la reculer au delà des premiers mois de 357, étant donnée sa place dans le sixième livre. D'autre part la correspondance de S. Basile ne contient aucune lettre antérieure à 357. Elle s'inaugure par une lettre au philosophe Eustathe, au moment où S. Basile est retenu malade à Alexandrie. On ne saurait donc s'étonner que la lettre **358** n'y figure pas, pour peu qu'elle soit antérieure à cette date, ni rien inférer contre son authenticité du fait que notre tradition l'ignore. D'autres lettres de S. Basile, antérieures à 357, se trouvent perdues pour nous, notamment celle qu'il écrit d'Athènes à Apollinaire de Laodicée, alors que l'auteur et le destinataire étaient encore laïques (cf. ep. 224 paragr. 2): c'était, à la vérité, un simple billet, *ψιλὸν γράμμα φιλικὴν ἔχον προσηγορίαν*. Il nous serait précieux de connaître cette lettre, mais elle ne nous a pas été conservée. S. Basile ne songeait pas au public en écrivant ses lettres. Il ne collectionnait ni celles qu'il envoyait, ni celles qu'il recevait, du moins à l'origine, car plus tard on dut retrouver un certain nombre de brouillons ou de doubles, pour les lettres soignées et importantes, dans l'héritage de ses papiers.

S. Basile quitta Athènes en 355, passa par Constantinople, peut-être par Nicomédie, et rentra à Césarée, d'où il repartit pour visiter les moines

de Syrie, de Palestine et d'Égypte. C'est d'Alexandrie qu'il écrit à Eustathe en 357. Dans l'intervalle deux ans se sont écoulés. S. Basile ne fait aucune allusion, dans sa lettre à Eustathe, à un séjour quelconque à Nicomédie. Or, d'après la lettre 358, Alcimus, professeur de rhétorique à Nicomédie, a cédé à S. Basile la direction de son école pour entreprendre un voyage à Rome. S. Basile aurait donc suppléé Alcimus à Nicomédie pendant plusieurs mois dans le courant de 356. La chose est possible en soi, mais nous aimerions à avoir là-dessus quelque témoignage en dehors de ep. 358.

La lettre débute ainsi : *Ω χρόνων ἐκείνων, ἐν οἷς τὰ πάντα ἡμεν ἀλλήλοις. À quelle époque se serait nouée cette amitié intime entre Libanius et S. Basile ? Vraisemblablement dans les années 347 ou 348. Seulement il y a une difficulté. De 346 à 351 Libanius enseigne à Nicomédie. Or, S. Grégoire de Nazianze nous apprend (dans son oraison funèbre de S. Basile) que S. Basile étudia à Constantinople avant d'aller à Athènes, mais il ne parle pas d'un stage à Nicomédie. Socrate (iv 26. 6) et Sozomène (vi 17. 1) font bien de S. Basile un disciple de Libanius, mais, d'après eux, S. Basile aurait suivi les cours de Libanius à Antioche. À supposer que le fait matériel soit vrai, la circonstance de lieu est fautive. S. Basile ne peut avoir entendu Libanius qu'à Nicomédie. De fait, S. Basile peut avoir étudié successivement à Nicomédie et à Constantinople, bien que S. Grégoire ne parle que de Constantinople. La distance des deux villes n'est pas telle, d'ailleurs, que S. Basile n'ait pu, de Constantinople, venir fréquenter les leçons de Libanius à Nicomédie par intermittence. Le début de la lettre 358 peut paraître hyperbolique, mais de telles exagérations ne sont pas rares dans le langage des rhéteurs. Quoi qu'il en soit, la lettre 358 est cautionnée par le Vossianus. Elle cadre avec les possibilités historiques. Sa date explique le silence de notre tradition. Elle pourrait être parmi les lettres authentiques.

335-343. Nos manuscrits Aa donnent, avons-nous dit, 21 pièces de la correspondance avec Libanius en trois places différentes. Le premier groupe, composé de 335 336 337 338 339 340 341 342 343, va, dans Aa, de 22 à 30 (vol. xxi p. 294). Il y a chance que ces neuf pièces aient fait partie du premier recueil épistolaire qui fut édité. Si, selon notre conjecture, l'éditeur de ce premier recueil fut S. Grégoire de Nazianze, on pourra conclure que l'ami de S. Basile considéra ces neuf pièces comme authentiques. Toujours est-il que la plus ancienne tradition qui nous soit accessible a fait à ces neuf pièces une place d'honneur. Si donc l'argument traditionnel a quelque force, il doit constituer en faveur des neuf lettres en question une forte présomption d'authenticité. Supposons le cas où ces neuf lettres seraient les seules, du recueil à examiner, que les manuscrits nous eussent transmises, leur

authenticité n'aurait jamais été mise en doute. Mais il y a la suite, qui, à la vérité, se présente beaucoup moins bien dans la tradition, et parce que cette suite n'offre que trop de prise à la critique on a suspecté tout le groupe en bloc. Pourtant les raisons de douter ne concernent véritablement que les dernières pièces insérées tardivement dans nos manuscrits Aa.

343. Sur les neuf lettres énumérées ci-dessus, il y en a une qui figure dans le Vossianus, c'est la lettre **343**, mais avec une adresse différente, quelques variantes de texte qu'il n'y a pas lieu d'examiner ici, et toute une phrase finale qui manque dans le texte de nos manuscrits.¹ Voilà une lettre qui embarrasse la critique. Son adresse est, dans le Vossianus, *Ἰουλιανῷ αὐτοκράτορι*. Supposons que dans quelque ms ancien de forme et de contenu identique au Vossianus on ait pu lire la variante *βασιλεῖ* au lieu de *αὐτοκράτορι*, on pourrait expliquer l'erreur des copistes qui auraient estimé que la lettre en question devait être adressée à S. Basile, et qu'il y avait lieu de corriger *βασιλεῖ* en *βασιλείῳ*. Foerster estime que là est la source de l'erreur s'il y a eu erreur. L'explication serait ingénieuse, pourtant elle comporte des objections. En premier lieu on ne voit pas comment un copiste aurait pu supposer dans un manuscrit que *βασιλεῖ* aurait été substitué à *βασιλείῳ* par erreur de lecture. Ce n'était pas l'usage d'abrégier ainsi les noms propres, dont la physionomie est surtout sauvegardée par les désinences. Mais après tout il y a là possibilité de confusion paléographique. Une autre objection beaucoup plus grave est que les mss Aa ne semblent pas dépendre des mss qui nous ont transmis la correspondance de Libanius. En ce qui concerne la correspondance réciproque de nos deux auteurs, les mss Aa sont plus riches que les congénères de Vossianus n'ont dû l'être, et nous ne croyons pas qu'il y ait eu, antérieurement à l'archétype de Aa, un petit Corpus constitué et homogène contenant ladite correspondance. Il faut en revenir à l'explication de Seeck. La même lettre a été envoyée à Basile et à Julien. Voilà pourquoi elle figure et dans le Vossianus et dans nos mss Aa. Les variantes et la phrase finale sont le texte édité par Libanius lui-même, qui ne jugea pas à propos d'éditer sa lettre en deux places, parce qu'il en avait envoyé le texte à deux destinataires différents. Il ne voulait pas avoir l'air de se répéter, voilà pourquoi nous ne trouvons, dans les mss qui reproduisent son édition princeps, que la lettre à Julien. Les mss de S. Basile nous ont conservé l'autre, amputée de la dernière phrase par Libanius lui-même dans

¹ En voici la teneur dans le Vossianus : *Εἰ ταῦτα γλώττης ἀργότερας, τίς ἂν εἴης αὐτὴν ἀκονῶν ; ἀλλὰ σοῦ μὲν ἐν τῷ στόματι λόγον οἰκοῦσι, πηγαὶ κρείττους ἢ δεῖσθαι ἐπιρροῆς· ἡμαῖς δ' ἦν μὴ καθ' ἡμέραν ἀρδόμεθα, λείπεται σιγῆν. [Τὸν λόγον δὲ ζητεῖς μὲν ἔρημον βοηθοῦ λαβεῖν· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο σοι Πρίσκοις ὁ καλὸς μέλλει· δέχου δὲ ὅμως πάντας ὅτι ἂν γνῶς στέρξομεν.]*

l'exemplaire envoyé à S. Basile. La lettre 343 ne figure pas dans les six livres du Vossianus, mais dans l'appendice au numéro 147. Or la première partie de cet appendice contient, avons-nous dit, les lettres écrites par Libanius dans les années 361-363. Elle serait elle-même de l'année 362, du moins dans la forme où elle fut adressée à Julien. De quand faut-il dater l'exemplaire adressé à S. Basile? Seeck est d'avis qu'il doit être postérieur à l'autre. C'est une simple conjecture sans base ni preuve. Mais on peut admettre avec vraisemblance qu'ils sont à dater de la même époque approximativement.

344. Toujours est-il que cette pièce 343 est une réponse, un accusé de réception élogieux d'une lettre ou d'un discours. Seeck suppose que 343 n'est, en ce qui concerne S. Basile, qu'une réponse à la lettre 344. Il faut reconnaître qu'il n'y a pas dans toute la collection de lettre à laquelle la réponse de Libanius puisse mieux s'appliquer, bien que la lettre 344 ne justifie pas la tournure hyperbolique de la réponse. En soi 344 est un morceau assez banal. S. Basile s'excuse sur sa maladresse et sur un certain respect humain de ce qu'il n'écrit pas à Libanius de façon assidue. Au contraire le silence de Libanius ne peut se justifier, car un sophiste a pour métier de parler et d'écrire. Pourtant s'il existe un rapport entre 343 et 344, il faut bien avouer que nos manuscrits les plus anciens n'en témoignent pas. Dans Aa, 343 est au numéro 30 et 344 au numéro 105 (vol. xxi p. 294). C'est-à-dire que les deux lettres en question n'y figurent pas dans le même groupe, et n'ont peut-être pas été éditées en même temps. Dans Bx elles se suivent il est vrai, ainsi que dans Bu et dans Ab. Mais elles ont été mécaniquement rapprochées dans ces mss en sorte que l'état le plus ancien nous est fourni seulement par Aa. En somme le rapport entre 343 et 344 n'est pas absolument hors de doute.

345. Le Vossianus contient encore la lettre 345. C'est la 41^e du livre iv. D'après Seeck elle serait à dater de l'été 358. Libanius reproche à S. Basile de n'avoir pas voulu l'introduire *εις τὸ βᾶθος τῆς Ὀμήρου μανίας*. Maran estime que cette lettre nous présente S. Basile comme le condisciple de Libanius, et l'observation se tourne en objection contre l'authenticité des 25 lettres. Nous ne croyons pas cette objection invincible. Libanius et S. Basile se sont entretenus sur un passage d'Homère, chez un certain Strategius.¹ Et de fait, Libanius et S. Basile peuvent s'être rencontrés à Antioche chez Strategius, lors du voyage où S. Basile visita la Syrie, la Coelé Syrie, la Palestine, l'Égypte. Il n'était déjà plus étudiant à ce moment-là. La présence de Strategius à Antioche nous est attestée pour 358. Mais il pouvait être dans cette ville déjà en 357. (Sur Strategius, cf. Seeck, p. 282.)

¹ *Ἐν στρατηγίῳ* d'après deux mss leçon de l'editio Parisiensis (*στρατηγείῳ*) adoptée par Garnier, *ἐν στρατηγίου* Coisl. 237 (C), Laur. iv 14 (F), Parisinus 506 (N), etc. et édition de Bâle.

Nous en avons fini avec les trois lettres attestées par le Vossianus. Comme nous sommes en présence de deux traditions qui s'ignorent à l'origine, il y avait lieu d'insister sur les pièces qu'elles ont de commun. A la vérité **358** manque dans la tradition des lettres de S. Basile, mais il n'y a rien à inférer de cette lacune puisque la lettre **358** est de la fin de l'année 356, par conséquent antérieure aux plus anciennes lettres de S. Basile qui nous aient été conservées. Les deux autres pouvant, elles aussi, être datées approximativement, l'une (**345**) de l'année 358 et l'autre (**343**) de l'année 362, nous recueillions des données chronologiques intéressantes pour expliquer le silence du Vossianus relativement aux autres lettres que nous considérons comme authentiques.

Entre les années 363 et 388, avons-nous dit, se place une énorme lacune dans la correspondance de Libanius, telle qu'elle se présente dans le Vossianus. Cette lacune est comblée, pour les années 364 et 365, par le Vaticanus 83. Seulement, comme le Vat. 83 a groupé ensemble les lettres réciproques de Libanius et de S. Basile, il ne nous offre pas, dans leur suite chronologique et à leur place dans l'ensemble épistolaire de Libanius, les lettres en question. Au surplus, entre 363 et 365 aucune d'entre elles ne saurait trouver place, car elles sont toutes postérieures à l'année 365 et antérieures à l'année 370. Ne cherchons donc plus de concordance entre la tradition épistolaire de Libanius et celle de Basile, et interrogeons exclusivement cette dernière. Entre les années 365 et 370 il faut donc placer les lettres **335 336 337 338 339 340 341 342**. Nous avons déjà attiré l'attention sur la place qu'elles occupent dans Aa. Cette place est telle qu'elles ont fait certainement partie du plus ancien recueil épistolaire de S. Basile que nous puissions atteindre. Ajoutons qu'aucune objection formulée contre l'ensemble des 25 lettres n'affecte réellement celles-là. Seulement on a pris l'habitude de juger les 25 lettres en bloc; par là le discrédit des autres a atteint celles-là, comme si leur position était la même dans la tradition. Il faut revenir de cette idée préconçue, et envisager les numéros ci-dessus à part des autres, en oubliant les autres, notamment ceux dont nous n'avons pas encore parlé.

Maran allègue une raison assez spécieuse en déclarant que trois lettres prétendent à l'honneur d'ouvrir toute cette correspondance. On lit en effet, dans la vie de S. Basile (ch. xxxix paragr. III 20): *'Tres epistolae ita secum pugnans, ut nulla sit ex tribus, quae non prima omnium scripta videatur. Hunc sibi locum vendicat epistola 345, quam sic incipit Libanius: "Magis arbitrari mihi opus esse excusatione, quod non olim ad te scribere incoeperim, quam nunc recusatione quod scribere incipiam."* Tunc primum ergo scribebat Libanius, et prior

scribebat Basilio. Sed quomodo id conciliabimus cum epistola 358, in qua Basilius laudatur, quod scribendi inceptor fuerit? Eo aequius videtur, ut haec epistola 358 primum sortiatur locum, quod paulo post Basilius reditum in Cappadociam scripta est, cum Alcimus Romam proficiscens curam instituendorum puerorum ei imposuisset. Sed prima sede utramque epistolam ecce alia pellere nititur. Nam cum adolescens Cappadox ad Libanium venisset cum litteris Basilius conquirerentis, quod sui Libanium cepisset oblivio . . . Libanius non scriptas a se epistolas commemorat, etc. . . . Non immerito ergo haec Libanii epistola omnium prima ad Basilium scripta videatur.' Seeck a répondu à cette difficulté. La lettre 358 fut écrite à la fin de 356, la lettre 345 dans l'été de 358. Dans l'intervalle on ne peut placer aucune lettre de la correspondance entre Libanius et S. Basile. Quand une correspondance a subi deux années d'interruption, la reprise a évidemment le caractère d'un commencement de correspondance. Encore moins y a-t-il matière à doute du fait que Libanius ne répond pas au reproche qu'on l'a oublié (dans la lettre 336) en se référant à ses lettres antérieures de plusieurs années. Car la dernière en date des lettres de Libanius à S. Basile antérieures à la lettre 336 remonte à l'année 362 (c'est la lettre 343). Or la lettre 336 est postérieure à l'année 365. La correspondance dans l'intervalle de ces deux lettres a été interrompue par un silence d'au moins trois ans. L'examen des dates ne laisse rien subsister de l'objection de Maran.

336. La lettre 336 mentionne deux personnages qui nous sont connus par ailleurs, Celse et Firminus. Le premier, d'après cette lettre, avait accompagné S. Basile à Athènes. Or nous savons que Julien, qui passa à Athènes l'année 355, y fut en rapports avec Celse (Ammien xxii 9. 13). Quant à Firminus la lettre 336 nous apprend qu'il souhaite voir arriver son mariage. Nous savons par ailleurs qu'il est Cappadocien (cf. Libanius, ep. 435 de l'appendice aux six livres = Wolf 968). Il vivait encore en 404 (cf. Jean Chrysost. ep. 80, Migne *P. G.* 52, p. 651), par où l'on peut voir que vers 365 son âge justifie l'expression de Libanius, *ἐν ἔστιν ἐν τοῖς τῶν γάμων πόθοις* (ou *πότος* suivant le Parisinus 1020 S = Harlaeanus).

338. Dans la lettre 338 ad Basilium Libanius fait mention d'un certain Alypius, neveu de Hiéroclès. Nous savons par ailleurs (Libanius, epp. 327 et 1054, Ammien xxix 1. 44) que cet Alypius avait un fils nommé aussi Hiéroclès. Souvent les noms ont dû se transmettre d'oncle ou de grand-oncle à neveu. Nous en avons ici une preuve, bien que nous n'ayons aucun autre témoignage attestant qu'Alypius avait aussi un oncle du nom d'Hiéroclès. Cet Alypius fut, sous Julien, Vicarius Britanniarum (Ammien xxii 1. 2 ; xxix 1. 44). Sur ce personnage cf. Seeck, p. 56.

337 339 340. L'authenticité de la lettre **338** cautionne celle de **337**, de **339** et de **340**. Car chacune de ces lettres se rattache à la même série.

Ainsi les lettres qui comportent la contre-épreuve de l'histoire se révèlent d'accord avec les faits que nous connaissons par ailleurs. Pour toute cette partie nous nous sommes bornés à reproduire les renseignements fournis par Seeck, qui conclut un peu hâtivement à l'authenticité de l'ensemble des 25 lettres, à la suite des confirmations historiques développées ci-dessus.

Les lettres **335 336 337 338 339 340 341 342 343 345 358** nous apparaissent comme authentiques :

- 1° par leur place dans le Corpus Aa ou dans le Vossianus,
- 2° par suite de la contre-épreuve historique qu'on peut faire de quelques-unes d'entre elles.

344-346. Il est vrai que **345** ne figure pas dans Aa parmi les numéros précédents. Elle y est au milieu d'un autre groupe, entre **344** et **346** postérieurement au numéro 100 de Aa (n° 105-107, vol. xxi p. 295). Mais elle est garantie par deux traditions indépendantes. Nous avons vu par ailleurs que **344** peut se rattacher à **343**. Pour **346** nous n'avons d'autre garantie que sa place dans Aa, à la suite de **345**. Elle voisine avec une lettre authentique, et son contenu n'a rien de choquant. Sans doute, à ne considérer que la tradition Aa, la place de **344 345** et **346** est moins bonne que celle des numéros précédents. Il n'est pas sûr, il n'est même pas probable, qu'elles aient fait partie du premier recueil de S. Grégoire de Nazianze, sans quoi elles suivraient les autres immédiatement. Mais, bien qu'inférieures en qualité aux premières lettres du recueil, elles échappent en somme aux objections formulées contre celles qui nous restent à examiner.

Résumant donc les résultats obtenus jusqu'ici, nous présentons comme authentiques les lettres suivantes :

358, datant de l'année 356.

345 „ „ 358.

343 et **344** „ 362.

336 337 338 339 340 341 342 346 — postérieures à l'année 365 et antérieures à 370.

Toute la correspondance entre S. Basile et Libanius qui nous apparaît comme authentique est antérieure à l'épiscopat de S. Basile.

Il faut considérer à part les lettres **347 348 349 350 351 352 353 354 355** et **356**.

Le Corpus A des lettres de Libanius les ignore. Elles figurent dans le Corpus B, dans un groupe à part dont la source ne saurait remonter aux cahiers-copies de Libanius. C'est dire que dans le

Corpus B elles n'offrent pas les mêmes garanties d'authenticité que les autres lettres de la correspondance de Libanius.

Quant à la tradition des lettres de S. Basile, elle nous met en défiance relativement aux numéros en question. En effet ils forment dans le Corpus Aa un groupe à part dont la place indique qu'elles ont été annexées tardivement à la tradition. (Ordre combiné du tableau I 214-222, vol. xxi p. 296.) Leur place dans Aa nous avertit qu'il faut y regarder de près.

Or ces numéros sont les plus louches aux yeux de Maran. 'Nihil habent hae litterae, si unum aut alterum locum excipias [ces exceptions visent certainement les lettres que nous tenons pour authentiques], quod magnum Basilii ingenium redoleat, nihil quod Libanii fama non longe minus sit': et il cite des exemples excellents tirés des lettres **350 353 354** (*Vita S. Basilii* chap. xxxix paragr. III 1°). Cè jugement, trop sévère pour l'ensemble de la correspondance S. Basile-Libanius, nous semble définitif si on en restreint la portée aux numéros qui nous apparaissent comme apocryphes. Ces lettres ne peuvent s'insérer dans l'histoire, car on n'y trouve aucun nom, aucun fait. C'est pourquoi on en est réduit aux jugements du goût. Mais l'indigence de ces billets décèle le faussaire, le 'gendelettre' prétentieux et plat, en opposition manifeste avec ce que nous connaissons du caractère de S. Basile et du talent de Libanius. Cette partie de la correspondance réciproque de nos auteurs sue l'in vraisemblance la plus criante.

357 359. Pour **357** et **359** nous serions un peu moins sévères. Mais ces deux lettres manquent dans nos manuscrits, et rien par ailleurs n'en cautionne l'authenticité. C'est pourquoi nous les regardons comme apocryphes, ou, du moins, comme très douteuses.

M. BESSIÈRES.

[*An obituary notice of the author of the dissertation La Tradition manuscrite de la Correspondance de S. Basile was contributed by the abbé J. Auzuech to the Revue Religieuse of the diocese of Rodez (Aveyron), April 5, 1918, and is with some omissions reprinted here.*]

M. l'abbé Marius Bessières, professeur à l'École Sainte-Croix (Paris).

MARIUS BESSIÈRES était né au mois de juillet 1874, à Saint-Agnan, dans une de ces bonnes et chrétiennes familles qui, grâce à Dieu, sont encore nombreuses sur la montagne de Lavaysse. Son frère aîné est prêtre, et il était le neveu du chanoine Routaboul, ancien professeur au petit séminaire de Saint-Pierre, que la maladie arracha prématurément à sa chaire d'histoire, au grand regret de ses élèves qui appréciaient son zèle, ses leçons aussi agréables que savantes et lui gardent tous un souvenir reconnaissant.

Le petit Marius paraît avoir subi surtout l'influence de sa mère. Son intelligence précoce le fit remarquer de bonne heure, et à l'âge de douze ans il entra au collège de Saint-Geniez. Le collège était alors très florissant sous l'habile direction de M. le chanoine Batut, ami de M. l'abbé Routaboul. Il resta peu de temps dans cet établissement et alla continuer ses études secondaires à Saint-Pierre. Le petit séminaire était, à cette époque, dans tout l'éclat qu'avait su lui donner Mgr Bourret,¹ par son installation matérielle et le choix de ses maîtres.

Le jeune Bessières occupa un des meilleurs rangs dans sa classe, et, à la fin de la rhétorique, obtint le diplôme de bachelier. Au mois d'octobre, il entra au grand Séminaire avec un grand nombre de ses condisciples, mais bientôt son état de santé lui imposa le repos et le ramena dans sa famille. Il avait subi avec succès les épreuves de la 2^e partie du baccalauréat. Vint le service militaire et le séjour redoutable de la caserne. Dès qu'il est libéré il reprend la soutane chassée par la tunique, et se rend à Angers pour continuer, à la *Faculté catholique*, ses études interrompues et prépare en même temps ses examens de licence-ès-lettres. Peu après, son diplôme obtenu, nous le trouvons à Tours où il a été attiré par son oncle, chanoine de la cathédrale et aumônier d'un couvent de religieuses.² Il est nommé professeur de seconde au petit séminaire de cette ville et bientôt ordonné prêtre par Mgr Meignou.

A ce moment, l'Allemagne, par sa littérature, sa philosophie, sa critique, ses nombreuses écoles, exerçait sur beaucoup d'esprits en France une influence extraordinaire que plusieurs, aujourd'hui surtout, trouvent peu raisonnée et traitent de *snobisme*. Un professeur surtout, pour être vraiment qualifié, devait connaître la langue et les méthodes

¹ [Mgr E. Bourret, cardinal bishop of Rodez.]

² Après avoir fait l'éducation de plusieurs enfants de la famille de Castelnau, M. l'abbé Routaboul fut nommé chanoine de la cathédrale de Tours. Au bout de quelques années, il quitte cette ville pour se laisser attacher à la chapelle expiatoire de Neuilly dont le service religieux est assuré par la famille d'Orléans et c'est là qu'il est à l'heure actuelle. [Since that time M. Routaboul too has died.]

allemandes. Tous les ans, des légions de maîtres français passaient le Rhin pour se soumettre, durant quelques mois au moins, à la Kultur, et des correspondances suivies s'établissaient entre les élèves des établissements des deux pays. L'abbé Bessières n'échappa pas à l'influence de la mode et se rendit en Allemagne. Il y passa deux ans, visita diverses grandes villes et suivit les leçons de plusieurs universités. A son retour, il entra dans une famille, à Paris, pour l'éducation d'un enfant. Mais ce ministère ne lui suffit pas ; il devient bientôt professeur à l'*École ecclésiastique Ste-Croix*. Toujours travaillé par le goût de l'étude et le désir de la science, il met à profit les loisirs que lui laisse sa classe et le temps des vacances pour préparer les thèses du doctorat. Sur le conseil d'un professeur de la Sorbonne, il choisit pour sujet : *Saint Basile*. Dès lors, il est tout à ce travail : étude des œuvres du grand Docteur, recherche des documents (médaillies, épigraphes, etc.), visite des lieux où il a laissé quelque trace de son passage, écrits déjà publiés sur le sujet. Livres, brochures, simples mentions, il veut tout connaître et ne recule devant aucune fatigue. Il va en Angleterre, en Italie, revient en Allemagne. Le conseil municipal de Paris lui confia une mission et il se rend en Turquie. Au bout de quatre ans, tous les éléments de la thèse sont ramassés et l'œuvre rédigée. Il ne manquait plus que la soutenance publique qui certainement aurait été une belle fête littéraire toute à l'honneur des études religieuses et un triomphe pour le lauréat. Nous savons que le travail de l'abbé Bessières a reçu l'approbation des maîtres les plus autorisés et valu à son auteur les plus flatteuses félicitations, et il est vivement à désirer qu'il soit publié. Ce serait un bel hommage déposé sur sa tombe. Aussi bien n'arrive-t-il pas souvent, durant la cruelle guerre qui désole le monde, qu'on décore les soldats glorieusement tombés au champ d'honneur ?

Depuis quelques années, la santé de l'abbé Bessières laissait à désirer. Les médecins avaient reconnu un mal implacable dont les soins les plus éclairés et les plus dévoués ne parvenaient pas à enrayer la marche. Il venait tous les ans passer ses vacances à Saint-Agnan. La société agréable de M. l'abbé Deltour, curé de la paroisse, le repos et l'air natal lui faisaient du bien. Nous l'avons vu au mois de septembre dernier, sur la terrasse de sa maison, auprès d'une sœur dévouée. Il avait moins de courage que d'habitude, et son air triste nous frappa. Il promenait un regard vague sur la vallée, sur les coteaux si connus et si aimés, comme s'il avait voulu leur dire un dernier adieu, et il nous semblait l'entendre murmurer les vers du poète :

Fatal oracle d'Épidaure,
Tu m'as dit : les feuilles des bois
À tes yeux jauniront encore,
Mais c'est pour la dernière fois !

Nous lui parlions de sa thèse et des éloges qu'elle lui vaudrait bientôt, mais il ne paraissait pas nous entendre. Un sourire mélancolique sur les lèvres et l'œil distrait et comme fixé loin des objets présents, sur l'avenir, il semblait nous dire que, pour lui, le moment était venu de penser à cueillir d'autres palmes que des lauriers littéraires et des éloges académiques.

Au mois d'octobre, il rentre à Paris. Aussitôt il ne pense plus aux soins que réclame sa santé et reprend sa vie de travail : classe de Sainte-Croix, service d'une chapelle de religieuses, conférences, leçons particulières dans sa maison où depuis quelque temps il a ouvert une petite école. C'était vraiment trop et il devait être victime d'un pareil surmenage.

C'est en allant donner une conférence qu'il est pris d'une crise subite et violente de son mal. Une personne charitable le ramène à son domicile où on ne parvient pas à conjurer l'attaque. Il succombe bientôt auprès de son oncle bien-aimé, après avoir reçu de lui la dernière bénédiction. Ce travailleur infatigable était passé presque sans transition de la vie la plus active au grand repos de l'éternité. Et ceux qui l'avaient aimé n'avaient plus qu'une consolation : l'accompagner par leurs prières et leurs suffrages aux pieds du Souverain Juge.

J. AUZUECH.

THE OLD ROMAN CREED.

THE Baptismal Creed of Rome is first found in a complete form and definitely assigned to Rome in Rufinus of Aquileia c. 400. Rufinus writes a commentary on the creed of his own church and notes carefully all its variations from that in use in the Church of Rome. Within a short period on either side of this date we find similar types of creed in Italy, Gaul, and Spain. Bearing in mind the natural intercourse between neighbouring dioceses and the supreme see of the West, we are justified in saying that none of these is independent of the creed of Rome, and St Ambrose in giving the creed of his own diocese says 'Hoc autem est symbolum quod Romana ecclesia tenet', and in a letter to Pope Siricius writes 'Credatur symbolo Apostolorum, quod ecclesia Romana intemeratum custodit et servat'. He is, moreover, acquainted with the creed of Aquileia, and adds that it was a mistake to insert in it the words 'invisibilis et impassibilis' because they give a handle to Arians. As St Ambrose presided over a Council at Aquileia which deposed the Arian bishops Palladius and Secundianus, we see how natural such a reference would be. Nevertheless the creed of Ambrose has verbal variations from the creed of Rome as given by Rufinus; so his language must not be unduly pressed.

Rufinus.

1. Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem;
2. Et in Christum Iesum, unicum Filium Eius, Dominum nostrum,
3. Qui natus est de Spiritu Sancto ex Maria virgine,
4. Crucifixus sub Pontio Pilato, et sepultus;
5. Tertia die resurrexit a mortuis,
6. Ascendit ad caelos,
7. Sedet ad dexteram Patris;

Ambrose.

- Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem;
- Et in *Iesum Christum, Filium Eius unicum*, Dominum nostrum,
- Qui natus est de Spiritu Sancto *et virgine Maria*,
- Passus est* sub Pontio Pilato, crucifixus et sepultus;
- Tertia die resurrexit a mortuis,
- Ascendit in caelum*,
- Sedet ad dexteram Patris;

¹ *Explanatio symboli ad initiandos*, Caspari ii 48, iii 196.

² *Ep.* 42.

Rufinus.

8. Inde venturus est iudicare vivos et mortuos ;
9. Et in Spiritum Sanctum,
10. Sanctam ecclesiam,
11. Remissionem peccatorum,
12. Carnis resurrectionem.

Ambrose.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Inde venturus est iudicare vivos et mortuos ; Et in Spiritum Sanctum, Sanctam ecclesiam, Remissionem peccatorum, Carnis resurrectionem. | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> Inde venturus est iudicare vivos et mortuos ; Et in Spiritum Sanctum, Sanctam ecclesiam, Remissionem peccatorum, Carnis resurrectionem. |
|---|---|

Some forty years earlier Marcellus, who was visiting Julius at Rome, left with him a creed differing from that given by Rufinus but little more than does the creed of Ambrose.

If this were all the evidence we possessed, no one would hesitate to decide that the baptismal creed of Rome at this date, and possibly for many years previously, was that given by Rufinus, and that it had spread to the churches in close relations with Rome and in them had undergone minute variation, being possibly combined with previously existing local creeds, or altered in accordance with the judgement of the local bishop.

Unfortunately that simple hypothesis seems untenable ; but to shew this it is necessary to consider in some detail the history of Marcellus.

Marcellus was bishop of Ancyra in Galatia. At the Council of Nicaea he had supported Athanasius and proved himself a zealous advocate of the Catholic Faith. He was accused by certain Arian bishops of having written a heretical book in which he had stated that the kingdom of Christ was not perpetual and that He had been made the image of the invisible God at the conception of His body.¹ For this he had been condemned by the Arian Council of Constantinople in 336 and deposed. After the death of Constantine in 338 he seems to have returned to his see, but disturbances again occurred (*Ath. Apol. c. Ar. 33*) and he was driven out and betook himself to Julius at Rome, where he arrived in 340. Thither in the spring of the same year came also Athanasius. Marcellus asked Julius to summon his accusers, and Julius sent two presbyters, Elpidius and Philoxenus, to the Eusebians inviting them to come to Rome and arrange for a council to be held there in December of that year. They, however, detained the envoys until January 341, when the suggested date was already past.

After waiting a considerable time, Marcellus at length decided to

¹ 'Velit Christi domini regnum perpetuum, aeternum, et sine tempore, disternere, initium regnandi accepisse dominum dicens ante quadringentos annos, finemque ei venturam simul cum mundi occasu. Etiam hoc asserere coepti temeritate conatur, quod in corporis conceptione tunc factus sit imago invisibilis Dei tuncque et panis et ianua et vita effectus' (*Decree of the Synod of the Orientals at Sardica*. Hilary in *Corp. Script. Lat.* lxx pp. 49, 50).

leave, but before his departure he wrote a letter¹ to Julius on the strength of which Julius acquitted him and admitted him to communion, a step which was confirmed by a council of more than fifty bishops, held in the autumn, at which Marcellus and Athanasius were present. In addition to Elpidius and Philoxenus (men, 'in all probability, better informed on Eastern Church events than any other Roman presbyters had been in their time'²), there were also in Rome the two deputies of Silvester at the Council of Nicaea, Vito and Vincentius, and it was in the church of the former that this council was held.

Marcellus in this letter, preserved in Epiphanius (*adv. Haer.* lxxii), first gives the reasons for his presence in Rome; he wished to suggest to Julius to summon his accusers so that he might shew the falsity of their charges against himself and demonstrate that they still maintained their old heresies. But when in spite of Julius's message they refused to come and Marcellus had waited fifteen months, he thought it necessary before leaving *ἐγγραφόν σοι τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ πίστιν μετὰ πάσης ἀληθείας τῇ ἐμαυτοῦ χειρὶ γράψας ἐπιδούναι, ἣν ἔμαθον, ἐκ τε τῶν θείων γραφῶν ἐδιδάχθην*. Then follows a paragraph in which he lays bare the heresies of his accusers and states his own belief; but though it contains many phrases which might have reasonably occurred in Eastern creeds—some of them recalling the creed of Nicaea—yet this section is in the nature of a doctrinal exposition, and is not his own formal creed. At the conclusion of it he resumes his original purpose, interrupted by the parenthesis, and begins *πιστεύω οὖν*. Then follows his creed formally set forth. After it comes another doctrinal exposition, and finally *ταύτην καὶ παρὰ τῶν θείων γραφῶν εἰληφώς τὴν πίστιν, καὶ παρὰ τῶν κατὰ Θεὸν προγόνων διδαχθείς, ἐν τε τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίᾳ κηρύττω, καὶ πρὸς σὲ νῦν γέγραφα, τὸ ἀντίγραφον τούτου παρ' ἐμαυτῷ κατασχών*: and he begs Julius to insert a copy in his letter to the bishops (presumably his letter of summons to synod). In November of the same year Julius writes to the Eusebians about Marcellus *ἀπαιτούμενος παρ' ἡμῶν εἰπεῖν περὶ τῆς πίστεως, οὕτω μετὰ παρησιίας ἀπεκρίνατο δι' ἑαυτοῦ, ὡς ἐπιγινῶναι μὲν ἡμᾶς, ὅτι μηδὲν ἔξωθεν τῆς ἀληθείας ὁμολογεῖ· οὕτως γὰρ εὐσεβῶς περὶ τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ὡμολόγησε φρονεῖν, ὥσπερ καὶ ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία φρονεῖ· καὶ οὐ νῦν ταῦτα πεφρονηκέναι διεβεβαιώσατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκπαλαι· ὥσπερ οὖν καὶ οἱ ἡμέτεροι πρεσβύτεροι, τότε ἐν τῇ κατὰ Νίκαιαν συνόδῳ γενόμενοι, ἐμαρτύρησαν αὐτοῦ τῇ ὀρθοδοξίᾳ* (*Ath. Apol. c. Ar.* 32).

For the next two years Marcellus's movements are unknown—he may have stayed in Rome—but in the year 343 we meet both him and Athanasius at the Council of Sardica. Thither, though possibly not in

¹ Possibly this letter belongs to an earlier date 338 or 339, but the above account is generally accepted and the point is not of great importance.

² Bright *Age of the Fathers* i p. 170.

company, both had travelled by the great road leading from Spain, through S. Gaul, across the plains of Lombardy by way of Milan, round the head of the Adriatic through Aquileia, and thence by Naissus and Remesiana to Sardica.

To Sardica came also five Spanish bishops; some thirty bishops from Gaul, including Verissimus of Lyons and Valentinus of Arles; Protasius of Milan, Fortunatus of Aquileia, and a large company of bishops from Italy, with two presbyters, Archidamus and Philoxenus, to represent Julius of Rome; Gaudentius of Naissus, Paregorius of Scupi, and other Dardanians; Diodorus from Tenedos, and bishops from Macedonia, Thessaly, Thrace, Greece, Palestine, Arabia, Egypt, and Africa, all to be welcomed by Bishop Protogenes of Sardica.

The Council of Sardica had under consideration Marcellus's book as the ground of his previous deposition, and Athanasius says they also had before them his letter to Julius including his form of creed. 'All have heard', he writes to the monks in 358, 'how the Eusebians, who had been first accused by him of heresy, brought a countercharge against him, and caused him to be banished.' He went up to Rome and there made his defence, and ἀπαιτούμενος παρ' αὐτῶν (as Julius says) δέδωκεν ἔγγραφον τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πίστιν (the very words of Marcellus) ἣν καὶ ἡ κατὰ Σαρδικὴν σύνοδος ἀπεδέξατο, which the Council of Sardica accepted (as evidence of his orthodoxy and the falsity of the accusation made against him). *Hist. Arian.* 6.

The Encyclical letter of the Council says: 'The book of our brother Marcellus was read, by which the fraud of the Eusebians was plainly discovered. For what Marcellus had advanced by way of enquiry, they falsely represented as his professed opinion; but when the subsequent and the preceding parts of the book were read, his faith was found to be correct. He had never pretended, as they positively affirmed, that the Word of God had His beginning from the holy Mary, nor that His kingdom had an end; on the contrary he had written that His kingdom was ἀναρχος καὶ ἀτελείητος' (Athan. *c. Ar.* 47). Dr Bright¹ remarks that this exculpation is far from satisfactory, for he was supposed to have asserted this not of the Word, but of the Son. But if we are to treat the synodical letter with this minute literalness, it may be pointed out that he is not said to have written explicitly in orthodox terms *in his book*, but only to have so written (somewhere), and this may refer to his letter to Julius where he says: πιστεύω δὲ ἐπόμενος ταῖς θείαις γραφαῖς, ὅτι εἰς Θεός, καὶ ὁ Τούτου μονογενὴς Υἱὸς Λόγος, ὁ αἰὶ συνπάρχων τῷ Πατρὶ, καὶ μηδεπώποτε ἀρχὴν τοῦ εἶναι ἐσχηκώς. . . αἰὶ ὢν, αἰὶ συμβασιλεύων τῷ Θεῷ καὶ Πατρὶ, οὗ τῆς βασιλείας, κατὰ τὴν τοῦ ἀποστόλου

¹ l. c. i 184.

μαρτυρίαν, οὐκ ἔσται τέλος. Οὗτος Υἱός, οὗτος δύναμις, οὗτος σοφία, οὗτος ἴδιος καὶ ἀληθὴς τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγος. It is scarcely probable, we should think, that there was any statement quite so explicit in his book, judging not so much by the way in which it was treated by the Arians as by that in which Basil appears to have regarded it. In any event Marcellus would be called upon to make his defence, and would lose no opportunity of pleading in his favour the recognition accorded him by Julius and the Council held at Rome. Historic probability therefore confirms the clear statement of Athanasius, and the fact that the letter is not directly mentioned in the synodical epistle is no argument to the contrary, for the letter was not in question, and was unknown to the Arians and to the world in general, and there was no need to refer to it.

On the strength of this restoration by the Council of Sardica, some time afterwards (we do not know how long) Marcellus regained his see. In his own diocese, of course, his book was well known, and there it would be necessary for him to defend himself and narrate his history, how Athanasius had supported him, Julius had acquitted him, how this acquittal had been ratified by more than fifty bishops at Rome, and finally the Council of Sardica had quashed his deposition, and formally restored him to Catholic communion. Over and over again he would have been obliged to mention his letter to Julius, and in consequence Ancyra would sit in judgement on the claims he had made for his creed. This course of events is all but inevitable, but it receives a curious incidental support. In 372 (the date is a little uncertain) a deputation from the Church at Ancyra, headed by a deacon, Eugenius, was sent to Athanasius at Alexandria. On their arrival they found both themselves and their community suspected of heresy ; so they proceeded to draw up a statement of their faith. Part of this statement is deliberately taken from the creed of Nicaea, part of it is concerned with the heresy of Macedonius ; but if one reads the remainder side by side with the letter of Marcellus the resemblances are many and striking, and that not only in the general form but also in sentences which seem to be almost direct quotations ; compare, for instance, the sentence already quoted and Τοῦτον γινόμενον ἐπ' Αὐτοῦ ὠνομάσθαι Λόγον, καὶ σοφίαν, καὶ δύναμιν from Marcellus's letter to Julius with the words of the deputation, put together it will be remembered not by Marcellus before their starting, but by them after their arrival in Alexandria, οὐ γὰρ ἄλλον τὸν Υἱὸν καὶ ἄλλον τὸν Λόγον φρονοῦμεν, ὡς τινὲς ἡμᾶς διέβαλον, ἀλλὰ τὸν Λόγον εἶναι Υἱόν, σοφίαν, δύναμιν τοῦ Πατρὸς.¹

If this conjecture is accepted it means that the creed which Marcellus produced as that which he had learnt from the Holy Scriptures and his

¹ Migne *P. G.* xviii 1304.

forefathers in God, and had himself preached, was recognized as such in Ancyra itself: but even if not, still it had been shewn to Julius, his presbyters, his fellow-bishops, Athanasius and the Council of Sardica, and none of them had convicted him of fraud, a risk which in any case he could not afford to run. And Marcellus in asking Julius to give it publicity and cause copies to be sent to the bishops of his province must have faced at least the possibility of having to justify his words in his own diocese. We can hardly demand stronger evidence for the genuineness of his claims.

The case of Marcellus in asking Julius to forward copies of his letter to the bishops, and mentally facing the probability of his letter coming before his own diocese of Ancyra, is in some way analogous to that of Eusebius at the Council of Nicaea. Eusebius quotes the creed of Caesarea, omitting its final clauses, and then justifies his action throughout the proceedings in a letter to his own diocese. In it he makes a claim for his creed very similar to that of Marcellus: καθὼς παρελάβομεν παρὰ τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν ἐπισκόπων, καὶ ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ κατηχήσει, καὶ ὅτε τὸ λουτρὸν ἐλαμβάνομεν, καθὼς ἀπὸ τῶν θείων γραφῶν μεμαθήκαμεν, καὶ ὡς ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἐπισκοπῇ ἐπιστεύομεν τε καὶ ἐδιδάσκομεν, οὕτω καὶ νῦν πιστεύοντες τὴν ἡμετέραν πίστιν προσαναφέρομεν . . . περὶ ὧν καὶ διαβεβαιούμεθα οὕτως ἔχειν, καὶ οὕτως φρονεῖν, καὶ πάλοι οὕτως ἐσχηκέναι (Theodt. *Hist. Eccl.* i 12). Marcellus's words are not quite so explicit, but are yet more definite than Rufinus's 'maiores' ('videntur haec addidisse maiores' in *Symb. App.* c. 5) and have the same meaning. Certainly no one can read Julius's letter to the Arians without seeing that he imagined Marcellus to be making an entirely similar claim.

But the creed produced by Marcellus is this:—

Πιστεύω εἰς Θεὸν παντοκράτορα·
 Καὶ εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, τὸν Υἱὸν Αὐτοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ,
 τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν,
 τὸν γεννηθέντα ἐκ Πνεύματος Ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου·
 τὸν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου σταυρωθέντα,
 καὶ ταφέντα,
 καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀναστάντα ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν·
 ἀναβάντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς,
 καὶ καθήμενον ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Πατρὸς·
 ὃθεν ἔρχεται κρίνειν ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς,
 Καὶ εἰς τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα·
 Ἁγίαν ἐκκλησίαν·
 Ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν·
 Σαρκοῦς ἀνάστασιν·
 Ζωὴν αἰώνιον.

The first objection to recognizing Marcellus's claims as true is the

contrast between the simplicity of his creed and our pre-conceived idea of what Eastern creeds were like. But our ideas of Eastern creeds are based on examples which are either post-Nicene—whereas Marcellus's claim carries us back over the border line into the third century—or belong to districts outside Asia Minor, as for instance Jerusalem or Caesarea in Palestine.

Clearly this evidence is subject to discount. What we desiderate is Asiatic creeds of the third century. Of these we have no direct examples, but fortunately we can recover one with comparatively little difficulty, and a second from a neighbouring region.

At the Council of Ephesus in 431 a presbyter of Philadelphia, Charisius, produced a creed interpolated with phrases from the creed of Nicaea, N, but based upon the baptismal creed of his church. As we know N exactly, and as the creed presents no signs of the later developements of N into E or C, the pre-Nicene baptismal creed of Philadelphia can be recovered within narrow limits of accuracy. And it is as follows :—

Πιστεύω εἰς Θεὸν Πατέρα παντοκράτορα·
καὶ εἰς ἓνα Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν,
τὸν Υἱὸν Αὐτοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ,
τὸν γεννηθέντα ἐκ τῆς ἀγίας παρθένου,
σταυρωθέντα ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν,
ἀποθανόντα,
ἀναστάντα τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ,
ἀνελθόντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς,
καὶ πάλιν ἐρχόμενον κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς,
Καὶ εἰς τὸ (Ἅγιον) Πνεῦμα,
καὶ εἰς ἀγίαν καθολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν·
Εἰς ἀνάστασιν νεκρῶν·
Εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον.

(Kattenbusch *Das ap. Symb.* i 360.)

The second example is the old creed of Antioch derived from a Latin translation made by John Cassian, and two Greek fragments. When we have deducted its Nicenisms it runs thus :—

Πιστεύω εἰς ἓνα καὶ μόνον ἀληθινὸν Θεὸν Πατέρα παντοκράτορα·
Καὶ εἰς τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν (εἰς ἓνα Κύριον ?) Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν,
τὸν Υἱὸν Αὐτοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ,
καὶ τὸν πρωτότοκον πάσης κτίσεως,
ἐξ Αὐτοῦ γεννηθέντα πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων,
δι' οὗ καὶ οἱ αἰῶνες κατηρτίσθησαν,
τὸν γεννηθέντα ἐκ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου,
καὶ σταυρωθέντα ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου,

καὶ ταφέντα,
καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀναστάντα κατὰ τὰς γραφάς,
καὶ ἀναβάντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς,
καὶ πάλιν ἐρχόμενον κρίναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς·

καὶ εἰς ἁμαρτιῶν ἄφεσιν,
καὶ εἰς νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν,
καὶ εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον.

(The full text is given in Hort *Two Dissertations* p. 148.)

This creed is fuller than that of Philadelphia. Some of the phrases are quite possibly Syrian peculiarities, e.g. *πρωτότοκον πάσης κτίσεως* and *πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων*, which occur in the creed of Eusebius of Caesarea; but pruned of these, its resemblance to the creed of Marcellus leaps to the eye.

With this we may compare the creed reconstructed by Zahn¹ from the Didascalia, a document written in Palestine or Syria.

Πιστεύω εἰς Θεὸν παντοκράτορα·
Καὶ εἰς τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν (τὸν Υἱὸν Αὐτοῦ?),
τὸν (δι' ἡμᾶς ἐλθόντα καὶ)
γεννηθέντα ἐκ (Μαρίας τῆς?) παρθένου,
καὶ σταυρωθέντα ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου καὶ ἀποθανόντα·
τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀναστάντα ἐκ (τῶν?) νεκρῶν,
καὶ ἀναβάντα (ἀνελθόντα?) εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς,
καὶ καθήμενον ἐκ δεξιῶν Θεοῦ τοῦ παντοκράτορος,
καὶ ἐρχόμενον μετὰ δυνάμεως καὶ δόξης κρίναι νεκροὺς καὶ ζῶντας,
Καὶ εἰς τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα . . .
(Ἁγίαν ἐκκλησίαν?) . . .
Νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν . . .

It is probable that this reconstruction is somewhat too full; but, if we omit the most doubtful phrase *δι' ἡμᾶς ἐλθόντα καί* as belonging to the comment, the similarity to the creed of Marcellus is most marked, while the Didascalia cannot well be dated later than the third century and shews no trace of Western influence.

This evidence² is confirmed by the words of the 'presbyters' assembled against Noetus at Smyrna *c.* 180.² Of this two accounts are given, one by Epiphanius *Haer.* lvii and the other by Hippolytus *c. Noet.* i. As they differ slightly in wording it will be convenient to have them set side by side.

¹ *Neuere Beiträge zur Geschichte des apost. Symb.* p. 23.

² *Burn Apostles' Creed* p. 20.

E.

Ἐνα Θεὸν δοξάζομεν καὶ αὐτοί, ἀλλ'
ὥς οἶδαμεν δικαίως δοξάζειν.

Καὶ ἓνα Χριστὸν ἔχομεν, ἀλλ' ὥς
οἶδαμεν ἓνα Χριστὸν Υἱὸν Θεοῦ,

παθόντα καθὼς ἔπαθεν,
ἀποθανόντα καθὼς ἀπέθανεν,
ἀναστάντα,

ἀνελθόντα εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν,

ὄντα ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Πατρὸς,

ἐρχόμενον κρίναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς.

H.

Καὶ ἡμεῖς ἓνα Θεὸν οἶδαμεν ἀληθῶς.

Οἶδαμεν Χριστόν, οἶδαμεν τὸν Υἱόν,

παθόντα καθὼς ἔπαθε,
ἀποθανόντα καθὼς ἀπέθανε,
καὶ ἀναστάντα τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ,

καὶ ὄντα ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Πατρὸς,

καὶ ἐρχόμενον κρίναι ζῶντας καὶ
νεκρούς.

It is clear that we have here a fragment of an Asian creed of exactly the same structure as the other examples adduced; so that the argument that the creed of Marcellus is too simple to be Eastern is untenable.

A second objection is based on the creed of Ancyra *c.* 430 as reconstructed from the works of Marcus Eremita. The difficulty of the task and the uncertainty of the result can be easily apprehended by any one who takes the trouble to count the number of question-marks and brackets in the conjectural text given by Hahn (*Bibl. ed.* 1897, pp. 146-148). This uncertainty detracts largely from the weight of the evidence. But even if the form could be exactly ascertained, would it be possible to say that because the creed of Ancyra *c.* 430 was as luxurious as that given by Marcus, therefore in 340 or earlier it could not have been as simple as that given by Marcellus? Does not the comparison of the creed of Constantinople, C, with the creed of Nicaea, N, shew how small is the worth to be attached to an argument of this kind? If we could assume that no alteration in the creed of Ancyra was likely to have taken place in the interval, the argument would indeed have weight; but all analogy is against the assumption. Two other creeds have already been instanced in which considerable alterations were made, and examples might be multiplied. Moreover, it is quite clear that the creed of Marcus Eremita contains many post-Nicene elements. Θεὸς Λόγος is very rare in the writings of Marcellus, who nearly always uses Θεοῦ Λόγος in preference, as he does in his letter to Julius. Wherever it occurs it is employed to lay emphasis on the deity of our Lord, and is generally regarded as sufficient in itself for that purpose without any addition. Thus its appearance in the creed of Marcus with the accumulated emphasis of additional words is an indication of the pressure of Arianism, and thus points to a date not earlier than the fourth century. Moreover the phrases Θεὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ, φῶς ἐκ

φωτός, δύναμιν ἐκ δυνάμεως and the like, occur first in the creed of Eusebius of Caesarea, and cannot be traced in Asia Minor in creeds before the Council of Nicaea set its seal to them. No doubt they occur in earlier teaching, but we cannot infer that because they obtained currency in teaching they were therefore in the contemporary creed. This principle is fully recognized by Dr Burn, who criticizes Bornemann for extracting all the creed phrases commonly used by Justin Martyr and so producing 'an artificial form which was certainly never used either in Ephesus or Rome. Creeds are not . . . to be rediscovered by such processes'.¹ By a *tour de force*, valuable as shewing the dangers of such a method, Dr Hitchcock manages to construct from Irenaeus a creed which in the English translation consists of nearly 300 words.² So the fact that this language can be paralleled from the doctrinal teaching of Marcellus, which he distinguishes from his creed, is no argument that these phrases occurred in the early creed of Ancyra. The next clause, τὸν ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν δι' ἡμᾶς σαρκωθέντα, can hardly be independent of the fourth Creed of Antioch,³ and is probably post-Nicene. This is followed by two other members of a second triplet, γεννηθέντα ἐκ Μαρίας [τῆς παρθένου?] and ἐνανθρωπήσαντα. These triplets seem over emphatic, and if we remember that one of these phrases was inserted in the Nicene Creed, N, in 381 as a protest against Apollinarianism, we shall probably feel impelled to prune this exuberance in order to arrive at a pre-Nicene creed. Following this we have a third triplet, παθόντα, σταυρωθέντα, θανόντα. Three triplets in one creed smack of artificiality; a pre-Nicene creed could hardly, we should think, have been so complex. But when we have pruned these exuberances the result is not so noticeably different from the creed of Marcellus as to cast any doubt on its genuineness; and moreover the creed of Marcus Eremita is very possibly Syrian in origin and not Ancyran at all.⁴

On the other hand, there are phrases in Marcellus's creed which support its claim to belong to Asia Minor. Thus Θεὸς παντοκράτωρ, of God the Father, with the omission of Πατήρ, followed by Jesus Christ, is rare. The nearest parallel in the New Testament is Rev. xxi 22 ὁ Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ ναὸς αὐτῆς ἐστὶν καὶ τὸ ἀρνίον. Resembling it is the salutation in the epistle of Clement χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη ἀπὸ παντοκράτορος Θεοῦ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πληθυνθείη which was doubtless the model for Polycarp's (Lightfoot *Ap. F.* pt. ii vol. i p. 598), εἰλεος ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη παρὰ Θεοῦ παντοκράτορος καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ

¹ *Introd. to the Creeds* pp. 39, 40.

² *Irenaeus of Lugdunum* pp. 341, 342.

³ Burn l. c. p. 88.

⁴ See Kattenbusch l. c. ii 740.

τοῦ σωτήρος ἡμῶν πληθυνθείη. We cannot quote a definite creed in which it occurs contemporary with or earlier than Marcellus, but it hovers on the edge of a creed in Irenaeus *Haer.* iv liii 1 (ed. Harvey) εἰς ἓνα Θεὸν παντοκράτορα, ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα, πίστις ὁλόκληρος· καὶ εἰς τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα, καὶ τὰς οἰκονομίας Αὐτοῦ, δι' ὧν ἄνθρωπος ἐγένετο ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, πεισμονὴ βεβαία· καὶ εἰς τὸ Πνεῦμα τοῦ Θεοῦ, . . . τὸ τὰς οἰκονομίας Πατρός τε καὶ Υἱοῦ σκηνοβατοῦν καθ' ἑκαστὴν γενεὰν ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καθὼς βούλεται ὁ Πατήρ, γνῶσις ἀληθῆς, ἡ τῶν ἀποστόλων διδαχὴ, καὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον τῆς ἐκκλησίας σύστημα κατὰ παντὸς τοῦ κόσμου: words which suggest a creed as their background.

Subsequent to Irenaeus we have in the *Didascalia καθεσθέντι ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ θρόνου τοῦ παντοκράτορος Θεοῦ*, which is supported by the *Apostolic Constitutions* vi 30. Rufinus, however, asserts that the 'Deus Pater Omnipotens' of the Roman creed is primitive and had never changed up to his own day,¹ and this implies that Θεὸς παντοκράτωρ alone would be found in no creed subject to Roman or purely Western influence, as in fact is the case; so that the combination Θεὸς παντοκράτωρ with Christ, though it may have been in origin Roman, must be regarded as domiciled in the East.

Next take the phrase *ὅθεν ἔρχεται*. The Greek creeds with a single exception have *ἐρχόμενός τε* or *ἐρχόμενος*, but in the *de Fide* of St Basil, an exposition of a creed written 364-370 (so Kattenbusch, i 342), we find *πιστεύομεν . . . ἓνα μόνον ἀληθινὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν Θεὸν καὶ Πατέρα παντοκράτορα, καὶ ἓνα τὸν μονογενῆ Αὐτοῦ Υἱόν, κύριον καὶ Θεὸν ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν . . . τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐγερθεὶς ἐκ νεκρῶν κατὰ τὰς γραφάς . . . ἀνέβη τε εἰς οὐρανοῦς, καὶ κάθηται ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Πατρὸς, ὅθεν ἔρχεται . . . ἀναστῆσαι πάντας καὶ ἀποδοῦναι ἑκάστῳ κατὰ τὴν πράξιν αὐτοῦ, ὅτε οἱ μὲν δίκαιοι προσληφθήσονται εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον*; and at the close of the exposition *οὕτως φρονοῦμεν, καὶ οὕτως βαπτίζομεν εἰς Τριάδα ὁμοούσιον*. 'Ὁμοούσιος' as applied to the Holy Spirit may have been due to the teaching of Gregory Nazianzen (cp. *Theol. Orat.* v 10), but for the rest, though we cannot recover the form of the creed with any certainty, yet there can be little doubt that the baptismal creed of the Cappadocian Caesarea lies behind the exposition, and it appears to shew affinities with the pre-Nicene creeds of Antioch in Syria and of Philadelphia, as well as with that of Marcellus, to whose phrase *ὅθεν ἔρχεται* it gives support. When we remember that Seleucia was the next town of any importance to Ancyra on the high road to Nicaea, and that Basil had been associated with his namesake of Ancyra (who was admitted to 'unite in his person the most varied learning with the most blameless life of

¹ in *Symb. App.* 3.

all¹ the semi-Arian party) in a deputation to Constantine in 359, and engaged in correspondence with his successor Athanasius, the phrase *ὁθεν ἐρχεται* in the creed of Ancyra and Caesarea can be safely regarded as a peculiarity of the interior of Asia Minor.

At the close of this exposition we meet also *εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον*, which occurs in the creeds of Marcellus, Philadelphia, and Antioch. Though the phrase afterwards spread to the West, there can be little doubt that at this date it is typically Eastern. It does not occur in the creed of Rome as given by Rufinus, nor in that of Aquileia, nor in that of Milan, nor in the creed of Priscillian in Spain, nor in that of Phoebe in Gaul. In fact Rufinus says: 'Ultimus sermo iste, qui resurrectionem carnis pronuntiat, summam totius perfectionis succincta brevitate concludit' (*in Symb. App.* 41). and Maximus of Turin (*Hom.* lxxxiii): 'Carnis resurrectionem. Hic religionis nostrae finis, haec summa credendi est'; on the other hand it was in the teaching of St Augustine, though not in the African creed (see *Enchir.* 84, *de Fid. et Symb.* 24). In the *Sermo ad Catechumenos* 17 and *Sermo* 215 it is actually in the creed itself, so that we may say it was being gradually wrought into the African creed in Augustine's time. It is no doubt in the baptismal interrogations of St Cyprian (*Ep.* 69) in a form from which St Augustine appears to borrow in the last reference named. Still we have no evidence of its having been incorporated into the declaratory creed of the West by the time of Marcellus, and Rufinus and Maximus are good evidence of its absence. On the other hand it occurs, as has been said, in the creeds of Philadelphia, Caesarea, and Antioch, and also in that of Cyril of Jerusalem, while a variant *εἰς ζωὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος* occurs in the second creed of Arius (Hahn, l. c. p. 257).

Thus an examination of Marcellus's creed confirms the claim that he makes for it. It is analogous to the pre-Nicene creeds of the Asian 'presbyters', and of Philadelphia, while the creed of Antioch stands midway between it and the creeds of Palestine in structure as in locality. Its peculiarities, in which it differs from the Roman creed as given by Rufinus, all seem to be characteristic of Asia Minor, or at least Eastern, and the reconstructed creed of Marcus Eremita is of no weight as testimony against its genuineness.

One difficulty alone remains. It is generally asserted that Rufinus bears witness against any change having been made in the Roman creed, and the affinity which the creed of Marcellus bears to the creed of Rome as given by Rufinus seems to make Marcellus's claims incapable of being sustained.

Rufinus says (*In Symb. Apost.* 3) 'Credo in Deo Patre Omnipotente. Verum priusquam incipiam de ipsis sermonum virtutibus disputare,

¹ Cardinal Newman.

illud non importune commonendum puto, quod in diversis ecclesiis aliqua in his verbis inveniuntur adiecta. In ecclesia tamen urbis Romae hoc non deprehenditur factum, quod ego propterea esse arbitror, quod neque haeresis ulla illic sumsit exordium ; et mos inibi servatur antiquus, eos qui gratiam baptismi suscepturi sunt publice, id est, fidelium populo audiente, symbolum reddere, et utique adiectionem unius saltem sermonis eorum qui praecesserunt in fide non admittit auditus. In caeteris autem locis, quantum intelligi datur, propter nonnullos haereticos addita quaedam videntur, per quae novellae doctrinae sensus crederetur excludi'.

The whole passage is directly concerned with this first article only, as is shewn by its position and heading. 'De ipsis sermonum virtutibus' and 'in his verbis' emphasize that fact. Rufinus's argument is that additions might be due to two causes ; they might be authorized additions intended to shut out heretical novelties—and in this regard he has doubtless in mind the authorized addition made to this clause in Aquileia of 'invisibilis et impassibilis'—but no reason for making any addition in this clause had arisen in Rome, because no heresy had originated there ; or they might be unauthorized additions made by inadvertence, but this was not the case in Rome, because the public recitation of the creed secured the faithful tradition of the authorized creed, whatever it might be. Clearly this practice would not be any guarantee against the action of a synod or a bishop in authorizing additions. It would secure, rather, that each alteration would be accurately learnt by succeeding generations of neophytes, and the presence of the laity would impress such an addition on their minds more than if it had been merely notified to them at the time when it was made in sermons or through other channels. More than this Rufinus neither says nor means. His words are explicit. No alteration at all had been made in the first article at Rome, and no unauthorized addition in it, or indeed—for the principle outruns the particular case—in any other portion of the creed.

Rufinus thus gives us no ground to assert that the creed of Rome in 200 or 250 was identical with the creed which he gives in 400, except in the first clause. When we have once freed our minds from the prepossession that the invariability of the Roman creed is attested by Rufinus, the last argument against Marcellus's claims is gone. The adoption of Julius's creed would have told against the fact which he was trying to establish, namely, that in 336, and indeed for many years previously, he had been perfectly orthodox and had been wrongly condemned by heretical opponents. Whereas the production of the creed which he himself had habitually used was sound evidence. It is precisely analogous to the procedure which Dr Hort imagined to have been that of Cyril at the Council of Constantinople. Cyril was supposed to

be under suspicion of heresy, and in testimony of his orthodoxy he adduces the creed, composed nearly twenty years earlier, which since that date he had regularly employed. This hypothesis is, I think, unfounded, but it shews the sort of procedure Dr Hort deemed reasonable. Probably also Charisius produced the baptismal creed of Philadelphia at the Council of Ephesus with the same motive.

Marcellus's action, therefore, in producing the ancestral creed of Ancyra both at Rome and at Sardica is quite natural. His claims, though less explicitly stated, are similar to those made by Eusebius at the Council of Nicaea; his creed is in structure just what other creeds of approximately the same date and neighbourhood would lead us to expect it to be; and in certain details where it differs from that given by Rufinus it is Eastern in character, if not definitely of Asia Minor.

But if the creed of Marcellus is Ancyran, of the end of the third century, that is, if his claims are genuine, then almost certainly it must have differed considerably from the primitive creed of Rome. And this is probable for other reasons; if we compare the Roman creed as given by Rufinus with such primitive creeds as we can obtain, the Roman creed looks far too detailed.

This opinion, however, will be contradicted by those who assert the integrity of the text of the Verona fragments as a translation from the original Greek of the *Apostolic Tradition* written by Hippolytus. But such an assertion implies very large assumptions: that this 'First Order' was a living rite which Hippolytus employed; that, in spite of the ambiguous relations between him and the Bishop of Rome and the wide latitude allowed in early times to individual diocesans, it represents the contemporary rite of Rome; and that the Verona fragments are not only so superior to the other parallel texts as to supersede them wherever they are in conflict, but have themselves never been edited or interpolated. But Dom Cagin¹ has shewn with at least a very high degree of probability (1) that the Egyptian Church order, of which the Verona fragments give a portion, very possibly has no connexion with Hippolytus at all; (2) that, if it has, the ΠΕΡΙΧ ΑΡΙΣΜΑΤΩΝ ΑΠΟΚΤΟΛΙΚΗ ΠΑΡΑΔΟCΙC, inscribed on his chair, is a single title; (3) that Hippolytus may merely have collected the documents, none of which in consequence need be Roman; and (4) that if he is the author of any of them and not merely the collector, that which can be ascribed to him with the greatest amount of probability is the first two sections (chs. 1-15) of the *Apostolic Constitutions* bk. viii.

Until these doubts are allayed it is at least difficult to insist on the value of the creed in the Verona fragments as evidence for the creed of

¹ *L'Anaphore Apostolique*, Appendix IV, pp. 294-365.

Rome at the beginning of the third century. And an examination of the creed itself in comparison with that given by Rufinus gives us only additional reasons for hesitation.

Creed of the Verona Fragments.

Credis in Christum Iesum, Filium Dei,
 Qui natus est de Spiritu Sancto ex Maria Virgine,
 et crucifixus sub Pontio Pilato,
 et *mortuus* est, et sepultus,
 et resurrexit *die tertia vivus* a mortuis,
 et ascendit *in caelis*,
 et *sedet* ad dexteram Patris,
 venturus iudicare vivos et mortuos?
 Credis in Spiritu Sancto,
 et sanctam ecclesiam,
 et carnis resurrectionem?

We notice first of all the omission of 'inde', and of 'remissionem peccatorum'. 'Mortuus' is supported by the Canons of Hippolytus; possibly by Augustine *Serm.* 215—but it is doubtful if it belongs to the text rather than the comment—and by Amalarius of Trier in the ninth century.

'Die tertia' only seems to occur elsewhere in the creed of Maxentius of Aquileia in the ninth century. 'Vivus' appears in the West in the Mozarabic Liturgy, and besides only in Spanish creeds from the sixth century onwards. 'In caelis' is supported by Caesarius, the *Codex Laudianus* and a MS from St Gall not earlier than the seventh century. 'Sedit' does not seem to occur in creeds before the sixth century.

This analysis would seem to make it probable that the text is that of a comparatively late revision, and unmistakably clear that if it is primitive, the Roman creed must have been extensively revised before the time of Rufinus.

But when we compare this creed with those given by the Ethiopic 'Statutes of the Apostles', a secondary authority for the text, we see that we can easily get behind it to a far purer and earlier form. The Ethiopic creed appears in three slightly varying shapes (Horner pp. 153 and 173) which we may call E¹, E², and E³; E² the first form on p. 173 has been retranslated into Greek by Ed. von der Goltz,¹ and I shall avail myself of his translation, using G instead of E². I shall take as my basis the Coptic creed given in the fragments brought by Prof. F. Petrie

¹ 'Die Taufgebete des Hippolytus und andere Taufgebete der alten Kirche', *Zeitschrift f. Kirchengeschichte*, 1906, t. xxvii 1, p. 38.

from Der Balyzeh and now in the Bodleian, embodying a rite of the fourth century,¹ and shall further compare with them the creed of the Ethiopic baptismal order translated into Latin by Tesfa Sion (*Bibl. Max. Patrum* xxvii 636), and into Greek by Kattenbusch,² K¹, and his reconstruction of the Coptic creed in Greek,³ K².

Creed of the Der Balyzeh Fragment.

1. Πιστένω
2. εἰς Θεὸν Πατέρα παντοκράτορα,
3. καὶ εἰς τὸν μονογενῆ Αὐτοῦ Υἱόν,
4. τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν,
5. Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν,
6. καὶ εἰς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον,
7. καὶ εἰς σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν,
8. καὶ ἀγίαν καθολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν.

1. K¹ πιστεύομεν,
2. E¹, G, K¹, K², add ἵνα; E³ 'in Thee the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ'; G Π. τῶν ὅλων π.; K¹ Θ. κύριον Π. π.
3. E³ 'in Thine only Son Jesus Christ'.
4. E¹, E³ add 'and Saviour'; K¹ inverts 4 and 5.
6. E¹, K¹, K² add τὸ ζωοποιόν; E¹ adds also 'to all creation'.
7. E³ om.
8. E³ μόνην μίαν καθ. ἀποστολικὴν ἐκ.; G ἀγ. συναγωγὴν μίαν, καθ. ἐκ.; K¹ μόν. ἀγ. καθ. ἐκ. ἀποστ.; K² μίαν μόν. καθ. ἀπ. ἀγ. Αὐτοῦ ἐκ.

E¹ adds 'and life eternal'; K¹ καὶ πιστεύομεν ἐν βάπτισμα εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.

I have omitted from E¹ the obviously late interpolation

'The Trinity equal in Godhead, one Lord, and one Kingdom, and one Faith, and one Baptism'.

We obtain additional confirmation of this view if we compare with the creed of the Der Balyzeh fragments the Christian creed reconstructed from the Marcosian creed given by Irenaeus,⁴ the baptismal profession of Jerusalem given by Cyril (*Catech.* xix 9), and the fragmentary interrogative creed in Cyprian (*Ep.* 69).

M.	J.	C.
εἰς . . . Πατέρα τῶν ὅλων .	εἰς τὸν Πατέρα	Deum Patrem
εἰς . . . Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν	καὶ εἰς τὸν Υἱόν	Filium Christum
		Dominum nostrum

¹ Brightman, *J. T. S.* xii p. 311.

² *Das ap. Symb.* i 330, n. 11.

³ *ib.* p. 333, n. 12.

⁴ For this reconstruction see *J. T. S.* xxi p. 117.

M.	J.	C.
εἰς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον εἰς ἐκκλησίαν . . .	καὶ εἰς τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα	Spiritum Sanctum in remissionem pec- catorum et vitam aeternam
καὶ ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν	καὶ εἰς ἐν βάπτισμα μετανοίας	per sanctam eccle- siam
καὶ κοινωνίαν τῶν ἁγίων		

There can, I think, be little doubt that we have in the *Der Balyzeh* fragments the foundation of these various later forms, and come, in fact, very close to the most primitive Christian creed at any rate of the East, and it would seem probable that it was a declaration of this kind which Tertullian had in his mind when he wrote : ' *Amplius aliquid respondentis quam Dominus in evangelio determinavit* ' (*de Cor.* 3). If then Hippolytus was indeed the author, and not merely the compiler, of the ' Egyptian Church Order ', he is far more likely to have written a creed of some such simple form than the much fuller creed of the Verona fragments. But it would not necessarily follow even on this hypothesis that this was the creed in use in Rome in his day ; he may have revived an archaic creed in order to give verisimilitude to the fiction which the title and form of his work imply ; and in fact there appear to be adequate reasons to suppose that at the time of Hippolytus the Roman creed was intermediate between this simple form and that given by Rufinus.

Thus it would seem almost certain that it contained the word *παθόντα*. *Passus* meets us in the creeds of Priscillian (c. 380), Gregory of Elvira¹ (c. 370), Phoebadius of Agen (c. 360), Victricius of Rouen (c. 400), Ambrose of Milan (374-397), and Julian of Eclanum (386-454), a phenomenon only to be accounted for by derivation from Rome. As, however, it does not occur in the creed of Rome as given by Rufinus, it follows that the primitive creed must have been revised before his date.

Other considerations support this view. Up till the Council of Sardica, with the exception of Carthage, Rome was the sole metropolitan see of the West, and until the time of Constantine its political position was entirely unrivalled. It was, moreover, the sole see in the West which could claim an apostolic origin. From this it would seem to follow that its formula of faith would possess an immense authority as the standard for the whole Western world. Additions might, no doubt, be made to it locally (as they were at Aquileia) for the purpose of rendering it more definite or explicit, even alterations might be tolerated if they had the same purpose ; but the constant intercourse between Rome,

¹ See Dom Morin's note *J. T. S.* xii p. 167.

where the authorized creed was recited in public at every baptism, and the neighbouring sees would tend to check the formation of mere variations of phraseology with no doctrinal advantage, or to correct them back to the standard when made. But if we accept the creed given by Rufinus as the primitive creed of Rome we find ourselves faced with a multitude of seemingly casual and fortuitous variations, none of them possessing doctrinal significance, and all of them unaccountable.

Thus Rufinus gives 'Qui natus est de Spiritu Sancto ex Maria Virgine'; Ambrose and Augustine, *Serm.* 212, 214 'ex Virgine Maria'; Augustine *Serm.* 213 and Phoebadius 'Conceptus est de Spiritu Sancto natus ex Maria Virgine'; Priscillian 'natus ex Maria Virgine ex Spiritu Sancto', and this strange order finds support in the address on the Nicene Creed in the *Gelasian Sacramentary* (ed. Wilson p. 55), 'Hic Unigenitus Dei de Maria Virgine et Spiritu Sancto secundum carnem natus ostenditur'.

In the next article Rufinus has 'crucifixus sub Pontio Pilato et sepultus'; Augustine *Serm.* 212, 213, 214 'passus sub Pontio Pilato, crucifixus, mortuus et sepultus'; Ambrose and Phoebadius agree with this, but Ambrose omits *mortuus*, and in Phoebadius its presence is doubtful.

In the fifth article Rufinus, Ambrose, Augustine *Serm.* 213, and Victricius read 'tertia die resurrexit a mortuis', but in Augustine *Serm.* 212, 214 'a mortuis' is omitted, as it is by Caesarius. In the next clause Rufinus and Priscillian read 'ascendit in caelos'; Ambrose and Augustine *Serm.* 212, 213, 214 'in caelum'; Caesarius 'in caelo'; Phoebadius 'adsumptum in caelum'.

Finally Rufinus gives 'iudicare vivos et mortuos', Augustine *Serm.* 213, Priscillian, Venantius Fortunatus, and the Mozarabic Liturgy *iudicaturus*.

Such arbitrary variations cannot fail to suggest that the standard creed, from which these others are derived, did not possess these words at all.

I have deliberately abstained from quoting the still greater variations in the African creed as represented by Augustine's later works and Tertullian, because it appears at least possible that this was not derived from Rome. 'From its foundation a special tie must have bound the African church to that of Rome, . . . but we know no details, and it does not necessarily follow . . . that Roman christians brought the gospel to Africa',¹ and Mr W. C. Bishop² has shewn that the African rite in the time of Augustine strongly resembled the Mozarabic, while, if we go back to Cyprian, certain Roman importations fall away and its resem-

¹ Harnack *Mission and Expansion* ii p. 277, n. 3.

² *J. T. S.* xii p. 269.

blance to the Mozarabic is enhanced. In addition, we must remember that there was always considerable intercourse between the African churches and the Eastern. Montanism, Praxeas, and Hermogenes, all came to Carthage from the East. Tertullian wrote Greek and knew the works of Polycarp, Irenaeus, Melito of Sardis, and the *Acta Pauli*. 'Especially as a Montanist he was well acquainted with the conditions of the Greek churches; he knew comparatively unimportant proceedings and features of their life'.¹

Against this view will be quoted the well-known passage (*de Praescr.* 36) 'Si autem Italiae adiaces, habes Romam, unde nobis quoque auctoritas praesto est. . . . Videamus quid didicerit, quid docuerit, quid cum Africanis quoque ecclesiis contesserarit'. But it would be a mistake to imagine this guaranteed the importation of the Roman creed into Africa. The *auctoritas* is not primarily that of the Roman Church, but that of the Apostles, 'Apostolos Domini habemus auctores qui . . . acceptam a Christo disciplinam fideliter nationes assignaverunt' (c. 6).

Tertullian is arguing that all the churches maintained the same doctrine transmitted to them from the apostles, 'illae ecclesiae quae licet nullum ex apostolis vel apostolicis auctorem suum proferant . . . tamen in eadem fide conspirantes non minus apostolicae deputantur pro consanguinitate doctrinae' (c. 32).

To prove the truth of his statement he tells the objector that he can discover what this *fides* or *doctrina* is by referring to the nearest church which can claim an apostle as its founder: 'Proxima est tibi Achaia, habes Corinthum' etc. He will find them all teaching the same *fides*, but Tertullian has no intention of saying that they all have an identical creed. To Africa the nearest representative of this Apostolic *auctoritas* was Rome. Let us see then what has been the teaching of the Church of Rome wherein she has agreed not only with the churches of Africa ('cum Africanis quoque ecclesiis'), but with all orthodox churches throughout the world. He then proceeds to specify three points of controversy with heretics on which the teaching of the churches was unanimous. In opposition to Marcion they knew only one God, 'unum Deum Dominum novit creatorem universitatis', but there is no suggestion that 'Unum Deum' was found in the creeds either of Rome or Africa.

In regard to the former we have the assurance of Rufinus that the first clause ran 'Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem' with no additions of any kind and had never been altered. In Africa it is probable that the early creed contained some such phrase as 'mundi conditorem', but neither Cyprian nor Augustine gives any countenance to its having contained *unum*.

¹ Harnack *l. c.*

Tertullian, as I said, gives three main points of catholic agreement : 'unum Deum novit creatorem universitatis, et Christum Iesum ex Virgine Maria Filium Dei creatoris, et carnis resurrectionem'. It is clear that all these points bear on a single issue. As against the Gnostics he asserts the identity of God the Creator of the material universe with the Father of Jesus Christ, the taking of human flesh from a human mother by the Son of the Creator, and the resurrection of that flesh. He is not quoting directly from the creed either of Africa or of Rome, but asserting the identity of the doctrine. From his controversial works we shall try in vain to extract the words of his creed. 'Regula fidei' is not the same as Symbolum ; if it were, Tertullian could not assert 'una omnino est' (*de Virg. Vel.* 1). (Cp. μία γὰρ ἡ πάντων γέγονε τῶν ἀποστόλων ὡς περ διδασκαλία οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἡ παράδοσις Clem. Alex. *Strom.* viii 17.) He was not blind to the variations of creed forms in different parts of the church. Nor can we account for such variants as 'tertia die resurrexisse . . . in caelos ereptum' (*de Praescr.* 13), 'Resuscitatum et in caelo resumptum' (*adv. Prax.* 2) by merely supposing a common Greek original from which he is translating.

Another argument is based on the supposed agreement of the African creed with that of certain heretics who taught at Rome and endeavoured, in some cases successfully, to pass themselves off as orthodox. 'Si subtiliter temptes (eos), per ambiguitates bilingues communem fidem adfirmant' (*adv. Valent.* 1).

To discover Tertullian's meaning the whole passage must be read. 'If you propose to them inquiries serious and honest, they answer you with stern look and contracted brow, and say "the subject is profound". If you try them with subtle questions, with ambiguities of their double tongue they affirm a community of faith (with yourself). If you intimate to them that you understand, they insist on knowing nothing'. It is clear that the suggestion of the passage is that in each case their answers were insincere ; as Irenaeus says (*Praef. lib.* 1) ὁμοία μὲν λαλοῦντες, ἀνόμοια δὲ φρονοῦντες, and (iii 15. 2) ('Hi qui a Valentino sunt) inferunt sermones, per quos capiunt simplices et illiciunt eos, simulantes nostrum tractatum, ut saepius audiant : qui etiam quaeruntur de nobis, quod cum similia nobiscum sentiant, sine causa abstinemus nos a communicatione eorum, et cum eadem dicant, et eandem habeant doctrinam, vocemus illos haereticos'. But it is clear also that their success would have been barred, had the Roman creed contained 'unum Deum' or 'creatorem universitatis'. They kept the main body of the Christian faith sufficiently well to deceive the unwary, but added to it their own idea of 'Two Gods', denied the reality of our Lord's human body, and, in consequence, of the resurrection, and moreover asserted that these novelties were the primitive apostolic doctrine which had since been

corrupted: 'Marcionem non tam innovare regulam separatione legis et evangelii, quam retro adulteratam recurasse' (Tertull. *adv. Marc.* i 20); 'post apostolorum tempora adulterium veritas passa est circa Dei regulam' (*ib.* 21), where *regula* is short for *regula fidei* and means the doctrine about God, and is not equivalent to *symbolum*.

If we desire to obtain the form of the African creed, we must turn to Augustine's *Serm.* 215, supplemented by Cyprian's letter, and in these we find on the one hand that it differs so widely from the Roman creed as given by Rufinus, that it is highly improbable that it was ever derived from it, and on the other hand that it has marked affinities with Eastern formulae. Thus in the first clause 'universorum creatorem, regem saeculorum, immortalem et invisibilem', which has no parallel in the Roman creed, might almost come straight out of the anaphora of some Eastern rite. Something approximating to 'universorum creatorem' is a common feature in Eastern creeds, and would seem to be supported by Tertullian's 'creatorem universitatis' (*de Praescr.* 36), and 'mundi conditorem' (*de Praescr.* 13, *de Virg. Vel.* 1), but the variations in his language prevent us insisting on the particular wording. Auxentius gives a creed, probably of his native Cappadocia, containing 'Patrem omnipotentem, invisibilem, impassibilem, immortalem', and Hilary quotes 'Patrem initium non habere, invisibilem esse, immortalem esse, impassibilem esse' as forming part of the formula of the second Synod of Sirmium in 357.

The thrice repeated *credo* is a feature common to the African and Gallican creeds, but is non-Roman. 'Resurrectionem carnis' instead of 'carnis resurrectionem' is assured by the *Sermo ad Catechumenos* 17, and *Enchiridion* 84, and the insertion of *Dei*, 'ad dexteram Dei Patris', is supported by Victricius and Priscillian. Finally we come to 'Vitam aeternam per sanctam ecclesiam', which is shewn by Cyprian's *Ep.* 69 to be a very early feature.

There is, then, no positive evidence that the creed of Africa was ever in verbal agreement with that of Rome, while in its complete form as given by Augustine it differs from that given by Rufinus, both in outstanding features showing similarities to Eastern formulae, and in minute variations, too many and arbitrary to allow of their being regarded as its probable basis.

One small point further needs to be mentioned: ought we to read in the second article of the Roman creed Jesus Christ or Christ Jesus? If we suppose that the Roman creed was formed about 150 we have three guides towards the order most likely to be employed. In the earliest times the name 'Christ' was a title—this is insisted upon by Tertullian against the Gnostics (*adv. Prax.* 28 sub init.)—and the Roman rule regarding titles was that they followed the personal name. Secondly, we have

the word ΙΧΘΥC the most ancient symbol of Christ which, whether represented pictorially, or, less commonly, written or spelt in separate letters, is of the greatest frequency in the Catacombs. And both these considerations are confirmed by the earliest Roman literature, the epistle of Clement, who uses Χριστός or ὁ Χριστός, ὁ Κύριος [ἡμῶν] Ἰησοῦς [ὁ] Χριστός or Ἰησοῦς Χριστός alone, but never Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς except in two passages (chs. 32 and 38), both reminiscent of St Paul; and similarly Justin Martyr has Ἰησοῦς Χριστός or, as a title, ὁ Χριστός, ὁ ἡμέτερος Χριστός, but never Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς. When we deal with teaching which is creed-like in form the evidence is conflicting. Dionysius has Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς, but the phrase occurs only once in his letter. The testimony of Novatian is divided. In *de Trinitate* c. 9 he writes, 'Regula veritatis docet nos credere post Patrem etiam in Filium Dei Christum Iesum', but in c. 16 'Est ergo credendum, secundum praescriptam regulam in Dominum, unum verum Deum, et in Eum quem misit Iesum Christum', and in c. 30 'Et hoc ergo credamus, siquidem fidelissimum, Dei Filium Iesum Christum Dominum et Deum nostrum', which reads more clearly like a direct quotation than either of the other two references. Julius writes Ἰησοῦς Χριστός with only a single exception, and the prevalence of 'Jesus Christ' in the creeds derived from Rome ought to be allowed weight. On the whole, therefore, we should probably expect to find 'in Iesum Christum' rather than the reverse order.

We may therefore take it that the primitive Roman creed was shorter than that given by Rufinus; that it began with 'Credo in Deum omnipotentem'; contained the word *passus*; and approximated more closely to the creed of Ambrose than to its other derivatives. Now we have in the *Gelasian Sacramentary* a creed which satisfies all these conditions:

Credis in Deum Patrem omnipotentem?

Credis in Iesum Christum,

Filium Eius unicum,

Dominum nostrum,

Natum,

Et passum?

Credis et in Spiritum Sanctum;

Sanctam ecclesiam;

Remissionem peccatorum;

Carnis resurrectionem?

(*Gelasian Sacramentary*, ed. Wilson, p. 86.)

Of course this creed, if primitive, must have been originally in Greek, and in consequence *passum* and *qui passus est* are only alternative translations of παθόντα; and the whole form is verbally contained in the creed of Milan, thus justifying the words of St Ambrose. I do not

think that his language need imply more than this. Kattenbusch¹ is confident that when the more extended form T replaced R it was not reckoned as a novelty, and that in like manner when the enlarged Nicene Creed, C, came into use in the West it was so used, not as differing from the Apostles' creed but as practically identical with it; N retained its name as 'the Creed of the 318' after it had been enlarged by the Council of Constantinople,² and Damasus, though he added a clause to N, still writes of it *συνορᾷ οὖν ἡ ὑμετέρα καθαρότης ταύτην μόνην τὴν πίστιν, ἥτις ἐν Νικαίᾳ κατὰ τὴν αὐθεντίαν τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐθεμελιώθη, διηνεκεῖ βεβαιότητι καθεκτέαν εἶναι, καὶ μεθ' ἡμῶν τοὺς ἀνατολικοὺς οἱ-τινες ἑαυτοὺς τῆς καθολικῆς ἐπιγινώσκουσι τοὺς τε δυτικούς· κανχᾶσθαι* (Theodt. *Ecl. Hist.* ii 22). And if we allow that *crucifixum* with or without *mortuum* or *sepultum* might be a legitimate *substitute* for *passum*, as making it more definite, while other churches might scruple to abolish the time-honoured and authoritative *passum* but add to it *crucifixum* for the same purpose of clearness of definition, then the Gelasian creed appears as underlying all the creeds of the fourth and fifth centuries which can be regarded as probably derived from Rome. Doctrinal additions and explications can easily be accounted for: they are in accord with a process which in the early times was universal; but arbitrary alterations are not so, and suggest at once a want of controlling authority. In other words, if we take as our basis the Gelasian creed and remember that before 340 the Roman authority was paramount, while between that date and 400 metropolitan sees were formed at Milan, Aquileia, Marseilles, Tarraco, and four other cities in Spain, we can account for all the variations; while on the other hand if we take Rufinus's version as our basis these variations, whether by way of addition in the case of *passum* or of alteration, remain unaccountable. Such a fact is no little confirmation of our hypothesis.

The extreme brevity of 'natum, passum' with no mention of the Resurrection or Ascension presents precisely the same difficulty whether we have in view the Gelasian creed as a declaratory form of faith or as an interrogatory. But if the faith was presented in contrast with Docetism these two words are sufficient to guard the reality of the Incarnation, and strange though it may be thought, we have it definitely asserted at the Council of Chalcedon that *τὸν κατελθόντα καὶ σαρκωθέντα ἐκ Πνεύματος Ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου* was added to the Nicene Creed N against Apollinarianism, and thus the very simplicity of 'natum, passum' is evidence of an early date.

But if this was the Roman creed of the second century, at what period does it seem most probable that it would have been en-

¹ *Das apost. Symb.* ii pp. 241, 379, 966.

² See *J. T. S.* xvi p. 212.

larged so as to reach the form given by Rufinus? All the available evidence points, I think, to the fourth century, and if, as we know to have been the case in many other matters ecclesiastical, Rome was more conservative and less developed than the East, we should say the latter half of the fourth century rather than the earlier. Further than this it is somewhat hazardous to go; yet if in the years 350 to 400 we were to select one pope rather than another, our vote would probably fall on Damasus. He succeeded Liberius who had signed an Arian or at least a non-Catholic formula; he was intimate with Peter of Alexandria; he held a council which added a clause to the creed of Nicaea, and another which condemned Apollinarius. Moreover, the council of Nicaea had given a widespread impetus to the formation or alteration of creeds. Between 325 and 382 at latest its own creed, N, had grown, except for the *Filioque* clause, to our own Nicene creed, C. If, therefore, the interrogatory creed of the *Gelasian Sacramentary* represents the primitive declaratory creed of Rome, it is not improbable that its enlargement took place between 340 and 400, and more exactly between 366 and 384.

These suggestions receive considerable support from outside sources. From Tertullian's statement we learn that Praxeas preached at Rome towards the close of the second century, and the substance of his preaching was 'Pater natus et Pater passus ipse Deus, Dominus omnipotens, Iesus Christus' (*adv. Prax.* 2), words which appear to be a quotation from a doctrinal formula, or rather from a perversion of it, and as we know from Rufinus that the first words of the Roman creed were 'Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem', we can easily make the experiment of subtracting them. And the result is 'Iesus Christus Dominus natus et passus'. At first sight this may look like mere jugglery, but later in the same Patripassian controversy we find a reference, though not so direct a quotation, to the same formula. At the beginning of the third century Callistus proposed a Christological statement which 'formed the bridge by which the Roman Christians passed from Monarchian to hypostatic Christology',¹ and the formula as given by Hippolytus (*Philosoph.* ix 11) is 'Εγὼ οἶδα ἓνα Θεὸν Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν καὶ πλὴν Αὐτοῦ ἕτερον οὐδένα γενητὸν καὶ παθητὸν. Finally, in the fourth century, we have a metrical version of a portion of the Roman creed made by Damasus himself. Over the tomb of Felix and Philippus, the sons of Felicitas, which formerly stood in the cemetery of St Priscilla, he placed an inscription of which the first lines are as follows:—

¹ Harnack *Schaff-Herzog Encycl.*, art. Monarchianism.

Qui natum passumque Deum repetisse paternas
Sedes atque iterum venturum in aethere credit,
Iudicet ut vivos rediens pariterque sepultos . . .

(Marucchi *Christian Epigraphy* pp. 346, 347.)

No one, I think, can fail to recognize that we have here the Roman creed under a very slight poetical disguise. The recurrence of the word *passum* is a confirmation of all that has been said in favour of its existence in the primitive form of the Roman creed, and the collocation of 'natum passum' is at least strong evidence of the antiquity of the Gelasian form, and certainly suggests direct quotation. But the following clauses point no less unmistakably to 'ascendit in caelos' and 'venturus iudicare vivos et mortuos'. That is, we seem to have here evidence of the existence of both the shorter and the longer form of creed at the time of Pope Damasus. A supplementary probability, or, at least, possibility, meets us on considering the further history of Marcellus. After his condemnation at Constantinople in 336 Marcellus would most naturally travel to Rome by the great road which led round the head of the Adriatic. But this probable conjecture is rendered certain by the letter of the Arian Council at Sardica. They state that Protogenes of Sardica and Cyriacus of Naissus who had signed the document recording Marcellus's condemnation had gone over to his side. But the bishop of Naissus at the Council of Sardica in 343 was not Cyriacus, but his successor, Gaudentius. It follows, therefore, that Marcellus must have made friends with Cyriacus on the journey Rome-ward. Moreover, the Canons of Sardica give us to understand that the bishop of each diocese was expected as a part of natural hospitality to entertain any brother bishop who passed through his city (Can. xi and cp. Can. xx), and supposing he stopped over a Sunday, merely to give him his communion was to treat him as a layman (κοινωνία λαϊκῶν Can. i), that is, as deposed. Unless he desired to do this, he must invite him to take part in the service (συνέρχεσθαι καὶ λειτουργεῖν Can. xii, cf. the letter of Irenaeus to Victor παρεχώρησεν δ' Ἀνίκητος τὴν εὐχαριστίαν Πολυκάρπῳ), and apparently also to preach (Can. xi). Now while it is probable that Arian bishops would go no farther—if so far—than offering Marcellus ordinary hospitality (obviously Cyriacus must have done this to give Marcellus an opportunity of winning him over), yet on the route were orthodox bishops at Adrianople, Sirmium, Siscia, and Aquileia. In each of these cities Marcellus would doubtless be received as being a zealous opponent of Arianism, but in face of his recent condemnation he would be called upon to shew his orthodoxy on the point at issue, and would probably exhibit his creed as he did at Rome. On his journey from Rome to the Council of

Sardica he would probably attach himself to an ever growing party (cp. the meeting of the Orientals at Antioch before going to the Council of Ephesus), and he would doubtless endeavour to enlist as many supporters as possible *en route*, and his recognition by Julius and Athanasius would be his strongest card. There were present at Sardica bishops from Spain, Gaul, the whole of Italy, including Milan (where the cavalcade may have assembled), and many from Africa, and thus the creed of Marcellus included in his letter to Julius, of which he states that he had kept a copy, would have received wide publicity. Moreover, in the neighbourhood of Remesiana were Naissus, Sardica, and Scupi, and bishops of all these places were present at Sardica, and of the two former the bishops had been converted from opponents to partisans, while Scupi was probably the birthplace of Niceta. Thus it is not improbable that the creed of Niceta, which is in many respects similar to that of Marcellus, may have been influenced and to some extent shaped by it. The participles *natum*, *passum*, *mortuum*, look like translations from the Greek¹; Niceta's theology was drawn from Greek sources²; and his list of Canticles is Greek³; 'sanctorum communionem' reached him from the East,⁴ and so also probably 'vitam aeternam'. But in general structure it resembles also the creed of Rufinus, and the somewhat earlier creeds of Italy, Gaul, Spain, and Africa. Hence the suggestion is that the differences of these creeds from the Gelasian form are due primarily to Eastern influences, which came to them either indirectly through a revised Roman creed, or more probably directly, and from them passed to Rome.

In this connexion an interesting point occurs with regard to the use of *inde* which is found in the creeds of Niceta, Aquileia, Rome c. 400, Milan, and Africa (Augustine *Serm.* 215). In Greek creeds for the most part the clause begins *καὶ ἐρχόμενος* or *ἐρχόμενός τε*, but *ἐκείθεν* is found in the creed of Nike 359. In the body of the creed is the common form *ἐρχόμενον*, but among the supplementary clauses under Article ix, Articles iv–viii are repeated, and Article viii reads *ἐκείθεν ἐρχόμενος κρίναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς*. The suggestion is that as *ὅθεν* is in origin peculiar to the interior of Asia Minor, so is *ἐκείθεν* to the region south of the Danube, and thence it spread westwards, appearing in the creed of Niceta c. 370, Milan c. 380, Aquileia c. 400, and Elvira at about the same date.

That the influence of Niceta in Rome was considerable is testified by Paulinus of Nola who writes to Sulpicius Severus, 'Quo genere te et venerabili episcopo atque doctissimo Nicetae, qui ex Dacia Romanis admirandus advenerat' etc. (*Ep.* xxviii 14). Nor was his influence

¹ Burn *Introd.* p. 254.

² Burn *Niceta* p. cxxxix.

³ *Ib.* p. xciv.

⁴ *J. T. S.* xxi pp. 116.

limited to Rome. Gaudentius of Brescia exhibits many parallels with his works,¹ and his sermon on the creed forms the basis of a Gallican sermon attributed to St Augustine, and is quoted in part by Isidore of Seville (*de Off.* ii 23). This passage is so important that I give it almost at length.

'Quod cum ita sit, carissimi, manete in his, quae didicistis et tradita sunt vobis. Retinete semper pactum, quod fecistis cum Domino, id est hoc symbolum, quod . . . confitemini. Pauca quidem sunt verba, sed omnia continent sacramenta. De totis enim Scripturis haec sub brevitate collecta sunt . . . ut, quoniam plures credentium litteras nesciunt, vel, qui sciunt, per occupationes saeculi scripturas legere non possunt, haec corde retinentes, habeant sufficientem sibi scientiam salutarem. Ita, carissimi . . . haec salutaris confessio volvatur in pectoribus vestris.' (Niceta *de Symb.* 13. 14.)

With which compare :

'Quaeso vos, fratres carissimi, ut nobis referentibus expositionem symboli attentius audiat. Quae doctrina symboli virtus est sacramenti, illuminatio animae, plenitudo credentium . . . Symbolum, dilectissimi, breve est verbis, sed magnum est sacramentis, parvum ostendens insinuatione latitudinis, sed totum continens compendio brevitatis. Exiguum est, ut memoriam non obruat ; sed diffusum, ut intelligentiam superexcedat. . . . Quidquid praefiguratum est in patriarchis, quidquid nuntiatum est in Scripturis, quidquid praedictum est in prophetis . . . totum hoc breviter, iuxta oraculum propheticum, symbolum in se continet confitendum. Tenendo ergo, fratres carissimi, collectionem fidei et gratiam, professionis mysterium memoriae commendatum, iam ad istius symboli professionis sacramentum textumque veniamus . . .' ('St Augustine', *Serm.* 242.)

Isidore of Seville reproduces the passage of Niceta from 'Pauca quidem' to 'scientiam salutarem' with hardly a verbal variation, and concludes by 'est enim breve fidei verbum et olim a propheta praedictum, quoniam verbum brevium faciet Dominus super terram', a reference to Isa. xxviii 22 through Rom. ix 28.

And now compare with this :

'Dilectissimi nobis, accepturi sacramenta baptismatis . . . fidem quam credentes iustificandi estis toto corde concipite et . . . ad Deum, qui mentium nostrarum est illuminator, accedite, suscipientes evangelici symboli sacramentum, . . . cuius pauca quidem verba sunt, sed magna mysteria. Sanctus etenim Spiritus, qui magistris ecclesiae ista dictavit tali eloquio, talique brevitate, salutiferam condidit fidem, ut quod credendum vobis est semperque profitendum, nec intelligentiam possit latere, nec memoriam fatigare. Intentis itaque animis symbolum discite, et quod vobis sicut accepimus tradimus, non alicui materiae quae corrumpi potest, sed paginis vestri cordis ascribite' (Preface to the 'Traditio Symboli' in the *Gelasian Sacramentary*).

¹ *J. T. S.* xv 596.

There can be little doubt that this is dependent on Niceta, and probably directly rather than indirectly. And if Niceta thus influenced the preface, it is not unlikely that he also influenced the creed.

But we can perhaps get nearer than this. In 371 a synod was held in Rome under Pope Damasus at which the leading bishop after himself was Valerian of Aquileia. This synod deposed Auxentius of Milan and received reports from brethren among the Gauls and the Bessi (possibly 'Veneti', but cp. Burn *Niceta* p. xlv, *Introd.* 107 n). Now the Bessi were the sphere of Niceta's special labours, 'and we have the positive testimony of his writings to prove acquaintance with the discussions of this Roman synod'.¹ The suggestion seems at least plausible that the baptismal creed of Rome was enlarged from a form nearly resembling, if not exactly reproducing, the Gelasian creed on the model of the creed of Marcellus, and under the influence of Niceta whose creed had itself been affected by it. Marcellus's creed would have become known, partly by his own efforts and partly by its submission to the Council of Sardica, to all, or at least a large majority of, the bishops who were likely to assemble in Rome, from Spain on the West, to Aquileia on the North, and Africa on the South, and Niceta's influence extended at least as far south as Campania.

In conclusion I do not regard it as doubtful that Marcellus's claims for his creed are true. His language is explicit, the historic situation gives testimony in his support, the creed is such as might very well have existed in central Asia Minor in the third century, and individual phrases are, so far as we can ascertain, Eastern if not characteristic of Asia Minor. If this be so, Julius's creed would be likely to differ from it considerably, and Rufinus's alleged statement to the contrary is shewn to be an exaggerated interpretation. A primitive creed would almost certainly be far more simple. The creed of the *Gelasian Sacramentary* is of the primitive type. It has all the *Lapidarstyl* which Caspari regards as a mark of the sub-apostolic age. It is at least as old as Damasus. It underlies without verbal alteration the creed of Ambrose, and is the common foundation of a series of creeds throughout the Roman jurisdiction which appear to be modified from it by local or Eastern influences. That the Roman creed was enlarged under Damasus cannot be demonstrated, but it seems highly probable; that this was done at the Council of 371 is at least an interesting conjecture. And thus the resemblance between the creed of Marcellus and that of Rufinus is accounted for not by Marcellus adopting the creed of his host, but inversely by the enlargement of the Roman creed through the indirect influence of Marcellus.

F. J. BADCOCK.

¹ Burn *Introd.* p. 107.

THE PRAYER OF ST POLYCARP AND ITS CONCLUDING DOXOLOGY.

IN his article 'The Apostolic Anaphora and the Prayer of St Polycarp' (*J. T. S.* xxi pp. 97 sq., January 1920) Dr Armitage Robinson throws doubt on the genuineness of this Prayer on account of the form of the Doxology with which it ends. He asks: 'What, for example, is the earliest reference of any kind in a doxology to the Holy Spirit? There is none in the doxologies of the New Testament, nor in the numerous doxologies of the Epistle of Clement of Rome. Can we find one in any doxology which can be securely dated before we come to Clement of Alexandria or Hippolytus?' (p. 102).

Now it so happens that, while we have a considerable number of first-century and also of third-century doxologies, the extant literary remains of the second century, and especially of the fifty years (say 140 to 190) immediately preceding Clement of Alexandria's earliest works, are almost a blank in this respect. Apart from the Prayer of Polycarp there is only one doxology which can with any great probability be assigned to this period: viz. that of Thecla's prayer (*αὐτὸς εἰς Θεὸς καὶ σοὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας*, addressed to Christ: *Acta Pauli et Theclae* 42). We have consequently no means of determining in this manner whether the use of the Threefold Name in doxologies was new in Clement's days or already traditional.

But in spite of this we are not altogether without information as to the form they took fifty years earlier than Clement. Dr Robinson has failed to notice that Justin Martyr, in describing the Great Thanksgiving in the Liturgy of his day, says that the celebrant *αἶνον καὶ δόξαν τῷ Πατρὶ τῶν ὅλων διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου ἀναπέμπει* (*Apol.* i 65); intending perhaps, incidentally, to shew the truth of what he has already stated more than once, that Christians were worshippers of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost (*Apol.* i 6, 13). The natural interpretation of Justin's words is, that the Son and the Holy Ghost were named in the doxology which concluded the Great Thanksgiving. Hence we may infer that when he wrote (150-155) the threefold doxology was already established in the public prayers of the Church, so that there is no difficulty in supposing that St Polycarp may have used it at the time of his martyrdom (155 or 156).

Further, Justin is professedly giving a description of Christian worship, not in some one church only but everywhere, which his wide experience as a traveller entitled him to do. Hence none of the usages he mentions can have been of very recent origin; all must have been at least fifteen to twenty years old. And this brings us to 130-140 as the latest possible date for the rise of the threefold doxology.

But Dr Robinson thinks that the particular way in which Polycarp's

doxology is worded is suspicious. It runs thus (in Lightfoot's text): *σε αἰνῶ, σε εὐλογῶ, σε δοξάζω διὰ τοῦ αἰωνίου καὶ ἐπουρανίου Ἀρχιερέως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἀγαπητοῦ σου Παιδός, δι' οὗ σοὶ σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ Πνεύματι ἁγίῳ [ἡ] δόξα καὶ νῦν [καὶ ἀεὶ] καὶ εἰς τοὺς μέλλοντας αἰῶνας*. Dr Robinson regards the *καὶ* before *Πνεύματι* as suggestive of a later date than the middle of the second century. But we find *καὶ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι* in a doxology of Hippolytus (*Contr. Haeres. Noet.* 18), and *σὺν καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι* in a doxology of Clement of Alexandria (*Paed.* iii 12¹⁰¹), and between Clement of Alexandria and Polycarp there are no doxologies with which comparison can be made; while, much earlier, Clement of Rome can make the solemn asseveration: *ζῆ γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς καὶ ζῆ ὁ Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον*. From such a formula there is but a single step to a doxology like Polycarp's.

But, even supposing that *καὶ Πνεύματι ἁγίῳ* would be suspicious in a doxology of Polycarp's time, there is a variant reading (dismissed without discussion by Dr Robinson). Eusebius (*H. E.* iv 15) quotes a considerable part of the *Martyrium Polycarpi*, including the Prayer; but, instead of *καὶ Πνεύματι*, he reads *ἐν Πνεύματι*. The seven primary Greek MSS of the *H. E.* all agree here, and so do two of the four oldest MSS of Rufinus's Latin version. This is the earliest evidence for the text which we possess, and there is no reason to imagine that Eusebius would deliberately alter it for dogmatic purposes, especially as Basil (*De Spiritu Sancto* xxix 72) quotes from a work of his now lost a prayer addressed to God: *διὰ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ σὺν ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι*. Besides, no controversy had as yet arisen about the wording of the doxology such as ultimately led to the abandonment of the form *ἐν Πνεύματι ἁγίῳ* in orthodox circles; and Athanasius still uses it in 358 (*Hist. Arian.* 80).

And this change in Catholic usage may well account for the reading *καὶ Πνεύματι ἁγίῳ* in the Greek MSS and in the Latin version of the *Martyrium Polycarpi*. In liturgical documents *ἐν* in this position was liable to be altered to *καὶ* or *σύν*. As an instance of this, the *σοὶ . . . διὰ . . . ἐν*, which is the normal form of doxology (according to the best text) in the eighth book of the *Apostolical Constitutions*, is everywhere changed by the later Epitomist in the *Διατάξεις διὰ Ἱεροπολίτου* to *σοὶ . . . μετὰ . . . σύν*, and a similar change has been made in most of the MSS of the *Constitutions* themselves. Acts of Martyrdom were liturgical documents; they were publicly read in church at the commemorations of the martyrs. Hence they were naturally subjected to the same kind of modification; whereas mere literary documents, like Eusebius's *Eccles. History*, have remained for the most part unaltered.

J. W. TYRER.

[With reference to what Dr Robinson says of 'the surprising pheno-

menon' that the formula 'through Whom to Thee with Him and the Holy Ghost be glory', 'which is somewhat strange to our modern ears', is 'the stereotyped doxology' of the Church of Abyssinia, while he has found only two instances of it in Greek, viz. in the Prayer of St Polycarp and in the Liturgy of St Mark: it may be noted that however rare may be the concise δι' οὗ σοὶ σὺν αὐτῷ καί, equivalent formulae, some of them even more 'strange', are not uncommon, especially in Egypt. The scheme is, a little expanded in the Coptic 'through Whom the glory befiteth Thee with Him and the Holy Ghost' (*Litt. E. and W.* pp. 145, 148, 188: Denzinger *Rit. orient.* ii p. 49); but I do not know of an instance of this in Greek. But in Athanasius we have, *de Incarn.* 57 δι' οὗ καὶ μεθ' οὗ αὐτῷ τῷ Πατρὶ σὺν αὐτῷ τῷ Υἱῷ ἐν ἀγίῳ Πνεύματι τιμῇ κτλ.: *Hist. Arian.* 80 δι' οὗ σοὶ τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ τῷ Λόγῳ ἐν Πνεύματι ἀγίῳ ἡ δόξα κτλ.: *Fest. Ep.* ix 11 'through Whom to Him and with Him be glory and dominion in the Holy Ghost': *ib.* xi 15 'through Whom to the Same and to his Father be glory'. A second type, δι' οὗ καὶ μεθ' οὗ σοὶ ἡ δόξα σὺν τῷ παναγίῳ . . . Πνεύματι, occurs in the Liturgy of St Mark (*Litt. E. and W.* pp. 137, 142), and, if we may judge from the cue, which is all that is given, in the Greek Egyptian St Basil (Renaudot *Lit. orient.* i pp. 57, 60, 63, 76 sq., 79), as well as in St Cyril of Jerusalem *Cat.* xv fin. and St Gregory of Nazianzus *Orat.* vii fin., and the Syriac Liturgy of St James (*Litt. E. and W.* pp. 83 sq., 89, 93, 100, 105). F.E.B.]

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF HADRIAN'S SACRAMENTARY.

Das Sacramentarium Gregorianum nach dem Aachener Urexemplar,
herausgegeben von D. HANS LIETZMANN, Professor in Jena.
(8vo. Münster in Westf., 1921.)

THE third part of the series of *Liturgiegeschichtliche Quellen* maintains, both in importance of matter and in quality of workmanship, the high standard which had been set in the first two parts by P. Kunibert Mohlberg's excellent edition of the St Gallen MS 348. The task Professor Lietzmann has taken in hand is not an easy one; it is, indeed, perhaps less simple in its conditions than he has conceived it to be; and it may perhaps be well to suspend judgement about the certainty of his conclusions. But it is right at once, in expressing this opinion, to say that it would be difficult to speak too highly of the skill and care with which, as a rule, he handles the material he has actually used. Assuming that his estimate of that material is correct, his treatment of it is generally convincing, and, apart from a small number of points

where his judgement seems to have failed to hit the mark, it would appear that he has come as near to the fulfilment of his purpose as the conditions of the problem allow.

The aim of his work is the reconstruction of the text of that Gregorian Sacramentary which was sent to Charles the Great, some ten or fifteen years before his coronation at Rome, by Hadrian I, and from which the Gregorian Sacramentaries of later date derive the most important part of their contents. This work has seemed to him to be made more urgently needful by the appearance of a volume issued a few years ago by the Henry Bradshaw Society¹; and no doubt if that volume were taken, as its rather vague title may have suggested, as an attempt at reconstruction, there was need to provide something better. It would have been a misfortune that anything so inadequate, from that point of view, should occupy a position to which it had no claim. And if there is reason to think that it would have been wiser, or at any rate safer, to test the foundations for a scheme of reconstruction by a comparison, or at least by some experimental examination, of the readings of a larger number of the earliest group of manuscripts, it is only fair to remember the difficulties which have, during recent years, stood in the way of all such research.

Readers of his *Petrus und Paulus in Rom* will remember that Professor Lietzmann there accepts the position which may be said to have been established by the late Mr Edmund Bishop and his fellow-worker, P. Suitbert Bäumer, with regard to the Sacramentary of Hadrian and its relation to the Gregorian Sacramentaries of later days. He accepts, that is to say, the view that Hadrian's Sacramentary or *Gregorianum* is to be found, either by itself, or distinct or easily distinguishable from the other matter which has been added to it, in a considerable number of manuscripts of the ninth and tenth centuries, all written, apparently, in the Frankish kingdom: that the supplement which is in most of the earliest group of these manuscripts appended to the *Gregorianum*, and the preface to that supplement which some of them contain (known from its first word as the 'Hucusque'), are the

¹ *The Gregorian Sacramentary under Charles the Great* (H.B.S. vol. xlix, 8vo, 1915). As I was myself the editor of this volume, I think it may be well to say that there is not, in my own judgement, any question of rivalry or of comparison between Prof. Lietzmann's work and my own. We have been to a certain extent working over the same ground and using the same manuscripts, but in different ways and for different purposes. I had (as I hoped, sufficiently) disclaimed any attempt at producing a final edition: and my aim was merely to supply, for the use of other scholars, a working instrument which might be of service in the process of examining and comparing the manuscripts of the Gregorian Sacramentary. It is a matter of some regret to me that the issue of this book should have been a cause tending to hasten Professor Lietzmann's fulfilment of his scheme; but I am happy to think that it has been of some use to him in his task.

work of Alcuin; and that, as 'Hucusque' tells us, Alcuin had not only provided the supplement to meet practical needs which the *Gregorianum* by itself did not satisfy, but had revised the current text of the *Gregorianum* with a view to correcting, 'artis stilo', the errors introduced by scribes, and had distinguished by 'virgulae' certain parts of its contents which could not be regarded as possessing the authority of St Gregory.

So far, Professor Lietzmann followed the lines of Mr Bishop and his colleague. But he took note of a point which they had (not unwittingly) passed by, and found in it the basis of a classification of the manuscripts of the *Gregorianum* which he proposed to apply for purposes of textual criticism: and in the present work we have its application and its result.

Some of the manuscripts of the earliest group, and some of later—even of much later—date, include in the title prefixed to their text of the *Gregorianum* (or to their text as a whole, where the *Gregorianum* is blended with other matter) the statement that they have been transcribed 'ex authentico libro bibliothecae cubiculi'. This Professor Lietzmann interprets, probably quite rightly, as a claim to be derived from the book sent by Hadrian to Charles, and preserved as a standard text in the palace library at Aix-la-Chapelle.¹ He calls attention to the remark of Dr Ludwig Traube that the words never occur in the title of a manuscript which contains 'Hucusque': and he adopts the view that the presence of these words marks the text of the *Gregorianum* before which they appear as being independent of Alcuin's revision, and derived from Hadrian's Sacramentary, while the appearance of 'Hucusque', on the other hand, marks the text of the *Gregorianum*, which it follows, as being derived from Alcuin's revised text. By this test he divides the early manuscripts into two classes—a 'Hadrian class' and an 'Alcuin class': and he holds that this classification indicates the lines on which reconstruction of the text of the 'authenticum' may safely proceed.

It seems open to some doubt, on the evidence at present available, whether the reference to the 'authenticum' in the title of those manuscripts which would thus be placed in the 'Hadrian class' can be so strictly applied as a test that the classification furnishes a satisfactory basis for reconstructive work. It is clear that, if we include the later manuscripts of the group, the words in question do not and cannot apply

¹ It is not perhaps quite so certain as he appears to think that the words did not occur in the title of Hadrian's Sacramentary, as a reference to a standard copy in the Papal Library. They are so interpreted in the title of at least one late manuscript, which substitutes 'Romanae ecclesiae' for 'cubiculi'; Ebner *Quellen und Forschungen* p. 37. The exact interpretation, however, is unimportant: for practical purposes Hadrian's book, not that from which it was copied, would be the 'authenticum' for Charles's dominions.

in the same sense to all of them. In some of the later manuscripts the reproduction of the words is, as Professor Lietzmann himself says, merely mechanical.¹ And if we consider only those which seem to be of the ninth century, and are thus probably separated from the 'authenticum' by comparatively few descents, we shall find that even here the claim cannot be admitted with equal strictness of interpretation for all of them. They appear to be four:

1. The Cambrai MS 164 (C) written for Hildoard, Bishop of Cambrai, in 811 or 812.

2. The Vatican MS *Reginae* 337 (r), written probably c. 850, certainly before 868.

3. The Paris MS B. N. lat. 2292, written probably c. 870.

4. The Vienna MS Theol. 149, from Reichenau.²

Of these, Professor Lietzmann regards C as an actual transcript from the 'authenticum': and he has observed that C and r exhibit agreement in certain points which clearly indicate descent from a common archetype. But their texts of the *Gregorianum*, taken as a whole, differ in their general character. That of C is in a high degree ungrammatical. That of r is not wholly free from grammatical errors: but these are comparatively few, and the faults of the first scribe seem to have been mainly the result of a tendency to omit letters, syllables, or words. It is clear that if C be regarded as an accurate copy of the 'authenticum' the text of r must be the product of a revision. Professor Lietzmann, in the introduction to his reconstructed text, remarks of r that it has occasionally been subject to the influences of Church usage and of Alcuin's edition, and describes it as 'mannigfach entstellt'.³ He thus

¹ *Petrus und Paulus in Rom*, p. 34.

² Of these, Prof. Lietzmann has employed the first two, using for C a photographic copy, for r the text printed in H.B.S. vol. xlix. In that volume this manuscript is distinguished by the symbol R: but it is probably most convenient here to follow Prof. Lietzmann's notation.

³ Pp. xxxviii, xxv. In this description I am uncertain whether he has had in view the frequent indications, given in the printed text, of corrections in the manuscript, without at the same time taking account of what has been said in the preceding introduction about the date and the peculiar method of the corrector. See H.B.S. vol. xlix, p. xxvi. It may be worth while here to take notice of some points in which he has fallen short of complete accuracy in regard to this manuscript. (1) He places its date (p. xxv) in the time of Hadrian II, on the strength of a note by Mr Bishop, which, while it points out that the Hadrian whose name appears (as an addition) in the *Exultet* cannot, as had been supposed, be Hadrian I, gives as a reason that the name has replaced that (also an addition) of Nicolas, and assigns to the manuscript a date about 850. (2) He states (p. xxv) that it contains not only Alcuin's appendix, but 'Hucusque', apparently forgetting that this preface never occurs in a manuscript of the class to which he assigns it. These slips are the more unaccountable since in *Petrus und Paulus in Rom* he had stated the facts correctly. (3) On p. xxvi he gives, as the present press-mark of the 'Codex

appears to admit that his classification of it as a member of the 'Hadrian' group is subject to certain reservations.

Of the third manuscript it is clear that its *Gregorianum*, if independent of Alcuin's revision of the text, is probably not altogether independent of Alcuin's work: for it includes, as Mr Bishop has pointed out, a good deal of matter which is found in Alcuin's supplement to the *Gregorianum*, and has probably been derived from that source. Of the fourth I do not know any account sufficiently detailed to indicate clearly its relation to the other three. It appears to contain Alcuin's Supplement with some modifications and additions: and as it is practically certain to have been among the manuscripts examined by Professor Traube, it may be safely regarded as not containing 'Hucusque', and therefore as falling into the 'Hadrian class'. Some readings cited from it agree with C and r, where these differ from those of the manuscript selected by Professor Lietzmann as the representative of the 'Alcuin class': but this fact, while it suggests that the text of its *Gregorianum* might repay examination with a view to classification, does not carry us far: the citations are not sufficient in quantity or in character to shew that it belongs to a group independent, for their text of the *Gregorianum*, of Alcuin's revision. For the confirmation, or for the testing, of the theory that such a group of manuscripts really exists, some further examination of the unexplored texts of the Paris and the Vienna manuscripts would seem desirable: and in the absence of such evidence as this may be found to give, it seems best to suspend judgement about the security of this part of Professor Lietzmann's foundation.

If we turn to the earliest manuscripts of the 'Alcuin class' there seems to be also here some reason for hesitation, and for holding that further comparison is desirable before deciding that the 'Hucusque' manuscripts as a class, or any one of them, can be securely accepted as furnishing a text reproducing the results of Alcuin's revision of the *Gregorianum*. It is most likely that Alcuin's work was done before 800; it cannot be placed later than 804: and the earliest manuscripts of the class are probably not much earlier than 850. The intervening years were a time of rather varied liturgical activity; and the manuscripts covered by Mr Bishop's survey suggest that even in the *Gregorianum* Alcuin's work was not left untouched by influences which worked more freely after the death of Charles than under his control.

Of the character of Alcuin's textual work on the *Gregorianum* we may gather from 'Hucusque' that it was limited to the correction of manifest *Reginae Sueciae* cited by the Benedictine editors of St Gregory, 'Vat. Reg. 337', having apparently forgotten for the moment that this is the press-mark of r, and failed to observe that the 'Cod. Reg. Sueciae' in question is really (as appears quite clearly from the Benedictines' account of it) identical with another of his own principal authorities, the Vatican MS Ottob. lat. 313.

errors in the current copies, and did not include the importation or substitution of matter not included in the text of the 'authenticum'.¹ For such alternative or additional forms he had a place in the Supplement; there was no need, and it was probably not in accordance with his instructions, to interpolate them in the *Gregorianum*. But in all the manuscripts covered by Mr Bishop's examination we find more or less of such interpolation. The influence of the Sacramentaries of the 'later Gelasian' type has evidently affected the contents of their *Gregorianum* in varying degrees: and it is most likely that in a greater or less degree the same influence would affect its text. It is hardly to be doubted that this influence had been one source of the errors which Alcuin's revision was intended to remove. Both in early transcripts from the 'authenticum' and in the multiplication of copies derived from them, the accuracy of the scribes would inevitably be affected by their long use of the Gelasian texts—the readings of the 'eighth-century Gelasian' Mass-books would tend to appear in the 'Gregorian' text, just as those of the Old Latin version tend to appear in manuscripts of the Vulgate. And in its turn Alcuin's revised text would naturally be affected in the same way, perhaps even more strongly, since the tendency to a conscious return to the earlier liturgical tradition would lead to the intentional adoption of the older readings.

The Vatican manuscript Ottob. lat. 313 (O), which Professor Lietzmann has taken as the representative of the 'Hucusque' group, and therefore of Alcuin's text, is apparently the earliest of the group; and its *Gregorianum* shews less interpolation than that of the others discussed by Mr. Bishop. But it was from this point of view—as exhibiting the contents and arrangement of Alcuin's Sacramentary, not as reproducing the textual results of Alcuin's revision of the *Gregorianum*—that Mr Bishop placed it among the best examples of the combination *Gregorianum* + 'Hucusque' + Supplement. And before deciding on its value for purposes of textual criticism, it would have been desirable, had it been possible, to make at least an experimental comparison of its text with some other of the earliest manuscripts which contain the like combination.² For the choice actually made of another 'Hucusque' text for purposes of comparison it is difficult to account, except on the

¹ The 'authenticum' itself was probably not free from grammatical errors, such as Alcuin strove to remedy: and the guarded language of 'Hucusque' may suggest that his aim was not so much to secure exact agreement with the 'authenticum' as to secure a text of respectable latinity.

² Perhaps such a comparison with MS 19 bis of the Autun Seminary (mentioned, but not discussed in detail, by Mr Bishop) might be of special interest from the textual point of view. This manuscript is one of the earliest of the 'Hucusque' group: and as it was written, apparently, at Tours, where Alcuin's reputation might have secured special respect for his work, it seems possible that it may have preserved the text of his edition of the *Gregorianum* in a form less altered than other Sacramentaries of the same period.

ground that it was necessary to use the most accessible witness, without much regard to the certainty of its evidence. The printed text of Pamelius, which has been thus employed, is no doubt a careful piece of work according to the standard of its times: but it is not quite clear what manuscripts were employed by its editor, or how he handled them; while it is most probable that, like other editors of his time, he did not hesitate to correct the readings of his authorities, where they seemed to need correction.

Professor Lietzmann bases his reconstruction on three manuscripts: C, regarded as transcribed directly from the 'authenticum', is the primary authority; O, regarded as exhibiting Alcuin's recension of the text, and r, regarded as derived from the 'authenticum' by less direct and less immediate descent than C, stand next. Where C and O agree as against r, they suffice, as a rule, to determine the reading of the archetype. Where C and r agree as against O, the reading of O is to be regarded as derived from Alcuin's recension, especially if it lacks the support of Pamelius's text (p). The combination of O r p against C may suggest a doubt whether C has preserved the reading of the archetype. But there is sometimes reason to think that an early reading, supported by the Leonine Sacramentary, has been retained in the 'authenticum' and preserved by C, though it has been discarded by the other texts. The *Gelasianum*, as found in the Vatican MS Reg. 316, has also weight in indicating the survival of early readings: but it has perhaps still greater importance for the text of O, as being the source from which Alcuin drew his corrections of the apparent errors of the current Gregorian texts. The Sacramentaries of the 'eighth-century Gelasian' group are occasionally cited: but comparatively little use has been made of them.¹

Against the soundness of this method there is not much to be said, if it be granted that the estimate of the three manuscripts, C, O, and r, is correct. But an 'advocatus diaboli' might say that the claims of C to be on the whole a faithful and accurate transcript of the 'authenticum' stand in need of support. Its scribe, as we may see from his colophon, was not fettered by ordinary rules of grammar, and probably, even apart from the influence of the books he had been accustomed to use, would add in his copy to the number of such grammatical blunders as may have existed in the text of the 'authenticum'. As a matter of fact a considerable number of the readings which appear in C alone of the three manuscripts are to be found also in one or more of the available texts of the 'later Gelasian' books. These books depend to a large

¹ It is to be noted that in the citations from Ménard's notes of the readings of the ancient manuscript of Rheims, that book appears to be regarded as an early example of the Gregorian Sacramentary. It was, as is clear from Joseph Voisin's transcript, the text of which was published some years ago in the *Bibliothèque Liturgique* of Canon Ulysse Chevalier, a book of the 'later Gelasian' type.

extent on the earlier *Gelasianum*, and probably to a considerable extent upon a source closely related to the Leonine Sacramentary: and early readings may sometimes be due to them, rather than to the 'authenticum'. With regard to O he might say that while the number of places in which its readings differ from those of C and r indicates an amount of alteration, often of a trivial sort, greater than is suggested by the language of 'Hucusque', it is clear that it has been affected by interpolations derived from the 'later Gelasian' books, and that its peculiar readings also shew signs of their influence. He might argue that it is possible to regard C rather as a specimen of the books which called for Alcuin's work of revision than as a close and exact copy of the 'authenticum', and to hold that O, while it is probably derived from Alcuin's revision, cannot safely be regarded as a faithful representative of Alcuin's text. About the merits of r, there might be less need for him to suggest doubts, as its relative value in the scheme of reconstruction is not high. It stands closer to the archetype than O: but its text, as compared with that of C, shews the results of a revision, in which the emendations sometimes agree with those of O, and where they differ, are sometimes better, sometimes worse: even where they may be regarded as certainly right, it does not follow that they were the readings of the 'authenticum'. And if Alcuin was responsible for the revision which is represented by O, the authority of the revision represented by r is quite uncertain.

The part of such an advocate is odious, and I am not desirous of undertaking it. Nor am I inclined, without further evidence, to uphold such a counter-estimate of the value of the three manuscripts as I have sketched. But it could not, on present evidence, be put aside as altogether groundless; and it is clear that its acceptance would seriously affect the validity of Professor Lietzmann's method and the security of his text. It is at least quite possible, and I believe not unlikely, that further exploration of the early texts of the *Gregorianum*, while it may give us further light upon the character and extent of Alcuin's revision, may establish the general correctness of his classification and of that estimate of the three manuscripts on which he has relied. And it therefore seems the more a matter of regret that he has been hindered by the conditions of the time, and by a desire for the early completion of a task which he believed to be urgent, from making the foundations of his work more sure. For such exploration as seems to be desirable, and for the publication of its results, we may have long to wait. But in the meantime, admirable as his work undoubtedly is in many respects, it seems wisest to delay a full acceptance of his judgement, and to look upon the reconstructed text as an authority requiring perhaps more than ordinary caution in its use.

H. A. WILSON.

A NEW FRAGMENT OF THE GOSPEL (?) OF
BARTHOLOMEW.

JEROME had heard of an apocryphal Gospel of Bartholomew,¹ Dionysius the Areopagite quotes two sentences of the teaching of 'the divine Bartholomew';² part of an Apocalypse of Bartholomew was published by E. Dulaurier in 1835,³ but only within the last thirty years have large fragments of Bartholomew apocrypha in Greek, Latin, Coptic, and Slavonic been made generally accessible.⁴

To these may be added a short saying of Bartholomew which is quoted in the so-called Book of Hierotheos.⁵ The writer is explaining why the mystical experience of crucifixion is a necessary stage in the ascent of the mind to complete union with the Good which is the source of all things. Amongst other reasons he gives the following :

‘The Apostle says concerning Christ, “If we suffer with him, we shall also be glorified with him” (Rom. viii 17). How then can we suffer with him if we suffer not with his sufferings? How then can we suffer with his sufferings if we endure not the cross? For the divine Bartholomew wrote “As for me I glorify the Cross of mysteries (or ‘of sufferings’), and I know that it is the first gate of the house of God”.’

Several questions are raised by this quotation. (a) The form of cita-

¹ *Comment. in Evang. Matthaevi*, Prologus (P. L. xxvi 17 A).

¹ *de Myst. Theol.* i 3 οὕτω γοῦν ὁ θεῖος Βαρθολομαῖός φησι, καὶ πολλὴν τὴν θεολογίαν εἶναι καὶ ἐλαχίστην, καὶ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον πλατὺ καὶ μέγα καὶ αὖθις συντετμημένον.

³ *Fragments . . . de Barthélémy et de l'histoire des communautés religieuses fondées par s. Pakhôme*. Paris.

* These fragments have been collected in a monograph in the *Revue Biblique* by A. Wilmart and E. Tisserant, who suggest tentatively that they are the remains of various later amplifications of an original Greek gospel of B. which first saw the light 'vers le iv^e siècle, dans quelque secte chrétienne en marge de l'Église d'Alexandrie', *R. B.*, 1913, pp. 161-190, 321-368, where a full account is given of all earlier work on the subject: cp. also *R. B.*, 1921, pp. 481-516; *Patrologia Orientalis* x ii pp. 185-194; *J. T. S.* vi pp. 577-586, vii p. 633 f.

⁵ Contained in two Syriac MSS: Brit. Mus. Add. 7189 and Harvard Sem. Mus. 4009. The reference to Bartholomew occurs in bk. ii cap. 21, fol. 79 b 1 of the English MS.

[illegible]

Brit. Mus. Add. 7189 gives the text twice, once as quoted above and once substituting **ם** for **ה**. Sem. Mus. 4009 reads **ה** **ה** **ה** **ם**. The commentator, Theodosios of Antioch, whose notes are given in full in Add. 7189, reads **ה** only. Theodosios throws no light on the source of the quotation beyond identifying Bartholomew with the Apostle of that name.

tion implies a written source, some book not merely describing the adventures of Bartholomew but written in his name. None of the published fragments provides quite what is needed. Is the unknown source therefore to be identified with the original Gospel of Bartholomew which Wilmart and Tisserant suppose to lie behind all the known apocrypha?

(b) If the Cross is the *first* gate it seems to be implied, as Theodosios points out, that there are subsequent gates. Have we here a reminiscence of those Gnostic schemes of redemption in which the gateways leading to the spheres of the various 'archons' are prominent features?

(c) When the writer refers to the 'Cross of mysteries', is he thinking of the historical Crucifixion of Christ or of the mystical experience of the soul? In other words, was the Apocryphon here quoted a mystical book like the book of Hierotheos?

It is interesting that of the two earliest known quotations of Bartholomew one occurs in the writings of Dionysius the Areopagite, and the other in a book which Theodosios at any rate believed to have been written by the teacher of Dionysius, and that both writers use the epithet 'divine'. It is also noteworthy that the birthplace chosen by Wilmart and Tisserant for their original Gospel of Bartholomew is the kind of place where von Harnack and others suppose the Dionysian literature to have originated (*Hist. of Dogma* iv 337).

F. S. MARSH.

ON THE AFRICAN ORIGIN OF CODEX PALATINUS OF THE GOSPELS (c).

In his lucid and interesting account of the recovery of a lost leaf of Codex Palatinus (c) of the Old Latin Gospels Prof. A. Souter raises the question of the origin of the MS and comes to the conclusion that the MS was written in Africa.¹ I think something may be said in support of this view, but the grounds on which Prof. Souter bases his conclusion need examining. Nothing is more important in Latin palaeography than to ascertain the characteristics which distinguish the various schools of writing. The present note is concerned with the question of the African school. Did such a school exist in the fifth and sixth centuries and, if so, what were its distinguishing features?

Whenever there is a suspicion that a given MS may come from Africa it is sound palaeography to resort at once to Codex Bobiensis (k) of the

¹ *J. T. S.* xxiii (1922) p. 285.

Gospels¹ to see if striking similarities are to be observed. For, if any Latin MS of the Bible comes from Africa, Codex *k* is that MS. Not only is the form of its uncial characters 'exotic', as Traube expressed it (taking the Italian uncials as the normal), but the many curious symbols for the 'Nomina Sacra' which abound in *k* are found in no other Latin MS.² This in itself renders *k* a provincial product. When to peculiarity of script and of abbreviations we add peculiarity of text the surmise that we are dealing with a provincial product changes to conviction. Now we know that the text of *k* is African. We naturally infer that the script is also. This hypothesis, moreover, receives corroboration from the circumstance that the two MSS which most closely resemble it graphically contain works of an African Father, St Cyprian.³ The general angularity of curved letters found in *k* is also to be seen in these two MSS of Cyprian. And the peculiarly shaped *m*, with the first stroke a markedly straight line, as in half-uncials, is especially noteworthy. Another characteristic letter is *e* with the tongue rather coarsely drawn, not at all like the *e* of such genuine Italian MSS as the Puteanus of Livy (MS Paris lat. 5730)⁴ and the Codex Vercellensis (*a*) of the Gospels,⁵ written about the same time as *k* and the Cyprian MSS mentioned. And the stroke indicating omitted *m* or *n* at the end of a line is placed in *k* and the two Cyprian MSS not *after* the vowel, as is usual in Italian MSS of this period, but directly *over* it. If we were right in regarding *k* as of African origin then the similarity between *k* and the two MSS of Cyprian (an African writer) is tantamount to confirmation of the African origin of these two Cyprian MSS also. If this reasoning is correct *k* and the two Cyprian MSS constitute our first touchstone for testing African origin, at least for uncial MSS of about the fifth century.

How does the case stand with regard to the Codex Palatinus? The first point to bear in mind is that it is not as old an uncial MS as either *k* or the two Cyprian MSS. It is perhaps by a century more recent. This may account for the absence in *e* of the peculiar forms found in *k*.

¹ MS Turin G vii 15. For facsimiles see C. Cipolla *Codici Bobbiesi* pl. xiv-xv. and the complete reproduction of the MS: *Il codice evangelico k della biblioteca universitaria nazionale di Torino* (Turin 1913). Also *Old Latin Biblical Texts* vol. ii (Oxford 1886); and *J. T. S.* v (1903) 88 sqq.

² See L. Traube *Nomina Sacra* pp. 138 sqq.

³ I refer to MS Turin F iv 27 (+ Milan D 519 inf. + Vatic. lat. 10959) and the fragment, Orleans 192 (169) fol. 1 reproduced in Chatelain *Uncialis Scriptura* pl. V a. The Turin MS is reproduced in Chatelain *op. cit.* pl. iv, and in Cipolla *Cod. Bob.* pl. xiii. Facsimile of the Vatican fragment of the Turin MS, in Ehrle-Liebaert *Specimina cod. lat. Vatic.* pl. 5 d.

⁴ Facsimiles in Chatelain *Pal. des class. lat.* pl. cxvi; *Pal. Soc.* pl. 31, 32; Zange-meister-Wattenbach *Exempla* pl. xix and elsewhere: the entire MS is reproduced on a reduced scale by B thaud of Paris.

⁵ Facsimile in Ehrle-Liebaert *Specimina* pl. 5 c.

But are there no features in *e* which point to Africa as its home? Prof. Souter gives three: '(1) the fact that the initial letter of each column, whether it be at the beginning of a word or not, is always a very large capital; (2) the horizontal stroke beyond the end of a line indicating omitted *m* or *n* is neither a horizontal stroke pure and simple (with or without a . or ,) nor a gracefully curved line (with or without a . or ,), but a horizontal stroke with a short angular hook at each end, thus <— ; (3) the letter *c* is not represented by a *c* with a faint oblique stroke at the foot, but by an additional curl of the lower part of the curve of the *c* itself.' Let us examine these three features in their order.

(1) If the use of capitals at the beginning of each page or column is an African feature we should find it in *k* and the Cyprian MSS. This is not the case, however. On the other hand, this feature, if it be African, should be absent in non-African MSS. What are the facts? We find capitals at the beginning of each page or each column used regularly in the following MSS:

A. Classical Works.

1. Vatic. lat. 3256—Virgil. Square capitals s. iv.
2. Vienna 16¹—Lucan. Rustic cap. s. iv.
3. Rome Vatic. lat. 10696—Livy. Uncial s. v.
4. Paris lat. 5730²—Livy. Uncial s. v.
5. Vienna 15—Livy. Uncial s. v.
6. Vienna 1^a—Pliny Hist. Nat. Uncial s. v.
7. St Paul in Carinthia XXV 2. 36—Pliny H. N. Uncial s. v.
8. Vienna 1—Ulpianus, Instit. Uncial s. v.
9. Verona XV (13)—Gaius, Instit. Uncial s. v.
10. New York, Morgan MS M 462—Pliny, Epist. Uncial s. v.

B. Christian Works.

1. Paris lat. 17725—Gospels (ff²). Uncial s. v.
2. Milan Ambros. C 73 inf.—Gospels. Uncial s. v.
3. Vienna 1235³—Gospels. Uncial s. v.
4. Verona XXVIII (26)—August. Uncial s. v.
5. Petrograd Q. v. I. 3—August. Uncial s. v.
6. Würzburg th. q. 2—Hieron. Uncial s. v.
7. St Paul in Carinthia XXV 3. 19—Ambros. Uncial s. v.
8. Verona XIII (11)—Hilarius. Uncial s. v.

The above list, it will be seen, includes only the oldest of the Latin

¹ The MS is now in Naples. Facsimiles in *Mon. Pal. Vindob.* ii pl. 27-28.

² Only here and there, e.g. fol. 257^v col. ii begins with a capital though in the middle of a word.

³ Now in Naples.

MSS which shew the feature under discussion. No one will venture to claim these MSS for Africa on the strength of this feature. Some of them obviously originated in Italy, with which country their whole past history is bound up. Others are so like them as to justify their being ascribed to Italy.

(2) The shape of the *m* or *n* stroke found in *e* is, I fear, no criterion. It is found in Vienna 1235 (now in Naples) and in other MSS that have no connexion with Africa.

(3) The *c* found in Codex Palatinus is a form taken from Rustic capitals. The scribe of *e* is guilty here of mixing types of writing. It is hard to find another uncial MS with this form of *c*. It is not found in *k* nor in the two Cyprian MSS referred to above. There is no ground whatever for considering it African.

Although it must be granted that the palaeographical arguments adduced by Prof. Souter do not establish the African theory, there is one external feature which connects the Palatinus with *k* and the Cyprian MSS and thus supports that theory. The feature is sufficiently peculiar to merit attention. I refer to the trick which the scribe of *e* has of writing his letters not on the line or just a little above the line (as is usual with scribes) but partly above and partly below the line, so that the ruled line appears to cut through the lower portion of the letters. This feature is very marked in the Turin Cyprian MS. It is also seen here and there in *k*, and, unless I err, in the Orleans fragment of Cyprian as well. The leaf of the Palatinus examined by me in the British Museum shews the same unusual feature. Now this feature is very rare in Latin MSS, and *e* shares this feature with *k* (the African text of the Gospels) and two MSS of Cyprian, an African writer. It is, of course, possible that this agreement is merely accidental. It is more reasonable, however, to ascribe it to the common African origin of the MSS in question. If the above is correct, our main source of information of African palaeography during the earliest period is to be found in *k* and *e* and the Cyprian MSS mentioned above.

Codex Palatinus of the Gospels was preserved in the eighteenth century in the Bishop's Palace at Trent. For over a century it found a home in the Imperial and Royal Library of Vienna (MS 1185). As a result of the war the precious book is again at Trent.¹ *Habent sua fata libelli.*

E. A. LOWE.

¹ See H. Tietze *Die Entführung von Wiener Kunstswerken nach Italien* (Vienna 1919) pp. 38 and 51.

NOTES ON HEBREW LEXICOGRAPHY.

THE following notes are intended, if possible, to clear up a few words of uncertain meaning in the Hebrew lexicons, to draw attention to several cognate roots occurring in Assyrian, and to suggest some corrections in the Oxford Hebrew Lexicon of Drs Brown, Driver, and Briggs.

אָדַב. In a note on this root in the last number of this JOURNAL (vol. xxiii no. 89 p. 70) I traced the Hebrew root אָדַב back to Ass. *uddubu* 'to oppress'. Is it further possible to see a connexion with Arab. أَدَبَ I 'was well-mannered'; II (a) 'educated', (b) 'punished'? If this is so, the meaning 'punished' would be the primary sense in Arabic, the root having signified originally 'oppress' or 'vex', whence it passed over into 'chastise' 'punish', and lastly came to denote 'trained' 'educated'; if the Pi'el, as seems likely in Hebr. and Ass., was the only form in current use, it is not improbable that in Arab. also أَدَبَ was the earlier form, whence أَدَّبَ was derived.

אָחַח II. 'brazier'. Cp. Ass. *aḫḫ* 'fire-pan', || to *tinūru* (= Hebr. תִּנּוּר) (Muss.-Arnolt *Ass. Wtb.* i 28 a).

אָמַח. The meaning of אָמַח in the phrase אֲמוֹת הַסָּפִים (Isa. vi 4) is entered in the lexicons as uncertain (e.g. B.D.B. 52 b); the *Thesaurus* conjectured 'foundation', which is adopted by the R.V. ('the foundations of the thresholds'), and Ges.-Buhl 42 b correctly compare Ass. *ammatu*, though wavering between *ammatu* (4) 'bolt' and *ammatu* (2) 'ground', 'land' (M.-A. *Ass. H.W.B.* 63 b). The phrase 'the bolts of the thresholds', however, is meaningless, and it is necessary to have recourse to the second alternative. Hitherto the sense of *ammatu* has been conjectural, for the word only occurs in the *Epic of Creation* i 2 : *šapliš ammatum šuma la zakrat* 'the earth (?) below was not called by name'. But, as Prof. Langdon points out, this conjecture is now confirmed by a v. l. in a fragment of this passage published by Ebeling in *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts* i 281 no. 162 l. 2, which reads *ab-na-tu*—an error for *aḫ-na-tu* caused by the omission of one stroke; this word also is an *ān. ēp.*, but its meaning is established by a comparison of the Ar. وَطَنَ 'inhabited', 'dwelt', and وَطْنٌ 'dwelling-place'. The Ass. *aḫnatum* will therefore denote the 'inhabited world' and *ammatum* must signify the 'earth', *terra firma* or the like; and this gives a suitable sense to the Hebr. אָמַח, the 'ground' in which the threshold is set, if אָמַח be read for אֲמוֹת הַסָּפִים. The root is undoubtedly to be sought in אָמַח 'to be wide', *ummu* 'mother', and so on; cp. Aesch. *Theb.* 16 ἡρώμην.

אָמַח 'was strong'. The root has been found by Prof. Langdon in

Ass. in a tablet from Kuyunjik. no. 3507, ll. 23-24: *a-ma-aš šu-ul-li-ia* 'the efficacy of my prayers'.

אמפ. With **בית האמפ** 'the storehouse' (1 Chron. xxvi 15) cp. (?) Ass. *bīt asuppi* (Meissner *Supplement* p. 13 a).

באר. Ges.-Buhl compares Arab. **عبر** 'declared', and B.D.B. Arab. **بار** 'dug a well'; but the root is established by Ass. *ba'dru*, II i 'to declare' (e. g. lost property); e. g. Code of Hammurabi, col. ix ll. 32-36: *mimmāšu ḥalgam maḥar ilim ubār* 'he shall declare (or prove) his lost property before the god'.¹

דבה 'defamation'. The derivation from **דבב** 'glided' (B.D.B. 179 b) is probably incorrect; the root is seen in Ass. *dabābu* (i) 'speak', (ii) 'intrigue', (iii) 'sue' at law; *dibbu* 'plaint'; e. g. Nabūnā'id 356, 28-29: *amēl daiānē dibbišunu išmū*; cp. *bēl dibbi* 'plaintiff'. Dr Burney cites also *bēlē dabābiya* from King *Seven Tablets of Creation*, App. V, *Hymn to Ishtar*, l. 56 obv. Compare also Syr. **دب** 'adversary' and Arab. **دب** 'tale-bearer' (Ges.-Buhl, 136 a).

דומה I. 'silence'; preferably 'darkness'; cp. Ass. *dāmu* 'to be dark'. Then in Ps. xciv 17 and cxv 17 the grave is regarded as the place of darkness, and in Isa. xxi 11 **דומה משה** means not 'an oracle of silence' but 'an oracle of darkness', i. e. an obscure oracle.

חמל 'spared'; cp. Ass. *ḥamālu* 'to be pitiful'. Delete therefore in B.D.B. 328 a 'Ar. **حمل** "bear", "become responsible", &c., and compare Arab. **خَلَّ** and **خَالَ** 'sincere friend'; probably the root **חמל** denoted merely in the first instance 'to treat in a friendly way'.²

חסידה 'stork', 'as kind and affectionate to its young' (B.D.B. 339 b); cp. Lat. *ciconia pietaticultrix*, Petron. *Satyr.* 55.

חפה 'canopy', used especially of the bridegroom's chamber. The word has now occurred in Ass. in a text published by Sidirsky in *J.R.A.S.* 1920, p. 569, entitled a *Tablet of Prayers for a King* col. i

¹ The phrase *maḥar ilim ubār* 'he shall prove before the god', clearly disposes of the Jewish rendering of **אלהים יקרב** . . . 'he shall come near unto the judges' (Exod. xxii 7 al.), which is preserved in R.V.m. in spite of its intrinsic improbability.

² There is a similar confusion between **ح** and **خ** in B.D.B. 286 a s. v. I **חבל**, under which two distinct roots have been combined: (1) **חבל** 'bound' = Arab. **حبل** 'bound'; (2) **חבל** 'pledged' = Ass. *ḥabālu* 'to pledge', 'to promise', *ḥubullum*, (a) 'debt', (b) 'interest', and Arab. **خبل** IV 'gave a loan', X 'hired', 'borrowed', and **خبل** 'debt'; similarly, loc. cit., *naḥbalu* 'snare' should be referred to *ḥabālu* 'to destroy', as something destroying animals, not to **חبل** 'bound' as made of rope. (See Ges.-Buhl, 188 b-189 a.)

rev. l. 19: *mudannin bīt hupka lū il Ba-ū* 'may the god Ba'u (be) the supporter of the house of thy bridal chamber'.

חרם. With Eccl. 7. 26: *האשה אשר היא מצודים וחרמים לבה* cp. Ass. *harāmu* 'to ensnare', 'to bewitch', *harmu* 'coquetry', and *harimtu* 'harlot', and Arab. *حرم* 'led a dissolute life'; this root must be distinguished from *חרם*, *حرم* 'banned', whence is derived Arab. *حريم* 'harim'.

חשל. In B.D.B. 365 a-b delete 'Arab. *حسل* "drive (cattle) violently"' and compare *חָסַל* 'rejected', 'rendered vile', *خیل* 'became worn out', and *حَسَل* 'worthless'; also *خشل* *id.*

חשמן. Only *חשמנים* in Ps. lxxviii 32, where modern scholars rendered 'ambassadors', following the LXX, which has *πρέσβεις*. Perhaps translate 'hosts shall come out of Egypt', comparing Ass. *ušmannu* 'camp' (Ashurbanipal *Annals* col. viii l. 103).¹

כישור. B.D.B. 507 a: 'distaff; (etym. dub.)', following the old interpreters. Render 'mending', 'darning' or perhaps 'knitting'; cp. Ass. *kašāru*, 'to mend', and *kašuritu*, some (knitted?) kind of garment, || to *nahlapu burrumtu* 'curiously woven robe' in VR. 28 c-d 69. In Prov. xxxi 19 therefore the two *σείχοι* constitute an antithesis, one hand being engaged in weaving and the other in darning or mending, the whole verse figuring the twofold activity of a woman as both making and repairing clothes.

כתם 'gold'. Originally 'plate' and then 'gold' *κατ' ἐξοχήν*, as Ass. *sarpu*, originally 'refined metal' (cf. *צרף*), came to connote 'silver' *κατ' ἐξοχήν*. Cp. Ass. *katāmu* Ii, 'to cover'; IIi, 'to clothe'; *kutimmu* 'jeweller' (lit. 'overlayer'); for the metaphor compare Arab. *لبس* (1) 'clothed', (2) 'plated'.

מלתעות 'jaws', only in Ps. 58. 7 (omitted in B.D.B. *ס.ש.* *מתלעות*); cp. Ass. *atta 'u* (for *alta 'u*)² 'jaw' from *latū* 'to lacerate' (e.g. C.T. xii 5 l. 9; Kuy. no. 1349 l. 7, and Ebeling *K.A.R.* no. 29 l. 22), and Arab. *لتغ* 'bit',³ which prove *מלתעות* to be the original form, from which *מתלעות* in Job xxix 17, Joel i 6, and Prov. xxx 14 was formed by metathesis;⁴ compare also Eth. *mallaht* 'jaw' for the original form. Ass. *lētu* 'throat' is probably a fem. word corresponding to Hebr. *לֵט*.

¹ It has already been suggested that this root underlies the place-name *חשמנה* in Num. 33. 29 and 30 (Muss.-Arnolt *Ass. Wtb.* i 116 a).

² See Brockelmann *Vergleichende Grammatik* i § 61 b.

³ See Freytag *Lex. Arab.-Lat.* iv 85 a: *لتغ* = *لدغ* 'bit', 'stung'.

⁴ For a similar instance of metathesis, cp. Eth. *matkafi* for *maktafi* (*כתף*), 'shoulder'. (See further Burney *Judges* p. 437 n. 1.)

מרא II. In B.D.B. 597 b delete 'Arab. مَرِي "be digestible, agree with" (of food)', and insert 'Arab. مَرُو "was healthy"'.
נר 'heap of waters'. Cp. Ass. *nidu* 'shoal', 'sandbank' (Sennacherib col. vi l. 38). This, Prof. Langdon points out, is undoubtedly identical with the word *nidu* which occurs several times in astronomical texts, meaning a 'bank' of clouds, the underlying root apparently denoting a 'banking up' or 'heap' of clouds, sand, water, or the like; (see Weidner *Babyloniaca* iv 164 ff., vi 134 ff., and Kugler *Revue d'Assyriologie* viii 107-129, who, however, thinks that *nidu* connotes in these passages a 'parhelion').

נחש 'lust', 'harlotry'. Cp. Ass. *nuḫṣu* 'luxury', 'abundance', from *naḫāṣu* 'to abound'. In Hebr. the root נחש has assumed a bad connotation, while in Ass. it has preserved the better sense of 'luxury'.

סריס 'eunuch'. Cp. Ass. *ṣu-ut-reš*, which should possibly be spelt *ṣu-u-reš*, some official; another form has now occurred in the so-called 'Old Assyrian Laws' (V.A.T. 10,000, published by Schroeder in *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts*) col. ii obv. l. 54 *al.*: *amēla ana ṣa-ri-še-en utār* 'he shall make the man an eunuch'.

פור. Twice the unknown word פור is interpreted in Esther to mean 'lot'; in 3. 7 and 9. 24: הפיל פור הוא נורל, but the philological connexion of the word root has long been regarded as doubtful; e.g. Streane *Esther* p. 21 says that '*pūr* is perhaps a word borrowed from the Persian *pāre* "piece, fragment", and may be connected with . . . Assy. *pūru* or *būru* "stone"'. Its connexion with Ass. *pāru* 'stone' has now been proved by a passage in the so-called 'Old Assyrian Laws', V.A.T. 10,001 (published by Schroeder in *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts* no. 2) col. i ll. 11-14: *māru rabū I qāta inasak ilakki ū ṣa ṣanīte qātiṣu iṣtu aḫēṣu pūrṣu iṣallī*, 'the elder son shall choose [and] take one share, and for his second share he shall cast his lot with his brothers', where 'pebble' clearly connotes 'lot', exactly as in the case of Gk. ψήφος.

פתיחה 'drawn sword'. Cp. Ass. *namṣaru petū* 'drawn weapon'.

פתח. With פתח דברך יאיר in Ps. cxix 130 cp. Ass. *petū* (1) 'to open', (2) 'lay bare', 'unveil', (3) 'reveal, announce', and translate: 'the revelation of thy words giveth light'. This seems to confirm the rendering of the LXX, ἀγλῶσις, 'unfolding', which is adopted by many modern scholars (e.g. S. R. Driver *Parallel Psalter* ad. loc.) against Baethgen and others.

צ II. (i) Some wild animal; cp. Ass. *ṣitu*, an animal which damages

¹ This extension of the meaning of *pūru* was foreshadowed by C. H. W. Johns in the *Expositor*, Aug. 1896; see also Winckler and Zimmern *K.A.T.* ed. 3, p. 518.

the fruit in the fields (Muss.-Arnolt *Ass. Wtb.* ii 898 b), (ii) 'ruin', 'wilderness', in Ps. lxxiv 14 where לָעַם צִיִּים, 'to the people of the wilderness', is to be read; in Ps. lxxii 9 translate לִפְנֵי יִכְרְעוּ צִיִּים 'the deserts (i. e. the desert-dwellers) shall bow down before him'; cp. Ass. *šā'u* 'to devastate', and *šā'u* 'destruction'; Arab. مَرَى 'withered up' and مَر 'empty, void, vacant'.

קַבֵּעַ 'helmet', from a root no longer extant [קבַע], meaning apparently 'to be concave'; cp. Ass. *qabû* 'reservoir', and Arab. قَبَعَ 'cowl', 'hood'; in Palestine قَبَعَ now denotes a closely-fitting woollen cap worn by peasants. From the same root are to be derived also Ass. *qabûtu* and Hebr. קַבֵּעַ 'cup'. and Arab. قَبَعَة 'calyx', 'cup' (of a flower).

קִיץ. On B.D.B. 884 b, under II קִיץ, add: III [קִיץ] *vb. denom.*; 3 m. s. pf. קִיץ, Isa. 18. 6, 'spent the summer'.

רֶכֶס. Only in רֶכֶסִּי אִישׁ in Ps. xxxi 21; the rendering of the R.V., 'the plottings of man', is confirmed by Ass. *rikistu* 'conspiracy' and *riksu*, 'alliance'; 'ban, charm'.

שֹׁרֶן 'crescent-shaped ornament'. Cp. Ass. *sa'aru ḥurāši* 'a crescent of gold'.

שָׁחִיף. B.D.B. 965 b: 'doubtful'. Probably the name of a kind of wood; cp. Ass. *iš siḫpi* 'siḫpu-wood', (II R. 45 e-f, 56). In Ezek. xli 16 delete עץ after שָׁחִיף and read נֹגַד הַסֶּף שָׁחִיף סָבִיב סָבִיב 'over against the threshold *saḫiph*-wood all round'.

שָׁגִיף. B.D.B. 992 b: 'doubtful word'. Cp. Ass. *šagû* (i) 'to be violently excited, rave', (ii) 'to howl, lament'; *šegû* or *šigû* (i) 'raving'; (ii) 'lament, penitential prayer', and *tušgû* 'lament' (Langdon in *J.R.A.S.* 1920, p. 175). Probably two roots are concealed under Ass. *šagû*: (1) *šagû* 'to rave' = Hebr. שָׁנַע, whence *šegû* 'raving' = Hebr. שָׁנַע; possibly cognate with Arab. سَجَع 'spoke in rhyming prose' from the well-known idea that poetic inspiration was a form of madness; (2) *šagû* 'to lament' (root שָׁנַע), whence *šegû* and *tušgû* 'lament, penitential prayer' = Hebr. שָׁנַע, used in the titles of Pss.; probably connected with Arab. شَجَى 'was sad, sorrowful, grieved'.

שָׁמַר. There seems to be some confusion between the two roots שָׁוַר and שָׁמַר. Ass. I *šamāru* 'to inspect' = Hebr. שָׁוַר 'to behold' and perhaps Arab. شَار (و) I 'counselled'; II 'pointed out'; III 'consulted';² and Ass. II *šamāru* 'to watch' = Hebr. שָׁמַר 'watched', and Arab. سَمَر

¹ In modern Palestinian Arabic this has been weakened into قَبِيعة 'glass', while قَبِيعة means a 'small basket'.

² Similarly Ass. *namāru* = Heb. נָמַר, &c.

'spent the night in watching'. Further, Ass. III *šamāru* 'to be wild, excited', is possibly the root from which Ass. *šūru*¹ and Hebr. שׁוּר 'bullock' is derived; cp. Arab. نَار 'was excited' and نَوَّر 'bullock'.

שׂרַב 'burning heat', 'parched ground'. Cp. Ass. *šarbu* 'frost', *šurubbū* '(cold) fever', and *šuribu* 'cold', the connexion between 'cold' and 'heat' being illustrated by Lat. *urere*, used both of heat and cold.

תָּמַךְ. Compare Ass. *tamāku* 'to seize', occurring in Tallquist *Maglū* col. iv l. 72: *a-ta-am-ma-ak-šu-nu-ti* 'I will seize them'. It is possible that *tamāku* is a variant of *tamāhu* 'to grasp', as *šamāku* of *šamāhu* 'to be lusty'; in any case Dr Burney points to the striking parallel between Ass. *tāmiḥ haṭṭa* 'grasping the sceptre' (Tiglath-Pileser col. vi l. 56) and Hebr. תִּמַּךְ חֶמֶד Amos i 5 and 8). Cp. Ass. *kirḫu* 'fortress' and Aram. כִּרְכָּא, Syr. ܟܪܚܐ 'city' as possibly another example of Ass. *ḫ* = Hebr. and Aram. כ. (See also Wright *Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages* p. 52 and Burney *Judges* p. 69 n. 1.)

G. R. DRIVER.

ST INNOCENT I *DE NOMINIBUS RECITANDIS*.

THREE years ago in this JOURNAL (xx pp. 215 sqq., April 1919) Father Connolly argued, it seems to me convincingly, that the final clause of § 5 of St Innocent's letter to Decentius of Gubbio, 'ut ipsis mysteriis viam futuris precibus aperiāmus' should be rendered, not as it is commonly taken, 'that by the mysteries themselves we may open a way for the prayers that are to follow', but 'in order to open the way by (our) prayers for the mysteries themselves that are to follow'. By way of confirmation of this rendering it is worth while to note Quesnel's text (*S. Leonis Opera*, Lyons 1700, ii p. 50), which quite correctly reproduces the reading of the Oriel College MS, and, I suppose, that too of the Du Thou MS, which Quesnel also used, viz.: 'ut ipsis futuris mysteriis viam ante precibus aperiāmus'. This is not likely to be the true text, but it is enough to shew that some editor or scribe in or before the twelfth century interpreted the clause in the sense which Father Connolly has pointed out.

F. E. B.

¹ The same change takes place *inside* Assyrian in *nūru* 'light' from *namāru* 'to shine'.

REVIEWS

PELAGIUS AND HIS WORK.

Pelagius's Expositions of Thirteen Epistles of St Paul. Vol. I: Introduction, by ALEXANDER SOUTER. (Cambridge, 1922.)

AFTER many, but fortunate, delays Professor Souter's Introduction to the Commentary of Pelagius the Heresiarch is at last in our hands. As he tells us in the Preface he began work on Pelagius in 1904, and even now the text of the Commentary remains unprinted. But this full Introduction puts before us the essentials of the problems raised by the Commentary and gives us their solution.

The Commentary of Pelagius took the form of a complete copy of the text of the Pauline Epistles (except Hebrews) interspersed with explanatory Notes. St Ephraim's Commentary on these Epistles is constructed on the same plan, but Pelagius is more careful than Ephraim to give the whole of St Paul's words. A couple of leaves of a sixth-century MS survive in the Vatican Library (see *J. T. S.* viii 532-535), which preserve what seems to have been the original arrangement: the text is written on the full breadth of the line, while the Notes of Pelagius are indented. The work was first circulated in Rome among the author's friends, but without his name, between the years 406 and 412 (Souter, p. 4).

This modest publication, the earliest known literary work of a native of these Islands—probably of Great Britain itself (Souter, p. 2)—is the root and origin of the Pelagian Heresy. Within six years at most after its appearance, in 412, the poison was detected by St Augustine, and five years later it was refuted again by Augustine's friend Marius Mercator. Jerome also wrote against Pelagius, and in January 417 Pope Innocent I condemned him in set terms. It is no wonder that copies of the offending Commentary with the name of Pelagius on them do not survive.

The really wonderful thing is that the Notes of Pelagius did survive in various forms. Of these the most important is what is now known as Pseudo-Jerome, a Commentary on the Thirteen Epistles with the name of Jerome attached to it. This is extant in a good many MSS and was included by Erasmus in his 1516 edition of Jerome's works, though he was well aware that it was not his compilation (Souter, p. 6). Since then it has been many times reprinted, but its text is very faulty. Dr Souter gives reasons for regarding Pseudo-Jerome as the work of a Pelagian, and suggests that in its oldest form it is not later than 439.¹

¹ Souter, p. 266.

Another form is that which Cassiodorus purged from heresy with what care he could (*qua potui curiositate*).¹ This is shewn by Prof. Souter on p. 318 ff to be the work published in 1537 by Gagney and ascribed by Gagney to Primasius. Cassiodorus depelagianized 'Romans' himself, but in the other Epistles he left the work to subordinates; their work was much more perfunctory, so that the Cassiodorian so-called 'Primasius' is a valuable authority for the text of the genuine Pelagius.

But Prof. Souter's main authorities are two MSS which he has discovered to be uninterpolated (or almost uninterpolated) representatives of the original Commentary. These are the Karlsruhe codex (*cod. Augiensis* cxix), written at Reichenau about A. D. 800; and a MS at Balliol College, Oxford (*cod.* 157), written in a humanistic hand of the fifteenth century. This latter discovery is indeed surprising. Out of the eighth or ninth century anything may come, but that 'a superb codex written in the most beautiful Italian style on the finest white vellum' (Souter, p. 214),² should contain a text so little doctored or interpolated is not what would be expected. The explanation seems to be that 'it was a classical, not a theological scribe, who copied this MS to the order of Bp Gray' (p. 215),³ but whatever the reason the fact is indisputable. Especially in the Biblical text is the Balliol codex valuable, as it often preserves the Old Latin readings used by Pelagius (generally of a type akin to those found in the Book of Armagh and in Gildas), where the lemmata in the Reichenau codex have been assimilated to the Vulgate (Souter, pp. 134-146).

Besides these main authorities Prof. Souter has collected other subsidiary evidence, chief among which is the text of an interpolation

¹ Cassiodorus *Institutiones* viii 1 (Souter, p. 15). Readers of Dom Chapman's *Notes on the Early History of the Vulgate Gospels* will recall the wording of the Cassiodorian subscription to the Echternach Gospels.

² That this description is justified may be seen by a glance at the excellent photograph published by Prof. Souter in his article on it in the *Proc. Brit. Acad.* for 1916, facing p. 277.

³ Now that something of Bp William Gray's devotion to learning is bearing fruit it may be not inappropriate to quote some of what Godwyn has to say about him. 'This William was a gentleman very well borne, to wit of the noble and auncient house of the Lord Gray of Codnor, whose friends perceiving in him a notable towardnesse and sharpnesse of witte, dedicated him unto learning. He was brought up in Baylioll Colledge in Oxford. Having spent much time there profitably . . . he passed over the seas and travailed into Italy, where . . . he grew very famous; and no marvaile, for to see a gentleman of great lineage, having maintenance at will, to become very learned, especially in Divinity, is indeede a wonder, and seldome seene. . . . 24 yeeres two moneths and 21 daies he was Bishop of this See (Ely). In which meane space he bestowed great sums of money upon building of the steeple, at the west end of his Church.' Gray (or Grey) was Bishop of Ely from 1454 to his death in 1478.

in the Commentary known as Ambrosiaster, in most of the MSS of which 'Pelagius' has been substituted for the true Ambrosiaster from 1 Cor. xv 44 to 2 Cor. i 6 (Souter, pp. 53-58). From this, therefore, and from the Reichenau and Balliol MSS the text of the genuine Commentary of Pelagius is to be constructed, and we look forward to seeing it from Prof. Souter next year, or as soon after as the present unfavourable conditions for the publication of learned books are improved.¹ Meanwhile very sincere and hearty congratulations are due from all students of Patristic literature to Prof. Souter for his successful unravelling of this old tangle. Now that he has made his way through the labyrinth it is easy to follow and even to describe the route, but to find the path needed the utmost patience and sagacity.

A couple of remarks may be made in conclusion. The story of Pelagius and his Notes on St Paul is one of the most curious examples of the power of an idea to struggle against overwhelming authority and survive. On the surface of things all the cards were against Pelagius. The doctrine of St Paul does emphasize the depravity and helplessness of man, and this doctrine in the days of Pelagius was being pressed, if not exaggerated, by the greatest theologian and spiritual force in the Western Church. The greatest Biblical scholar the Latin Church has produced was still alive and ready in this matter to back up the authority of Augustine and St Paul. The Bishop of Rome joined in the condemnation with the Africans. But the fact is that St Paul and St Augustine do not express the whole truth for everybody. No doubt there are men who, like St Paul himself, have felt the Grace of God—something not themselves—so powerfully acting within them, that in comparison their own impulses toward good seem less than nothing. But these are the minority, and on the other hand there are always many serious persons alive who are conscious of good as well as of evil impulses, and who cannot bear to think that the gift of eternal blessedness should be wholly dependent on the caprice of an inscrutable Deity. No doubt this is not an accurate statement of the thought of St Paul or even of St Augustine, but it is easy for their less cautious followers to make statements that sound something like it.

So the effort of Pelagius, a moralist and a layman, to explain away the too clear statements of St Paul about our fatal heritage from Adam found a ready audience, and when sheltered under the honoured name of St Jerome they continued to be copied throughout the whole period of the Middle Ages, though Pelagius was condemned and Pelagianism was called vain talk.

Modern science, Geology and Archaeology and Biology, has modified the issues, but it has not settled the old dispute. On the one hand the

¹ Souter's *Introduction* costs 40s.

story of Adam has fallen into the background. We regard it now as an attempt to explain some of the facts of human life rather than as the historical reason for them. But the phenomena of heredity, still dimly understood, reinforce the ideas which the doctrine of Original Sin is an early attempt to formulate. We are all involved with our ancestors. The drunkard's children do not start fair. And the remedy also is social, not merely individual: these unfortunate children must be taken away from their evil environment at the earliest possible age, if they are to escape contamination. Yes; but is this not an expression, in the terms of modern philanthropy, of the very thing that the Augustinians were contending for in the matter of the fate of unbaptized infants?

However that may be, and I want to indicate questions rather than pretend to answer them, it is the Laboratories and the Science Schools that are the modern strongholds of Augustinian doctrine. True, they speak there of 'Nature', rather than of 'God', but they approach Nature with Augustinian deference and humility. The stronghold of Pelagianism is, I suppose, democratic sentiment, which demands a fair reward for each individual, 'considering the circumstances'. It is a very pretty quarrel, but a very old one indeed, and we are not likely to see the conclusion.

Professor Souter is much wiser than the writer of this notice: he declares himself a philologist not a theologian, and leaves these perilous discussions to others. But his admirable investigations, even without the text of Pelagius, do raise questions of life and thought as well as critical and linguistic problems. The first book written by a Briton was no mean production: it struck a note in human consciousness which is reverberating still.

F. C. BURKITT.

Apostel und Jünger: eine quellenkritische und geschichtliche Untersuchung über die Entstehung des Christentums. By ROLAND SCHÜTZ. (A. Töpelmann, Giessen, 1921.)

I HAD been prepared to find this book interesting, and my expectations were more than fulfilled on rapidly skimming its pages directly it came into my hands. Twice since then have I read it through with care; and the impression grows on me that it is nothing short of an important book, a valuable contribution to the subject—I had better say subjects—of which it treats. Small in compass, it is so tightly packed with matter that I find it a hard task to summarize its contents.

Let me try to give some general idea as to its author's main thesis, processes, and results.

He starts off by laying his finger on what for him is the weak spot in current representations of the origin and earlier development of Christianity. They are, he asserts, one-sided; they fail to take account of far-reaching and lasting effects directly traceable to the Galilean ministry, to a ministry which had extended to Syria and Samaria and the ten Greek towns beyond Jordan; in which districts the gospel preaching had told and was telling when as yet there was no apostolic 'Heilspredigt' in Jerusalem. If it be true to say, as plainly it is, that in the localities specified both the teaching and the personality of Jesus had brought many adherents to Himself and His cause, why then: it stands to reason (here I give Dr Schütz's words in paraphrase) that a movement of *the disciples* of Jesus in those northern regions was in full progress at a date prior to the preaching and Church-founding by *the Apostles in Jerusalem*; in short, what is commonly spoken of as 'the primitive Church' is falsely so-called. And he proceeds: hence the urgent need to adduce proof that, in regions largely Hellenized and remote from the influences of orthodox Judaism, the new religion of Jesus was not only in existence, but being so handed on as to become 'Gemeindetradition', not only coincidently with but antecedent to the happenings in the Jerusalem Church. He adds: from the very first both Jewish-Christian and Hellenistic elements are met with in juxtaposition, and it behoves us to regain for the latter those equal rights which tradition has thrust aside or obscured.

It will now, perhaps, be seen what Dr Schütz is after; how does he go to work?

A bare sketch must suffice. First comes a penetrating enquiry into the respective values attaching to the terms *ἀπόστολος* and *μαθητής*; sharp distinctions are drawn, and these, it is urged, have equal validity in the field of literary and historical research. Forthwith Dr Schütz turns to Acts—in his view a unity in the sense that, generally speaking, it can be assigned to a single pen whether that of Luke or not; what he then says is (I decide here to let his German stand): 'Dem zweifachen Begriff Apostel und Jünger entspricht in der Apg. eine doppelte Darstellung, eine jerusalemisch-judenchristliche mit hellenistischem Einschlag und eine hellenistische mehr griechischen Wesens'. With the remark that the unity of Acts is not such as to impede search for and marking off the sources therein in combination, he goes on to apply four sets of criteria which shall be reproduced in condensed form: (a) the significant use or avoidance of the terms *ἀπόστολος* and *μαθητής*; (b) in some contexts the Holy City is designated *Ἱερουσαλήμ* while in others *Ἱεροσόλυμα* is the name preferred; (c) whereas sometimes the traditional conception

obtains that the Christian Church went forth peacefully from the bosom of Judaism under the direction of the Jerusalem 'Urgemeinde', elsewhere the basis is broader by far and the struggle with Judaism is brought full in view ; (d) in some sections the twelve Jerusalem apostles figure as sole recipients and mediators of the Holy Spirit (in principle for Jews only), while in others universalism is in evidence, and of dependence on Jerusalem there is no trace.

The question for Dr Schütz being of two main streams of tradition, or, as one might say at once, two main sources, he designates them by the symbols A (*ἀπόστολος*) and M (*μαθητής*). In the subsequent pages (18 ff) his criteria are severally and rigorously applied ; pausing for a moment on the content of doctrine as illustrated by A and M respectively, common elements and main difference, he remarks : 'so verwebt der Autor die Lehre von A und M, an Paulus orientiert'. We are then presented with a general survey of the two sources of his hypothesis, and these are conveniently arranged in columns side by side. Each source, we are told, reveals a number of separate pieces in combination ; as for M it is interwoven with strands which unmistakeably belong to A, while the converse is rarely if at all the case.

A lengthy sub-section (pp. 36-61) follows. It comprises a disquisition on various characteristic features which are presented by Acts in bulk : with artistic hand its author has so combined his sources as to produce an organic whole which both in content and diction bears the hall-mark of a uniform work ; obviously he has allowed himself a very free hand ; due account taken of the three-fold purpose with which his book was composed it might aptly be said of him 'dass (er) als der Christen Anwalt vor Juden und Römern auftrat'. Having done with Acts as a whole Dr Schütz next asks : What of the characteristic features which stand out respectively in A and M ? The former is held to convey a uniform impression ; essentially pneumatic is its atmosphere ; its tales of the apostles have their home in the *milieu* of Jewish miracle-stories and Palestinian legends, and are very near akin to similar matter in the Synoptic Gospels ; the solemnity of diction is strongly reminiscent of the synagogue ; everything points to the oral tradition of the Jewish-Christian 'Gemeinde' at Jerusalem ; as in the case of the Synoptics so here : the matter worked up had a non-literary existence before it assumed fixed and written form. In sharp contrast is M ; liturgical and archaic notes are practically absent ; simpler in diction, the narratives have well-nigh a secular ring—'Der Stil ist der der hypomnematischen Geschichtserzählung, der auf einer Verbindung von Chronik und Memoiren beruht' ; altogether different in type are the miracle-stories ; Christianity is now distinctively Hellenistic, and its appeal is rather to Greek than to Jewish modes of thought. This stage reached, Dr Schütz

again turns to the author of Acts—let us again have his own German : ‘(er) gibt sich in den Stücken wo er A folgt als redigierender Sammler von Stimmungsbildern aus der jerusal. Gemeinde zu erkennen ; wo er M folgt hat er Praxeis die in einfacher Form ihm vorlagen als Chronist stilisirt . . . So schrieb er ein Werk, das zwischen der Kleinliteratur der Synopse und den antiken Geschichtswerken zu stehen kommt’. Certain reservations made, it may be said of him (sc. the author of Acts) that neither for A nor yet for M does he hold a brief exclusively. Yet he has so employed his sources as to idealize the apostles—in the narrower and wider significance of the term *ἀπόστολος*.

And so we arrive at the verdict pronounced by Dr Schütz on his respective sources. The phenomena revealed by A are decisive for its Judaistic origination ; granted the difficulty or impossibility of fixing on any one locality for M there is no room for doubt that it is essentially of Hellenistic provenance. Neither source can be dated with precision, but this, at any rate, is certain : A is not earlier but later than M. If the question be asked : What of their respective claims to historicity ? it must be replied at once that neither the one nor the other can be taken at its face value. Not that they are on the same plane ; if the historical value of M be, on the whole, excellent, it will not do for criticism to slumber. As for the historicity of the narratives in A the case is distinctly worse ; and, by implication, Dr Schütz insists that criticism be wide awake.

Pointed questions follow. In what historical relationship does Discipleship of Jesus stand to Apostolate ? Is the Apostolate really traceable to Jesus ? If not (and it will be presently seen that Dr Schütz's own answer is in the negative), whence, then, its derivation ? The field now turned to lies in the Synoptic Gospels. It is searchingly explored ; the discovery is made that the *strata* of tradition which have been established for Acts reappear ‘in der gesammten Synopse’. If the ‘Aposteltitel’ be found in Mark and Matthew it suggests a Lucan importation. The apostles, as a matter of fact, do not belong to the Gospel (‘Evangeliem’) at all ; that they make their début in the Gospels (‘Evangeliem’) is an anachronism. The appearance of the Risen Lord to James is held to be significant : ‘between disciples and apostles there stands up accordingly the Cross of Jesus’.

In short ; the conclusion advanced is that the Twelve Jerusalem Apostles of the Acts’ representation had their origin in the period which lies between the Crucifixion and (it would appear) Paul’s conversion, while functions exercised and prerogatives asserted by them are of a nature which bespeaks developement after the pattern of the specifically Jewish apostolate.

But scanty justice has, I am afraid, been done to the eighty-three pages thus far traversed, nor does space allow more than a cursory survey

of the some thirty-five which remain. With ch. iv Dr Schütz again betakes himself to processes of dissection; and here it is to differentiate between Greek-Hellenistic and Jewish-Christian-Palestinian elements in the Synoptics. The results are entirely to his satisfaction; contrasts precisely similar to those revealed in Acts stare him in the face; now the attitude to Judaism is that of friend and now that of foe; if Jesus be sometimes pictured as emphatically anti-Judaistic and universalistic he also figures as the pious Jew. The Synoptic Jesus-likeness is, in reality, but a blend of sundry and withal diverse portraits which tradition had handed on; yet its constituents are easy to distinguish. In the one case they are traceable to the 'Apostel-tradition' of Jewish-Christian provenance; in it Jesus is conceived of as Messiah Son of Man, from Bethlehem of Judaea, concerned solely for his own nation and observant of the law; in it, further, the Easter appearances in Galilee are ignored. In the other, they stand out conspicuously in that Hellenistic source which implies knowledge very different in its subject-matter, and which has usurped the designation *Κύριος* for the object of its cult. The position might be stated thus: while some Christians dwelt exclusively on a great work taken in hand by Jesus for his own people and for them alone, others were prompt to speak of and to demand equal rights for humanity at large. The former were blind to all save the Old; the latter had eyes and ears open to the New.

Ch. v is headed Prolegomena to a history of Primitive Christianity. It falls into three sections, and in the first we are introduced to the real Jesus of Dr Schütz's conception. In the second 'the Disciples', who and what they were and how they went about their work, are his theme; in section three he offers what from the point of view reached by him is the historical explanation of the origin of the Jerusalem Church. If Teutonic mentality be somewhat in evidence there is genuine pathos and depth of religious feeling in his 'Schluss'.

What shall I say of Dr Schütz's book in drawing to a close? Just this, that my impressions of it are confirmed; there is to my mind more suggestiveness in its 118 pages than as yet it has been my lot to discover in the portly commentary on 'Les Actes des Apôtres' which has come but lately from M. Loisy's pen—valuable in many respects as that work is. Dr Schütz, no doubt, treads in the footsteps of other scholars, but he himself breaks fresh ground; he prepares the way for advance. He invites criticism—ever and again he has given me pause; but he has certainly produced a book to be reckoned with. Let me express a hope that it may make its appearance in an English dress.

H. LATIMER JACKSON.

The Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel, by the Rev. C. F. BURNEY, M.A., D.Litt., Oriel Professor of the Interpretation of Holy Scripture at Oxford. (Oxford, 1922.)

DR BURNEY holds that a strong case can be made out for the view that there once existed an Aramaic document of which our Fourth Gospel is the Greek representative. He supports his argument by instances drawn not only from the main body of the Gospel, but also from the Prologue and from ch. xxi. Indeed, he 'retranslates' the Prologue (except v. 15) into Aramaic in illustration of his theme.

An Aramaic (not Hebrew) original is in Dr Burney's brief. From the beginning he rules out Hebraisms (properly so called) such as are found in Luke (e.g. καὶ ἐγένετο), since they are manifestly derived from the Septuagint. The argument as a whole is conducted with skill, but the general effect is unsatisfying. Too much is made to depend on a quantitative analysis of the language of the Fourth Gospel. Indeed it is hardly too much to say that the keynote of the argument is given in a quotation from the late J. H. Moulton, 'The over-use of locutions which can be defended as good Κοινή Greek' is a test of 'Greek which is virtually or actually translated'. Yes, 'over-use' is a test, but a very delicate one and difficult to apply.

Thus Dr Burney lays stress on the frequency of Asyndeton in the Fourth Gospel (pp. 49-56). In an illuminative table (based on Dan. ii 5-49) he shews how frequent is the same idiom in the Aramaic of Daniel. In the Hebrew of Daniel, on the other hand, only a very few instances are found. The same is the case to a marked degree with the three Synoptic Gospels. Thus, while John and the Aramaic Daniel agree together, they stand apart from Matthew, Mark, Luke, and from the Hebrew Daniel. It is a striking fact, but how far does it go towards proving an Aramaic original for John? Was Tacitus translating from the Aramaic when he wrote the words with which the Annals open:

'Urbem Romam a principio reges habuere. Libertatem et Consulatam L. Brutus instituit. Dictaturae ad tempus sumebantur' . . . ?

Asyndeton is far too common a feature of language in general to bear the stress which Dr Burney lays upon it.

It is true that Dr Burney's argument is cumulative, but it seems to me that the little grains of sand with which he builds are too little for his purpose. He is interesting when he points to the comparative rarity of the genitive absolute in John, and to the sixteen cases in which the construction of a finite verb with ὅτε seems to take its place in John as against thirteen cases in Matthew and ten in Luke, John being a shorter Gospel than either. Dr Burney compares the use of the Aramaic כִּי, but in some of the cases which he quotes from the

Syriac Bible the construction is with the participle, not with the finite verb. We feel that a point is scored, but not a great one.

Again, Dr Burney points to the frequent use of personal pronouns where 'no special emphasis' lies upon them. He gives (p. 79) a telling table of the occurrences of the chief personal pronouns in the Fourth Gospel as contrasted with the Synoptics. Thus ἐγώ (καὶ ἐγώ) occurs 161 times in John, but only 38 times in Matthew, and even fewer times in Mark and Luke; ἡμεῖς 18 times in John, and only 13 times in Matthew, Mark, Luke taken together, while σὺ occurs 60 times in John, as against 55 in the three Synoptics taken together. Dr Burney points out the same feature in Theodotion's version of the Aramaic portion of Daniel. It is enough to cite here two of his instances, both taken from Dan. ii 8:

(a) מִן יִצִּיב יָדֶע אֲנִה, οἶδα ἐγώ.

(b) עֲדָנָא אֲנַחְתָּךְ וּבְנִין, ὑμεῖς ἐξαγοράζετε.

It is true that pronouns are very freely used in Aramaic, and specially with participles, as in the foregoing instances, to form a present tense; but the argument based in this book on the fact is precarious.

Dr Burney admits quite fairly that the character of the Fourth Gospel accounts 'to a large extent' for this lavish use of pronouns, but he adds that a large number of instances remain in which the pronoun is used with no special emphasis. He cites 42 such instances of ἐγώ, 8 of ἡμεῖς, 6 of σὺ, and so on. But the argument is quantitative, and it is weakened if the list be cut down. But a reduction must be made. In particular xviii 37b, which supplies one instance of σὺ and one of ἐγώ, must go. In 37a Pilate challenges our Lord with the question, οἰκοῦν βασιλεὺς εἶ σὺ; 'Thou art a king then?' Our Lord's answer is, σὺ λέγεις ὅτι βασιλεὺς εἰμι (WH): i.e. 'Thou art introducing the word *king*; thou art responsible for it, not I'. And then our Lord proceeds to give his own description of his office and his work, 'As for me, I (ἐγώ) as distinguished from those who came before me, am born to bear witness to the truth'. There is indeed emphasis on the σὺ of σὺ λέγεις and on the ἐγώ of ἐγὼ γεγέννημαι.

Nor does it appear that Dr Burney is right in denying special emphasis to the pronoun (ἡμεῖς) in xix 7. In the preceding verse Pilate said 'I (ἐγώ) find no fault in him', to which the Jews retort in v. 7, 'We (ἡμεῖς) have a law, and by that law he ought to die'. It is as though they said, 'We do find fault in him, even fault worthy of death'. It is true that the question of emphasis or no emphasis is often difficult to answer, but Dr Burney lacks caution in his denial of emphasis.

Some very interesting pages are given to supposed 'mistranslations' from the Aramaic in the Greek of John. The use of ἵνα in the Fourth Gospel is often perplexing, and Dr Burney would relieve us of some of our perplexities if we could receive his explanation that ἵνα is in several

cases a misrendering of the prefix τ . Ch. xiv 16 reads ἄλλον παράκλητον δώσει ὑμῖν, ἵνα ἡ μεθ' ὑμῶν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. Substitute τ for ἵνα, and we obtain the easier reading, 'another Comforter, *who* shall abide with you for ever'. Five other instances are cited in which this explanation of ἵνα is plausible, and perhaps an Oriental's misuse of ἵνα does lie behind some of the instances. But again we feel that it is a very small grain of sand which is added to Dr Burney's heap.

The author finds (p. 109 ff) an 'outstanding difficulty' in the expression 'out of his belly', which occurs in vii 38 ὁ πιστεύων εἰς ἐμέ, καθὼς εἶπεν ἡ γραφή, ποταμοὶ ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας αὐτοῦ ρεύσουσιν ὕδατος ζῶντος. The passage is not really difficult for those who allow that the formula καθὼς εἶπεν ἡ γραφή may be used to introduce a general reference to the substance of a passage or passages from the Old Testament. The emphasis lies on ὕδατος ζῶντος first, and on ποταμοὶ next. The reference to Ezek. xlvii 1, 8; Zech. xiv 8 is not to be mistaken. The Scripture said that 'Rivers of living water shall flow'; our Lord adds that the waters shall come from a person, not from a place. The waters spoken of in the Prophets were to proceed from the temple, the waters of which Christ speaks are to proceed from *within a man*. Here lies emphasis. But when the Semite desires to express emphasis in similar cases, how does he do it? By reference to some part of the body. If he wishes to say that the LORD himself has said a thing, he writes 'The mouth of the LORD hath spoken it'. If he would make it clear that the LORD himself has saved his people, he writes, 'His arm wrought salvation'. So when this Semitic thinker would express in Greek the promise that living waters shall flow not from a dead [temple] building, but from the man who is distinguished from others by his faith, he cannot write the bare phrase 'from him shall flow'; he must follow his own way of thinking and write 'out of his belly shall flow'.¹ Dr Burney would emend ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας away as a mistranslation of the Aramaic (and Hebrew) מַעַן, 'fountain', as though it had been מַעְיָה, 'his bowels' or 'his belly'. So he offers as a translation of the 'original' text, 'Rivers shall flow out of the fountain of living waters'. But is κοιλία the most natural translation of מַעַן? If any particular Aramaic word lies behind κοιλία, would it not rather be כרסא (כרשא)? For מַעַן one would expect σπλάγχνα.

Dr Burney's book is full of interesting things, and in literal truth well repays perusal. But it goes only a very little way towards proving that John is translated from an Aramaic original.

¹ Cp. Job xv 2; xxxii 18, 19; Prov. xx 27.

The Book of Job. A revised text and version by C. J. BALL. (Oxford, 1922.)

ANOTHER large book on Job! Last year Dr Buchanan Gray, editing and completing Dr Driver's unfinished work, gave us Job in the International Critical Commentary. That book will probably remain for some years to come the best commentary in English for general purposes. But there is ample room for Dr Ball's work, which has a character of its own. It is a book for specialists, and the author might well have placed on the title-page the motto

'I speak as to wise men ; judge ye what I say.'

It would be difficult to imagine a critic more fertile in suggestion than Dr Ball. In this book we see him

'Weighing out with nonchalance
Conjectures like gold from a balance.'

Emendations simply pour from Dr Ball's pen, and much wisdom is needed to extract the gold from the ore. Take as an example chap. vii. First, *vv.* 1-10 are transposed so as to follow *v.* 21 ; secondly, emendations are proposed for *vv.* 11, 13, 14, 15, 20, 21, 3 (two emendations), 4, 5, 6, and 9. So again in chap. xii 11-18 as many as seven alterations of the text are proposed. One is tempted to ask, Is sufficient text left to serve as a *πρὸς στῶ*? Is not the critic in great danger of imposing his own meaning on the author?

But the reader who knows how to handle this book will learn a great deal from it. In the first place Dr Ball makes ample use of his knowledge of Cuneiform, Sumerian as well as Assyro-Babylonian. He gives in eighteen pages a text and translation of the four tablets which contain the story of 'the Babylonian Job'. The text is incomplete and obscure, and the suggested parallel with the story of Job is not convincing, but the matter is of interest, and further discovery and study may possibly bring out a closer connexion between the two stories. In outline as read at present the Babylonian story is simply this. A king, a devout worshipper (as he asserts) of his God, was overtaken by a loathsome disease :—

'Yet I, for my part, was mindful of prayer ;
Prayer was my rule, sacrifice my law ;
The day of the worship of the gods was my delight ;
The day of Procession of the goddess was gain and riches.'

So (apparently) he complains in daring words of the gods' treatment of him :—

'Tyranny increaseth : justice I see not.'

Seer and Sorcerer could reveal nothing of the cause of his sickness to

him, and God and Goddess did not help him. At length he had a dream, and after the dream Marduk came to his help :—

‘He drew near and pronounced his pure incantation ; . . .
With a Ho ! and a Ha ! he drove back (the sickness) like a lion.’

Dr Ball’s Introduction—all too short—contains other suggestive matter. Like most modern commentators he regards the Elihu-sections as intrusive, but his own account of the interpolation is highly ingenious. ‘It seems possible’, he writes, ‘that Elihu’s pose as a younger man criticizing his elders is a sort of hint by the author that he himself belonged to a later period than that of the poet upon whose argument he seeks to improve.’

Dr Ball, though he cites the story of the Babylonian Job, urges rightly that the book of Job is an original work in the highest sense of the word. ‘We might’, he says, ‘as well expect to find Shakespeare as we know him in the pages of Holinshed or Plutarch . . . as to find the direct source of this extraordinary product of Israel’s genius in Babylonian or any other older literature.’

Dr Ball’s translation of Job is original and vigorous. It differs not a little from that contained in Driver-Gray, mainly, perhaps, owing to emendation of the Hebrew text. Let xxix 18–20 serve as a specimen of the amount of possible difference between the two renderings.

(A) Driver-Gray :

18. Then I said, I shall die with my nest(lings),
And make my days as many as the grains of sand ;
19. My root open to the waters,
And the night-mist lodging in my branches ;
20. My glory fresh with me,
And my bow pliable in my hand.’

With this contrast

(B) C. J. Ball :

18. And methought, My stem will grow old,
And like the palmtree I shall multiply days ;
19. My root will sprout toward the water,
And the dew will lie all night upon my boughs ;
20. My palmbranch will renew its leafage,
And my suckers will shoot forth again.

The *emendandi cacothet*s leads Dr Ball (so it seems to the reviewer) to some quite unwarranted changes in the present text. In xxix 6 b (‘The rock poured me—עמרי—rivers of oil,’) the word עמרי is unnecessary and unrhythmic, and it may have been intruded from v. 5 ; but if it is omitted, may not the vigorous remainder of the half verse be kept ? If in Hebrew phrase a land may ‘flow with milk and honey’, may not a rock ‘pour out oil’ ? Again in xxix 20 is any change to be recommended ? The Hebrew language is the home of Metaphor, and

Hebrew Poetry its stronghold; are we then to be shy of such language as the MT offers here?

‘My glory is fresh in (with) me,
And my bow is renewed in my hand.’

So runs RV as accepted by Driver in his *Job* of 1906. The language is vigorous and Hebraic. ‘Glory’ stands for ‘Strength’ or ‘Beauty’, and ‘Bow’ stands, as Driver says in his note, for ‘strength and power’. The latter metaphor is so well established that one is almost ashamed to quote illustrative passages. It may suffice to refer to Gen. xlix 24; Hos. i 5; and 1 Sam. ii 4,

‘Mighty men (tyrants) are broken in their power of offence (קִשָּׁת),
And stumbling fugitives are girded with strength (חֵיל).’

Here the parallelism between ‘Bow’ and ‘Strength’ corresponds with the parallelism in Job xxix 20 between ‘Bow’ and ‘Glory’.

Again, let a protest be lodged against emending xxix 24. The passage (cp. RV with margin) may be rendered as follows:

‘If I laughed at them, they had no confidence:

(אִשְׁחַק אֲלֵהֶם לֹא יֵאֱמִינוּ)

But the light of my countenance they cast not down.’

We should render ‘laughed *at* them’, i.e. scorned their counsel; cp. xxx 1 (שָׁחַק עָלַי); Ps. ii 4 a. Whenever Job spoke against their plans, they retained no confidence in them to carry them out. On the other hand they never put Job to shame by rejecting *his* plans. Job as a counsellor was head and shoulders above the rest. With this satisfactory sense to be got from the text, is it well to emend in order to obtain the sentiment,

‘If I smiled *on* them, they could not credit it:
The light of my face they durst not expect’?

A note explains that the people stood in such awe of Job that, when he smiled graciously upon them, it came as a pleasant surprise. But ‘laughter’ in O.T. more often describes scorn than graciousness. Even in Ps. cxxvi 2 triumph over the heathen is mixed with the laughter.

A reviewer must criticize, and perhaps he has overdone this part of his work. In any case the last word on Dr Ball’s book must be in a different strain. The work as a whole is a monument of a rich mind and patient scholarship, and no student of the Hebrew Job should pass it by. Let the writer’s treatment of xxviii, the ‘mining chapter’, serve as a specimen of his stimulating thoroughness and independence. Dr Ball has put Hebrew students under a deep debt of gratitude.

PS. A few misprints which can be easily corrected have been noted: page 1, line 8; page 16, 9 (Syriac); 32 (footnote); 110, 39 (Hebrew); 170, last line (Hebrew); 171, last line but one (Greek); 182, 6 (Hebrew); 340, 33 (Hebrew).

La Bibbia tradotta dai testi originali e annotata da GIOVANNI LUZZI.
Genesi. (G. C. Sansomi, Firenze, n.d.)

THIS fasciculus consists of a new Italian translation of Genesis with short notes, and a critical general introduction to the Pentateuch. The work is 'popular' and makes no claim to originality; for criticism it depends on Driver (*L. O. T.*) and on Lucien Gautier's *Introduction* (Lausanne, 1914). But the book is good of its kind. The brief comment on x 23 is excellent in its frankness: 'Di questi quattro rami non sappiamo assolutamente nulla.' The translation takes note of difficulties of the text, and shews good judgement in the editor. Thus iv 8 appears as in MT, the words ascribed to Cain in LXX being left in a note. On the other hand Luzzi departs from MT in xlvii 21: 'Quanto al popolo, lo ridusse alla condizione di schiavi', following LXX and the Samaritan.

Gen. x is left with little verbal annotation, but with an illustrative map, on which (alas!) are marked 'Mash, Gether, and Hul', about which 'non sappiamo assolutamente nulla'. There are seven nice pictures of antiquities. The book is well printed with good margins. It should prove really useful to the general reader. It is to be hoped that the work will be completed.

W. EMERY BARNES.

THE BEGINNINGS OF CHRISTIANITY.

The Beginnings of Christianity, Part I: The Acts of the Apostles, vol. ii, Prolegomena ii; Criticism; edited by F. J. FOAKES JACKSON, D.D., and KIRSOPP LAKE, D.D. Pp. xiv and 538. (Macmillan & Co., 1922.)

THE second volume of this important work enables us better to appreciate the object which the editors have in view, and to estimate the value of their method. The four volumes which are at present projected, are to deal strictly with material preliminary to a subsequent study and reconstruction of the *Beginnings of Christianity*. For this *Acts* is apparently to provide the foundation: though it might appear that a treatment of other parts of the New Testament on approximately the same scale would be necessary to ultimate success. For the editors the essential preliminary is that *Acts* should be not only studied with critical minuteness, but exhibited as fully as possible in its context of contemporary thought, linguistic practice and literary habit. This volume completes the Prolegomena strictly so-called, and its general purpose is to 'contribute something to the better understanding of the method of the compilation (of the *Acts*), of the purpose for which it was

written, and the moral it was intended to enforce'. That purpose the editors have certainly achieved, though what they have given us remains of the nature of material which must be sifted, tested, and combined in the reconstruction which is to follow.

The method still partakes of the encyclopaedic. The editors have secured the assistance of eight other contributors, and modestly limit their own contribution to about a quarter of the whole. Some of the articles lie rather on the outskirts of interest in the Acts, though they have their value. Mr J. W. Hunkin writes a full and admirably clear account of the history of criticism of the book in England; Principal McGiffert does the same for Germany. Mr H. J. Cadbury and the editors examine the methods of writing history among the Greeks and among the Jews. Two of the appendices are intended to illustrate the psychological principles which lie at the root of the development of history into legend. Mr Coulton handles almost too succinctly the Franciscan traditions, in order to shew that 'certain Franciscan developments prove the possibility that the admitted gaps in our earliest Christian evidence may conceal surprises no less startling than those revealed by the Franciscan records'. The story of Margaret Catchpole is reproduced with contemporary documents, 'to give an example', which was hardly necessary, 'of the difficulty of writing true history on the basis of tradition and even of authentic documents'. The question of authorship is discussed from opposite sides. Mr Emmet arrays with great force and candour the arguments for the Lucan authorship, Dr Windisch those against it.

We reach the actual contents of the book of Acts with a pair of articles by Dr de Zwaan and Mr Lowther Clarke, the one on the Greek of Acts, the other on the Use of the Septuagint by Luke. The latter examines first the vocabulary, then the quotations from the LXX, whether in exact or in substantial agreement. When he proceeds to collect 'reminiscences and allusions', and to suggest inferences from them, he seems to carry the cult of parallels to a dangerous extreme. We have, indeed, its *reductio ad absurdum* in the parallels reprinted from Krenkel (p. 102), where Krenkel actually finds significance in the fact that seven of the commonest words in Greek occur in one verse of Numbers, and also in five widely separated verses in Acts. Mr Lowther Clarke's parallel on the previous page is hardly more convincing; and no impartial reader would have any difficulty in deciding whether 'the facts themselves' (regarding Philip and the Eunuch) 'have been put together out of hints contained in the Old Testament', or in dismissing the suggestion that on this ground 'the character of a conscientious historian claimed in the prologue to the Gospel is considerably impaired'. A great deal of the parallelism, to which attention is drawn by

Mr Lowther Clarke (and others), means no more than that Acts, like most of the New Testament, comes from one (or several) for whom the Old Testament in its Greek dress was the vocabulary and phrase-book of daily life. The time is not long past when it would have been possible in Scotland, from the sermons and prayers of certain Ministers, to recover in a few months no inconsiderable portions at least of the Psalms and the Prophets.

This throws light on one of the points in Dr de Zwaan's excellent article on the Greek of Acts. He posits a third type of writing-style alongside of 'translation Greek' and 'Semiticising *Koinē*', viz. what he calls 'sacred prose'. 'Semitisms which are impossible in *one* of these languages (Aramaic or Hebrew) occurring side by side with such as are only ascribable to the other are conclusive evidence for "sacred prose" and against translation Greek'. Inferences from literary parallels have always to be checked by remembrance of the fact that the Jews were people of a Book in the sense that they knew the Old Testament in a way in which no Westerns know any book to-day. A fairly close analogy might be found in Bunyan, an analysis of his use of the Bible would yield all the varieties in the employment of 'sources' which we find in the Acts. The other point of special interest in Dr de Zwaan's article is his careful examination of the linguistic basis of Professor Torrey's theory. In this he shews, like other writers in this volume (e. g. p. 129, 'so far as the evidence for an Aramaic original is concerned Torrey does not seem to be finally answered by his critics'), more appreciation of this theory than has yet been manifested in this country. On the other hand, the four or five pages of penetrating criticism (pp. 48 ff) which follow, materially reduce the weight of Torrey's secondary evidence. Compare also the important general principles bearing on the same subject laid down by the editors on p. 132.

The core of this volume, like that of the previous one, is found in the work of the editors themselves, and specially in the chapter entitled *The Internal Evidence of Acts*. For, after all, in connexion with Acts, as with most of the books of the New Testament, the old questions of Introduction have to a large extent become secondary to questions of sources, purpose, and character. And it is with these that the editors here deal. The attempt to distinguish and delimit sources in Acts cannot have been a very hopeful one if it was undertaken in view of the conclusions arrived at by Professor Burkitt in the admirable article which precedes this one. It occupies only twelve pages, and deals with Luke's way of using Mark. The primary test is Luke's account of the final visit to Jerusalem, which, apart from three or four passages, is 'a mere re-writing of Mk. x 32-xiii'. The conclusion is that 'Luke is far too skilful and intelligent a writer to yield very much to cross-

examination'; that if we had not Mark it would be a tenable theory that the bulk of this section was 'nothing more than a free composition by Luke'. 'What concerns us here is not that Luke has changed so much, but that he has invented so little.' The same conclusions are then shewn to be probable in relation to the rest of the Gospel. 'One clear result is the demonstration of the difficulty, if not the impossibility of getting behind Luke by a mere close consideration of what he has chosen to tell us.'

With these conclusions the editors would, I think, be disposed to agree. They enter somewhat half-heartedly on the search for sources. The double tradition as to the locality of the Resurrection appearances seems to give a clue, and the suggestion is made that the same two traditions run on into the Acts. An attempt is made to distinguish them by recognizing 'doublets', four in all, in the first five chapters. But are these really doublets, except in the unimportant sense that they record similar happenings? Has one speech of Peter (iii 12-26) arising out of the healing of the lame man, and preceding the coming of the Spirit, any doublet-significance at all in relation to another speech of Peter following on that event, and wholly concerned with its interpretation? The editors express themselves cautiously at first, but they go on to speak of 'this *prima facie* case for considering the possibility of two sources'. They rely chiefly on the fourth 'doublet'. Not wisely. For its doublet-character depends on the unfortunately ambiguous phrase by which it is described, 'growth of communism'. If the phenomenon alluded to were the emergence of 'communism', there might be a doublet. But if it were the development or the fuller description of the same spirit, it might be no doublet at all. And the impression left by the passage itself (iv 34-37), together with its position introducing a striking double illustration of (not 'communism', but) the working of the fellowship-consciousness, is altogether in favour of the latter alternative.

In seeking for confirmation of this *prima facie* case the editors commit themselves to some statements of very doubtful accuracy. E.g. 'In Acts iii the return of Jesus is the main hope and message of the disciples'. Surely, the 'main message' in Acts iii is that Jesus is risen (vv. 15, 26) with certain consequences for the immediate present; and as to the 'hope' the curious fact about the one allusion to the Return is that it comes in with an air of contingency; μετανοήσατε . . . ὅπως ἂν . . . ἀποστείλῃ τὸν Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν. Again, the distinction which is next drawn between the teaching in ch. ii as to the Spirit, and that in ch. iii which 'regards the gift of the Spirit as a transient supernatural phenomenon, promised and given to the disciples in hours of need' is baseless, in view of the fact that in ch. iii there is no reference to the

Spirit at all. There is surely here a want of that precision and accuracy which we have a right to expect in a work of this kind. Few will doubt that the writer of Acts employed 'sources'; to many it will seem highly probable that some of these sources were in Aramaic form. But it does not look as if the attempt to distinguish them is likely to succeed. Probably the most penetrating observation on the subject is shewn by Dr de Zwaan, who draws attention to 'the uneven character of the Greek', and suggests that it 'must be largely due to the illiterate documents which went into its composition'.

After a valuable criticism of Dr von Harnack's linguistic argument the editors go on to deal with the purpose and plan of the book. Here we find many attractive generalizations. They suggest that Theophilus was not so much a catechumen thirsting for religious instruction as 'a Roman official concerned with the public safety and legal procedure', and that the real purpose of the work was to provide an Apologia for the new cult in the eye of the law. 'The writer desires Theophilus to understand the claim of the Church to be the new Israel, and consequently that its worship was lawful in the Empire'. There is an analysis of the characteristic notes of Luke's theology, which is marked by freshness and insight. But the implication on p. 190 that Luke is the primary authority for the Virgin Birth is stated too unreservedly in view of certain recognized possibilities in the literary history of the text. And the attempt to minimize the significance of the 'worship' offered to Christ is not very convincing. The article closes with a striking summary in which the Lucan theology is set in comparison with other types of teaching in the New Testament, and the relation is pointed out which seems to exist between the former and the outline of the Apostles' Creed.

Many of these generalizations do light up large areas of New Testament thought, and on that ground deserve, as they will receive, a *prima facie* welcome. It will be the task of students to bring them to the test of fact and probability.

C. ANDERSON SCOTT.

Fifty Spiritual Homilies of St Macarius the Egyptian, by A. J. MASON, D.D. (S.P.C.K., 1921.)

DR MASON'S translation is accurate and scholarly. It reads well: it is good English. At the same time it is faithful to the Greek. The translator deserves much praise for rendering a classical work of the Patristic age into modern idiom, and expressing the deep thoughts of a Mesopotamian mystic of the fourth century in English of the twentieth.

The only other translation of 'Macarius' existing in our language is that by 'a Presbyter of the Church of England' (the Rev. Thomas Haywood), entitled *Primitive Morality, or the Spiritual Homilies of*

St Macarius the Egyptian, and published in 1721. Since the appearance of Haywood's work much has been done to elucidate 'Macarius's' true meaning by the philological investigations of the Rev. Dr Jos. Stiglmayr, S.J., in his *Sachliches und Sprachliches bei Makarius von Ägypten* published in 1912. The first translator of 'Macarius' to make use of the results of Dr Stiglmayr's research was Dr Dionys Stiefenhofer, whose translation appeared in the *Bibliothek der Kirchenväter* in 1913. Dr Mason has done for English very much the same as Dr Stiefenhofer did for German. It is unfortunate, however, that he has not copied Dr Stiefenhofer's good example in utilizing the linguistic studies in 'Macarius's' vocabulary pursued by Dr Stiglmayr. If this deficiency be set aside, the merits of Dr Mason's work may be justly appraised and its limitations correctly marked out by calling it an English Stiefenhofer.

The book opens with an Introduction purporting to deal with 'the author', 'his life' and 'his teaching'. This is the least satisfactory part of Dr Mason's work, and it runs to some forty pages. It upholds the old ascription of the Homilies to St Macarius of Egypt, although the unanimous judgement of scholars now declares them to be of Messalian origin.¹ The very passages which Dr Mason quotes as illustrations of the doctrine held and taught by St Macarius of Egypt are redolent of Messalian heresy. Thus on p. xxiii he quotes parts of Hom. xxvii 17 and Hom. iv 12, and he refers on p. xxiv to Hom. xvii 1—passages from which as early as the year 1865 the theologian Dr Georg Eduard Steitz had proved² that according to the Homilies there was no causal connexion between receiving the consecrated elements and spiritually partaking of the Body and Blood of Christ. Such was the doctrine of the Messalians. Timothy the Presbyter of Constantinople says of them in his twelfth proposition³ λέγουσιν τὴν τοῦ ἁγίου σώματος καὶ αἵματος Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ θεοῦ μετάληψιν μηδὲν ὠφελεῖν ἢ βλάπτειν τοὺς ἀξίως ἢ ἀναξίως τούτων μεταλαμβάνοντας.

¹ See the reviews of *Macarii Anecdota*, *Harvard Theological Studies* v, G. L. Marriott, 1918, by Prof. Adolf Jülicher *Geheiligte Ketscher in Protestantische Monatshefte* 25. Jahrg. Heft 5/6, by Dr K. Flemming in *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* xl N. F. iii pp. 234 and 235, by Prof. Gunnar Rudberg in *Norsk Teologisk Tidsskrift* 2det hefte 1921, and by N. H. Sæ in *Teologisk Tidsskrift* 4. Række ii. See also Dom L. Villecourt *La date et l'origine des Homélies spirituelles attribuées à Macaire in Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Comptes rendus des séances de l'année 1920, Bulletin de juin-août* pp. 250-258, Dom A. Wilmart *L'origine véritable des Homélies pneumatiques in Revue d'Ascétique et de Mystique*, October 1920, *The Homilies of Macarius* in *Journal of Theological Studies* for April 1921, pp. 259-262, Rev. W. J. Ferrar *New Light on an Ancient Book* (The Spiritual Homilies of St Macarius) in *Interpreter* vol. xviii, no. 3, April 1922.

² *Die Abendmahlslehre der griechischen Kirche in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung*, Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie, Band 10, pp. 142-152, published at Gotha.

³ Migne P. G. lxxxvi¹ col. 49.

Dr Mason rightly admits on p. xxiv that according to the teaching of the Homilies the Holy Spirit is not conveyed at baptism, this sacrament like Holy Communion being utterly indifferent. It is conveyed simply and solely as a result of incessant prayer. But this is the very essence of Messalianism. See proposition 4 in the syllabus of Messalian tenets made by John of Damascus¹: *ὅτι οὐδὲ τὸ βάπτισμα τελειοῖ τὸν ἄνθρωπον οὔτε ἡ τῶν θείων μυστηρίων μετάληψις καθαρίζει τὴν ψυχὴν, ἀλλὰ μόνῃ ἡ παρ' αὐτοῖς σπουδαζομένη εὐχή.*

No one, however, is likely to be misled by the Introduction. The translation is so admirably accurate and faithful to the original Greek that the English reader cannot help but see that what he is reading is not orthodox but heretical; the work not of Macarius but of a Messalian. It is not possible in the limits of a short review to display the Messalian tendency of the Homilies by copious illustration.² One example out of many must suffice. On p. 59 of Dr Mason's translation (Hom. vi § 5) we read: 'That was why the Lord came, and took His body of the Virgin. . . . He³ put down the spirits of wickedness, which had their seat in the body, from their⁴ thrones of mind and thought, wherein they dwelt, and the Lord cleansed the conscience, and made Himself a throne of the mind, the thoughts, and the body.' We find here a theory of the Incarnation set forth in plain and unmistakeable language. Our Lord, or (to speak more precisely) the Second Person of the Holy Trinity assumed a body after it had already been formed in the womb of the blessed Virgin Mary. Before He assumed it it was infested with evil spirits. These had to be expelled before our Lord could enter. He turned them out of their seats in the mind and thoughts of St Mary's offspring. Then He entered Himself and set up His own throne where the demons had formerly resided. This doctrine, which is known to be Messalian,⁵ is quite unorthodox. The Church teaches that, when the human element in our Lord's person was conceived in the womb of the blessed Virgin Mary, the Incarnation had begun. The Church denies that the fruit of the Virgin's womb was first created independently of the hypostatic union, and that the union took place only after a certain time had elapsed. She is appalled by the blasphemous assertion that our Lord's Body was once the domicile of devils. Yet Dr Mason asks us to believe that this, and much like it, was written by a saint and father of the Church.

G. L. MARRIOTT.

¹ Migne *P. G.* xciv col. 729.

² This has already been done by Dom Villecourt, *op. cit.*

³ The reviewer has ventured to change 'he' to 'He' (with a capital *H*), so as to make its spelling square with 'His' *supra*.

⁴ The reviewer has written 'their' for 'these', which appears to be a misprint.

⁵ See Timothy the Presbyter in the place quoted above, prop. 7, 2nd part: *καὶ ὅτι τὸ σῶμα ὃ ἀνέλαβεν ἐξ αὐτῆς (sc. Μαρίας) ὁ Κύριος δαιμόνων ἦν πεπληρωμένον, καὶ ἐξέβαλεν τὰ δαιμόνια, καὶ οὕτως αὐτὸ ἐνεδύσατο.*

N. T. . . . sec. ed. S. Hieronymi: Ep. ad Corinthios I recensuit H. I. W.
(Oxford, 1922.)

THE Dean of Christ Church is to be congratulated upon having reached yet another milestone upon his long but interesting task. Romans appeared in 1913 and now we have 1 Corinthians in the Oxford Vulgate, so that some idea of the range of variation in the MSS of the Pauline Epistles can be formed. The plan of the present instalment is naturally the same as previous fasciculi: first come the Prologues, Canons, Arguments, Capitula, then a short *elenchus codicum*, and then the text and apparatus, the Introduction (or rather, Epilogue) being reserved for the end of a section of the New Testament.

The problems that come directly before an editor of the Pauline Epistles in the Latin Vulgate are curiously different from those presented by the Gospels. This is partly due to the lack of representative texts, but it is also partly inherent in the nature of things. The Epistles were not so much read or copied as the Gospels, so it is likely that there was never so much variation in their text. The great lines of division, indeed, seem to have been much the same as in the Gospels. If we compare the quotations of Cyprian with the Vulgate, e.g. in Rom. viii or 1 Cor. vii, chapters from which Cyprian quotes a good many verses, we see at once two very different types of text, and no doubt there once existed MSS of the Epistles which agreed with Cyprian, corresponding to *k* and *e* in the Gospels. But alas, no such codices are now known to survive, so that for the most part the 'African' text of the Pauline Epistles is a blank.

As for the Gospels so for the Epistles, a 'European' text existed from early times. Its existence can be demonstrated from about A.D. 240, for the quotation of *quis separabit* (Rom. viii 35 ff) in the letter written by the Roman Presbyters to Cyprian (Ep. xxxi, p. 560) exhibits all the characteristics of the 'European' MSS of the Gospels. In a word, it is much nearer the Vulgate than Cyprian's own quotations are. But no Old Latin MS resembling this early Roman text survives. We have only *r*, i.e. some fragments from Freising, and the Latin sides of Cod. Claromontanus (*D*₂) and Boernerianus (*G*₃). In working on the text of the Pauline Epistles we are as badly off as we should be in the Gospels if the only surviving Old Latin MSS were the Latin sides of Cod. Bezae and of Cod. Δ, together with one of the inferior Old Latin fragments, say *i*. There is nothing corresponding to *a* or *b* or *ff*, or to *k* or *e*.

And in the Vulgate codices themselves there is a gap in the evidence. Outside the Gospels there is only one representative of the Irish group, viz. the famous Book of Armagh, cited as D in Wordsworth and White. Dr White has now found a ninth-century MS at Colmar (cited as N),

which is written in an 'Irish' hand, but though in places it has an interesting text it is hardly to be classed as 'Insular' in the sense that E L Q R give an 'Insular' text in the Gospels along with D.

The absence of MSS of the Old Latin in the Pauline Epistles is more or less bridged over by the writers of commentaries. Tischendorf's lists of authorities for readings sometimes end with the symbols 'Ambrst Pelag Sedul' (e. g. Rom. xv 24): it is not too much to say that these cryptic abbreviations are equivalent to a couple of 'Old Latin' codices, one of the fourth and the other of the first decade of the fifth century. A couple, not three, for Prof. Souter has shewn that the ninth-century writer called Sedulius Scottus is only a witness to an Old Latin text when he is quoting from Pelagius.¹ Pelagius quotes practically the whole of the Pauline text in the lemmata of his Commentary, which gives us a pre-Vulgate text a few years later than A.D. 400. This is the result of Souter's final investigations: a few years ago he believed that the true text of Pelagius was that preserved in the Reichenau MS (Souter's **A**), a text partly corrected to the Vulgate. It is this which Dr White quotes as 'Pelagius' in his apparatus to Romans and 1 Corinthians. In these Epistles, therefore, White's *Pel.* signifies 'Pelagius, as represented in Souter's Codex **A**', the text of Souter's Codex **B** (Bp Gray's MS at Balliol College) being then unknown. Thus, for instance, it is only Pel. **A** that reads *sic sic* for *si sic* in 1 Cor. vii 40, and it is only Pel. **A** that omits 1 Cor. xvi 19; the true Pelagius quoted the verse, including the characteristic addition *apud quos etiam hospitor*.

The text of the writer now called Ambrosiaster is about a quarter of a century older than Pelagius. No doubt it represents better than any other authority the text of the Pauline Epistles current in Rome when Damasus was Pope (366-384), about the time when Jerome was making his revision of the Gospels. The text of Pelagius, though Pelagius wrote in Rome, seems to have been that current in his native land of Britain, and Prof. Souter (*Pelagius* p. 146 ff) has given some reason to suppose that this text had reached our island from Trèves and the Rhine districts rather than from Gaul or Spain.

When we come to the Vulgate text itself, an editor in the position of Dr White has to be considering all the time which readings are to be chosen as the true Vulgate text, and at the end he will have to make up his mind on the curiously open question as to who was the scholar that constructed it. On this latter question we shall look forward to reading what Dr White has to say when he comes to write his epilogue. Meanwhile, a very curious account of the sway of opinion will be found in the Appendix called 'Pelagius and the Vulgate of the Pauline Epistles' in Souter's *Pelagius* pp. 155-158. In this Appendix Prof. Souter shews

¹ Souter's *Pelagius* pp. 148, 338.

that so long as the Pelagian text was supposed to be preserved correctly in the Reichenau Codex it was possible to defend the view that Pelagius himself was the real author of the Vulgate text of the Epistles! That view is no longer defensible, and it is likely that the traditional view will prevail that Jerome is the author.

But the mere fact that such a view could be held shews that the Vulgate of this part of the New Testament is not, like the Gospels, a real *nouum opus*. St Jerome, in revising the Latin Gospels, had a serious task before him. He was not at any time concerned with questions of style or vocabulary,¹ and so the Vulgate Gospels follow the general characteristics of the 'European' text current in Rome about 380; but he was concerned to correct the Latin by the Greek original (*ad Graecam originem reuertentes*). In doing this, no doubt he has often to take sides beforehand in the modern controversies of 'textual critics'. But the differences of Greek MSS of the Gospels among themselves were hardly realized by any Latin scholar of St Jerome's day; what was patent was Latin variation compared with the *Graeca ueritas*. And Jerome applied himself with vigour and no little success to giving each Evangelist his due. He tried to eliminate harmonistic errors, and introduced the Greek system called the Eusebian (or Ammonian) Canons, whereby the attentive reader could see at a glance where in the Gospels there was agreement and where there was individuality (*similia omnium scies et singulis sua quaeque restitues*).²

It was an interesting task, on the whole very well carried out. But even in the Gospels Bp Wordsworth had occasionally to draw attention to what he calls the *ignauia Hieronymiana* (vol. i, p. 484: see also p. xxxiv). I venture to think this rather unkind phrase is the key to the phenomena of the Vulgate Epistles. In the Epistles there were one or two well-known places where the Latin differed from the Greek, and Jerome corrects the text to agree with the Greek. But on the whole there was very little to do. In the Acts he seems to have run through a Latin text, correcting it rather cursorily to agree with a Greek MS of the sort approved by Dr Hort. It might almost have been the famous Codex B itself. But in neither case does Jerome seem to have taken his task seriously, as he did the Gospels and as he did the rendering of the Old Testament from Hebrew authorities into Latin.

I bring these remarks to an end by calling attention to the very curious variations in 1 Cor. vii 35. The Greek is τοῦτο δὲ πρὸς τὸ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν σύμφορον λέγω, οὐχ ἵνα βρόχον ὑμῖν ἐπιβάλω, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ εὐσχημον καὶ εὐπάρεδρον τῷ κυρίῳ ἀπερισπάστως.

¹ *Ne multum a lectionis Latinae consuetudine discreparent . . . calamo temperauimus.*

² I venture to call attention to some remarks I made on this subject in this JOURNAL, vol. xvii, p. 11, last paragraph (on Mk iii 21 ff.).

White's text is

porro hoc ad utilitatem uestram dico, non ut laqueum vobis iniciam, sed ad id quod honestum est, et quod facultatem praebeat sine impedimento dominum observandi.

Here *porro* (i. e. 'furthermore', 'moreover') is clearly due to Jerome himself: the word does not occur in any known Old Latin text. In this verse τοῦτο δέ is rendered *haec* by Augustine, *hoc* by *d*^{corr} Pelagius and the Book of Armagh (D), *hoc autem* by *d*^{corr} *e f g*, White's F N, Ambrosiaster, Ambrose, and Jerome in a quotation (ii 261, i. e. *adu. Iovin.*, A. D. 392).

In the latter part of the verse the printed Vulgate has a corruption, *obsecrandi* for *observandi*, which can be traced back, however, to the seventh century.¹ This corresponds to ἐντάδρον, which does not seem to be a common word and which gave trouble to Latin translators. It appears that the elegant paraphrase found in the Vulgate is Jerome's own, for it is not found outside Vulgate codices. In 392, writing against Jovinian, he had rendered the last clause *et intente facit servire Domino absque ulla distractione*, remarking that owing to the difficulty of translating the Greek the clause was altogether omitted in Latin texts. This statement is borne out by the fact that the clause is omitted by the Ambrosiaster, by Ambrose, by Pelagius, and by White's F* G* N U c. The Graeco-Latin codices have attempts at word-for-word renderings which need not be quoted here, as they appear to have had no influence upon Latin texts.

We gather from all this that omission is the true Old Latin rendering of 1 Cor. vii 35^b, and it is natural to assume that Jerome's Vulgate rendering was made later than 392. What is really puzzling is that D (i. e. Armagh) reads

ut sit frequens oratio uestra ad dominum sine ulla occupatione.

This is a fresh independent rendering, and we note that it brings in the idea of prayer which belongs to the later corruption (*obsecrandi*) in the Vulgate MSS. Perhaps this is merely an accident, but in any case this reading of D calls for explanation. Is it a fresh rendering from the Greek, interpolated into a Vulgate codex, and so affording a real specimen of the alleged Greek learning of some Irish monks? Or is it a real survival of a genuine Old Latin rendering of a difficult text?

Very few verses of the Epistles present Latin variants so instructive and so perplexing as 1 Cor. vii 35. I have quoted them here, partly to shew the interest of Dr White's new volume, and partly in the hope that my remarks may stimulate some scholar to examine these curious problems afresh.²

F. C. BURKITT.

¹ The oldest MS that contains it, *Reginensis* 9 (White's R), begins the verse with *Propter hoc*.

² I am delighted to hear that Dom Chapman is about to do this in the pages of this JOURNAL.

Hinduism and Buddhism : an historical sketch, by Sir CHARLES ELIOT, H.M. Ambassador at Tokyo. Three vols. (Edward Arnold & Co., London, 1921.)

THESE three volumes, which comprise altogether more than 1,200 pages, are conveniently divided into seven books, entitled respectively : (1) Introduction ; (2) Early Indian Religion : a general view ; (3) Pali Buddhism ; (4) The Mahayana ; (5) Hinduism ; (6) Buddhism outside India ; (7) Mutual Influence of Eastern and Western Religions.

The survey which Sir Charles Eliot has completed is indeed vast, both in time and in space. It covers Hinduism in the widest sense of the term, from the times of the Rigveda, some three thousand years ago, down to the present day, and Buddhism, both as it grew up and decayed in ancient India, and as its offshoots spread to find new and more permanent roots in Ceylon, Burma, and Siam, and in China, Japan, Tibet, and other countries of the Far East. The third great system, Jainism, which still survives in India, is treated more concisely than the other two, but it is by no means neglected. It finds its own special chapter in Book II, which gives a general view of religious conditions in ancient India, and it is not forgotten throughout these volumes.

There can be few living scholars who are competent to discuss the whole of so many-sided a subject, and fewer still who, in addition to the requisite book-knowledge, have an intimate acquaintance with the existing religions. Sir Charles Eliot is widely read in the scriptures of Brahmans, Buddhists, and Jains ; his knowledge of the principal languages of the different canons qualifies him to form an independent opinion on debatable questions of interpretation ; and he has lived or travelled in all the countries to which Buddhism or Hinduism has spread, with the single exception of Tibet. His thoughtful and well-written account of Indian religions is not only descriptive, but also enables the reader to grasp the main principles which underlie the complicated and bewildering phases of ancient and modern Hinduism and Buddhism. A work of this kind, suited to the needs of readers who are not necessarily special students, deserves the most cordial welcome.

Sir Charles Eliot takes pains to clear away those difficulties which make it hard for the Western mind to appreciate the religions of the East. The differences which separate the religious European and the religious Indian are fundamental. Each views the problem of the relation of man to a Higher Power from a point of view which is incomprehensible to the other. The Christian believes that God is 'the *Maker* of all things in heaven and earth', and that the human soul which He has created has a real individual existence and is immortal. Both of these postulates are unacceptable to the Hindu. As Sir Charles Eliot explains :

'There were two principal world theories in ancient India. One, which was systematized as the Vedānta, teaches in its extreme form that

the soul and the universal spirit are identical and the external world an illusion. The other, systematized as the Sāṅkhya, is dualistic, and teaches that primordial matter and separate individual souls are both of them uncreated and indestructible. Both lines of thought look for salvation in the liberation of the soul to be attained by the suppression of the passions and the acquisition of true knowledge' (i p. 106).

The Christian believes that man is born once, and that his lot hereafter is determined by his actions in this life. The Hindu holds that man and all other beings are experiencing in this life pains and pleasures which are the results of their actions in previous births, and that in the same manner they will continue to be born again and again until the acquisition of 'true knowledge'—the conviction that everything transitory is unreal—breaks the chain of mundane existences and dispels all its illusions. These different and incompatible points of view are aptly illustrated by Sir Charles Eliot:—

'If some one were to found a new Christian sect, he would probably not be asked to prove the immortality of the soul: it is assumed as part of the common religious belief. Similarly, no one asked the Buddha to prove the doctrine of re-birth. If we permit our fancy to picture an interview between him and some one holding the ordinary ideas of an educated European about the soul, we may imagine that he would have some difficulty in understanding what is the alternative to re-birth. His interlocutor might reply that there are two types of theory among Europeans. Some think that the soul comes into existence with the body at birth but continues to exist everlasting and immortal after the death of the body. Others, commonly called materialists, while agreeing that the soul comes into existence with the birth of the body, hold that it ceases to exist with the death of body. To the first theory the Buddha would probably have replied that there is one law without exception, namely, that whatever has a beginning has also an end. The whole universe offers no analogy or parallel to the soul which has a beginning but no end, and not the smallest logical need is shewn for believing a doctrine so contrary to the nature of things. And as for materialism he would probably say that it is a statement of the processes of the world as perceived, but no explanation of the mental or even of the physical world' (i p. 196).

These quotations may serve as examples of the author's method. He is careful everywhere to define his terms. No better introduction to the study of Eastern religions can be recommended than this work, which is manifestly the fruit of many years of patient study and observation.

E. J. RAPSON.

A Grammar of New Testament Greek, by the late JAMES HOPE MOULTON, edited by WILBERT FRANCIS HOWARD. Vol. ii Part ii Accidence. (T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh.)

MR HOWARD is making great progress with his labour of love, and the part of the work which the late Professor Moulton planned, now

given to the world, will be received everywhere with the greatest thankfulness. The manuscript was left essentially complete, but Mr Howard, with the invaluable assistance of Professor Milligan, has produced it in a form which would certainly have satisfied the author himself. It is thoroughly characteristic of the writer whom we know so well from the *Prolegomena*. It is not given to many to make grammar interesting, but Dr Moulton's learning was always illuminated by his enthusiasm, and consecrated by his deep personal religion. In this part the philological equipment of its author is everywhere apparent, and the thorough utilization of the papyri and all other sources for the Koine is so convincing that it requires great boldness to differ from any of his conclusions as they bear on the text of the N.T. It may still be thought in some quarters that the result of all the labours embodied in this work has been to debase the language of the N.T.: but a study of this *Accidence* will shew that it is not so, e.g. *-σαν* is said to be 'a dialectic element which has not touched the N.T.'; 'the MS attestation is not strong enough to force this form on a writer of Luke's Greek culture', and *καυθήσωμαι* is an error. Where two forms of a word are known to have existed, it is certainly legitimate to regard a survival in Modern Greek (e.g. τὸ ζῆλος) as in favour of popular Hellenistic usage. The strange phenomena of the language of Revelation are treated with great skill, e.g. on I 4.

The list of verbs and verbal forms will be very valuable for use. Besides the *ἀπ. λεγ. ὁμείρομαι*, which still awaits explanation, the classical scholar will only notice the present forms, *ἀμφιάζω, ἐλεάω, κρύβω, κτέννυμι, —φαίσσω, χύνω* and that *ζήω, χρήομαι* are written. This is surely almost less change in the language than one would *a priori* have expected.

The sections on Semitic names of places and persons, the notes on *ἡμῖνος*, the treatment of the numerals, and the question of the pronoun *αὐτόν* will be found unusually interesting. It is disappointing that the author did not enter into the problems involved by *Ναζωραῖος Ναζαρηνός*, but perhaps it was hardly within the scope of an *Accidence*. Attention may be called to the following interesting views. Mt. xviii 22 *ἐβδομή- κοντα ἐπτάκις* is probably the correct text. Mt. xxiv 32 = Mk. xiii 28, *ἐκφυῆ* should be read (does not Mt.'s transposition of τὰ φύλλα before *ἐκφυῆ* confirm this?). Mk. viii 3, *ἦκασι* is probable. Mk. xii 26, *ἐπὶ τοῦ βάτου*, locally 'at the Bush'. Jn. xviii 1, *τῶν κέδρων* is a Greek popular etymology of Kidron, but need not be right. 1 Cor. vii 21, *μᾶλλον* might be translated 'by all means'. It will be remembered how in *Prolegomena* the author argued that *χρήσαι* was decisive in favour of understanding *τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ*. Jas. i 19, *ἵστε* is imperative. Rev. viii 12, xviii 23, read *φάνη* 'shine'.

The printing is very clear, and the advantage of having the actually occurring forms in bold type is great. Abbreviations are mostly clear,

but *opve* is ugly. In the third part, which is in preparation, on Word-Formation, we are promised the treatment of special cruces like *δευτεροποίησις*.

G. C. RICHARDS.

EGYPTIAN, SEMITIC, AND PROTO-SEMITIC.

Short Egyptian Grammar. By PROF. DR GUNTHER ROEDER, Director of the Pelizaeus-Museum, Hildesheim. Translated from the German by the REV. SAMUEL A. B. MERCER, Ph.D. (Munich), D.D., Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament in the Western Theological Seminary, Chicago. (Yale University Press, New Haven: Humphrey Milford, London, 1920.)

CONSIDERING the great historical, literary, and religious interest which attaches to the abundant and well-preserved remains of Egyptian antiquity, it is certainly remarkable that so little has been done to smooth the path of the beginner since the publication of Le Page Renouf's *Elementary Grammar* in 1875. That work had the conspicuous merit of appealing to the general principles of philology; illustrating, as far as was then practicable, the peculiarities of Egyptian phonetics, word-formation, and syntax, by the corresponding features of other languages, both ancient and modern. Unfortunately, few persons are as well qualified as Renouf was for that kind of illustration; and too many people undertake to expound the baffling mysteries of Cuneiform or Egyptian texts without having previously qualified themselves for such work by thorough study of the better known Semitic languages at least—if not also of Chinese (the only other available system of originally pictorial writing), with which our earlier Egyptologist Dr Samuel Birch had a good practical acquaintance.




The Egyptian alphabet being, like the Phoenician, strictly consonantal, it is easy to imagine what difficulties a rigid transcription must present to the eye and mind of the beginner. It is like trying to teach Hebrew without the assistance of the Massoretic vocalization. The latest form of the language, however, the Coptic, is fully vocalized; and some knowledge of the laws of phonetic change enables us to approximate with more or less probability to the ancient sounds. As Erman long ago stated, the Coptic affords the only possibility of understanding the structure of the Egyptian language. It is therefore necessary, even for the beginner, to acquire a knowledge of Coptic (*Eg. Gr.* Breasted's trans. p. 2). See also Budge's excellent remarks and list of examples (*First Steps* pp. 20–22). With the Coptic *noṛte* before us, it seems needlessly pedantic to persist in transcribing the old word for








'god' by *ntr* or *ntr* instead of *núter* or the like,* and to burden the memory and strain the sight over uncouth collocations of consonants like *qrnpt*, 'pigeon', when Coptic vocalizes ⲩⲣⲟⲟⲙⲛⲉ and ⲭⲣⲟⲙⲛⲉ (cf. Lat. *columba*), inserting the main vowel after the second radical, and shedding the final letter as usual. (The change of *n* to *m* before the labial *p* hardly calls for remark.) In this respect it would seem better to follow the lead of Maspéro and the French school of Egyptology than that of the super-scientific Germans. After all, it was the Frenchman Champollion who first made out the Egyptian alphabet exactly one hundred years ago. **APXH HMICY ΠANTOS.**












The author before us agrees with Erman in the statement that Egyptian is a Semitic language, with affinities to some of the barbarous dialects of North Africa. The latter may well show some traces of contact with their more cultured neighbour; but they can hardly be expected to throw much light on the problem of the origin and primitive relations of the immeasurably more important language and writing of ancient Egypt which, as tradition and other facts conspire to indicate, in all probability entered the valley of the Nile from Asia, having started, as it would seem, from the valley of the Euphrates.











No doubt the general phenomena of Egyptian grammar present an unmistakeable likeness to Semitism. To a Hebraist, indeed, they recall so many well-known features of Hebrew and Aramean usage that one cannot but regret that these have not been more fully and systematically noted in introductory manuals such as the present. Apart from the difficulties inherent in the hieroglyphic script, Egyptian (especially in the purely consonantal transcription advocated by Erman and his school) wears to the beginner a look so strange and bewildering, that illustration from a more familiar source, such as O. T. Hebrew and the later Aramean idioms, must always be welcome, as confirming his confidence in his guides and inspiring a conviction that he is dealing with actualities of human speech and not the mere conjectures of philological phantasy.












But not only might a systematic comparison of Semitic do much more for the elucidation of the old Egyptian syntax and forms of speech. The advantage might prove reciprocal, and the vocabulary of the latter might in turn throw valuable light on some of the enigmas of Hebrew lexicography. Take the root יָצַע ('save', 'salvation', &c.), so weighty a word in Biblical theology. The lexicon, as it happens, rightly compares Ar. رَاحَ *be capacious*, II. *make wide, spacious*, and refers to the syn. Heb. הָרַחֵב *make wide, enlarge*. The primary concrete meaning of the root is, however, clearly exhibited in the Egyptian

   *wsh*, 'broad', 'wide', 'to be wide', 'width'. (The

$\dot{h} = \gamma$ as in $s\dot{h} = שבע$ and other instances. Perhaps  $r\dot{h}$, 'know' = III. רעה Syr. 'think'.) The Eg.  us , 'tongue', Copt. λac , has preserved the primitive monosyllabic root of $\dot{h}shu$, Assy. $lišānu$; and there can be little doubt of the identity of the obscure $\dot{h}shu$, 'red', Jer. xxii 14, with the common Eg. $\dot{d}šr$, 'red'. So Eg.  ufr , 'lute' = $\dot{h}bl$ of the Psalms,  ysr , 'tamarisk' = $\dot{h}shu$,  yry , Copt. $\mu\pi\bar{\pi}$, 'wine' = $\dot{h}nb$, 'grapes', and Eg.  $šry$, 'child', Copt. $\mu\pi\bar{\pi}e$, 'son', $\mu\pi\bar{\pi}e\bar{e}$, 'daughter' = Assy. $šerru$, 'child', 'small', 'weak'. (Is יהוה akin to  $y'hw$, the (new) moon?)

There is, however, a considerable group of vocables which suggest neither a Semitic nor, so far as we know, an African origin. In all the Semitic languages, for instance, the sound 'ab represents *father*, whereas in Egyptian the word is  (also written  with a curious Determinative, limax?), $y\bar{t}$, Copt. $\epsilon\iota\omega\tau$, suggesting an original $y\bar{a}t$ or $y\bar{a}d$, and reminding us, in any case, of the Sumerian AD, *father*. Nor is this notable example an isolated instance of conformity between Egyptian and the primitive speech of Babylonia (which is also an important element in Semitic). The Eg.  s (Copt. $ca-$), *a man*, and  $s\bar{s}$, *a son*, find no congeners in Semitic, though they resemble Sum. ZA and SA-G, *a man* ($am\bar{e}lu$) and E-SAG, *a son* ($aplu$); Eg.  pt , Copt. πe , *heaven*, recalls the more ancient-looking Sum. BAD, *heaven* ($\dot{s}am\bar{u}$); Eg.  $kwkw$, Copt. $\mu\alpha\kappa e$, *darkness*, is like Sum. KUKKU, *darkness* ($eklitu$); Eg.  $rm\bar{t}$, *mankind*, and Copt. $\rho\omega\alpha\epsilon$ *a man*, may be compared with Sum. A-RUM, E-RUM, U-RUM, denoting man (or woman) in the sense of slave ($zikaru$, $ardu$, $sinni\bar{s}tu$), GEME-ARUM, *maid* (and) *man*, dependents ($kinati\bar{u}$): cf. also E-RIM, *man*, *warrior* ($\dot{s}abu$). The Sum. GEM, GEME, *female*, *maidservant* ($sinni\bar{s}tu$, $ardatu$) is obviously a more primitive sound than Eg.  $\dot{h}m\bar{t}$ (with fem. ending), Copt. $\epsilon\sigma\iota\alpha\epsilon$, *woman*, *wife*; and the same may be said of Sum. GEŠ, *tree*, *wood* ($i\dot{c}u$) as compared with Eg.  $\dot{h}t$ and of Sum. GIŠ, *fire* ($i\dot{s}atu$) as compared with Eg.  $\dot{h}t$, and perhaps of GIŠ, GI, *male* ($zikaru$) as compared with Eg.  $\dot{h}y$, *husband*. On the other hand, Eg. $\dot{h}t$, *house*, Copt. $\mu\bar{i}$ = Sum. (G?)EŠ, Ê, *house* ($\dot{b}itu$), illustrates the progress of phonetic decay from the earlier guttural sound to the Ê of our existing Sumerian

syllabary; while Eg.  *ḥd*, *bright*,  *ḥd*, *become light*, is clearly almost identical with Sum.  (the sun) ĠAD, ĠUD, (HAD, HUD), with the same meanings (*ellu*, *namru*, *namāru*). Many other words common to the two languages might be added, e. g.  *ḏd*, Copt. *ⲁⲱ*, *say, speak* = Sum. DUTTU, DUDU (*dabābu*);  *sm*, *to slaughter* = Sum. ŠUM (*tabāhu*);  *tḫw*, *wind* = Sum. TU (*šāru*);  *yr*, Copt. *ⲉⲣⲉ*, *make, do* = Sum. GAR (*šakānu*); Eg.  *wy*, *ship* = Sum. MA (WA); Eg.  *nnw*, *time* (and *wnw-t*, *hour?*) = Sum. EN, INE, ENNA, UNA. And in default of another etymology for Eg.  *ntr*, Copt. *ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ*, *god*, the Sum. NAMTAR (NAWTAR), *fate-decider*, may be worthy of consideration.

People obsessed with the idea of the superior antiquity of Egyptian insist on the pictorial character of the writing; whereas our oldest Babylonian inscriptions are linear, and in many cases the original picture-forms can no longer be determined with certainty. The pictorial stage of Sumerian had, in fact, passed into desuetude long before the period of the earliest known inscriptions (circ. 4000 B.C.). But far more important for determining the question of relative age is the fact that Sumerian never developed an alphabet, such as we find already in use (intermingled with pictorial ideograms) even in the pyramid-texts. Its nearest approach to alphabetic writing was a syllabary, of which every character, as originally a pictogram, could still on occasion be used in its original sense as an independent word-sign. To take an example, if we wish to suggest the sound M in Sumerian phonetic writing, the ideograms  MA,  ME,  MU,  AM,  IM,  UM, are at our disposal (according to the vocalization required); although each of these signs in another context may represent an ideogram or complete word (MA = *mātu*, land, ME = *qālu*, cry, MU = *iṣu*, tree, AM = *riṣnu*, wild-ox, IM = *šāru*, wind, UM = *ummu*, mother, besides many other meanings). In Egyptian, on the other hand, we have the alphabetic sign  unknown as an ideogram, which we may perhaps refer to the Sumerian symbol  IM (the wind, figured as a bird). Similarly, Eg.  *y*, supposed to represent a reed-leaf, may be regarded as an attenuated form of the Sumerian  GI, reed (*qanū*), and Eg.  *w* (*û*), may be

referred to the Sumerian 𒊕 ĜU (ĤU), bird, with the initial aspirate worn away as in other instances (cf. also MÛ in MU-TIN, bird). Further, the Eg. letter 𐎃 ḥ agrees well enough with the Sum. ideogram O ĜA, ĜU, or ĤA, ĤU, meaning *many* (*ma'dûtu*) and the cipher *ten* (cf. Eg. 𐎃 ḥa, 𐎃 1000 !); and the 'doubtful sign' 𐎃 t may be a relic of Sum. 𐎃 , 𐎃 , UD, UTU, the (rising) sun.

We can sympathize with the difficulties of a translator from a German original; but we must allow ourselves the liberty of suggesting that in a future edition of this really valuable work care should be taken to bring the Vocabulary into closer conformity with the renderings given in the text. The common honorific term ymḫ is 'respectable' on p. 7, but the Vocab. gives 'reputation'; šfyt-k is 'thy reputation', p. 11, but the Vocab. gives only šfyt, 'appearance', 'might'. At p. 9 mšdmt is 'rouge'(!), at p. 15 'paint', but Vocab. 'black paint'. P. 10 has ḥmw-t, 'workshops', Vocab. only ḥmw-t, 'handicraft, art'; p. 21 pr-t, 'Spring' ('sprouts'), but Vocab. 'winter'. P. 22 byk yḫ, 'a useful servant'; Vocab. yḫ, 'excellent'. But as yḫw is 'splendour' (the root-meaning), why not a 'splendid' servant? (*rara avis in terris*). P. 62 yt, 'corn', but Vocab. it [sic], 'barley'. Cf. perhaps Heb. טן , 'wheat'. Omitting other instances of the same kind, we pass to the consideration of one or two cases of defective statement or even faulty grammar. § 27. The order of the words quoted from pl. 7, 4 does not suggest 'a nominal sentence with the verb 'to be' omitted'. The -t of byt, 'honey', appears to be a radical, not the fem. ending as our author assumes; cf. Copt. ⲉⲕⲓⲱ which is masc. (Cf. also the Chinese *mēt*, *mit*, Jap. *hit* from *pit*, Korean *mil*, $\mu\epsilon\lambda\acute{\iota}$, *mel*.) The Predicates may be regarded as finite Verbs: 'Its wine aboundeth, its oil is plenteous'. § 35 c should have more examples for clearness sake; and at e the interesting phrase nty-w-ym, 'the dead' should have been explained (*those who are over there* or *yonder*). So also § 38 ymy-w-bḫ 'forefathers' (*they who are in front* or *before*). The Vocab. strangely assigns to m-bḫ the sense of 'out' as well as 'before', referring to pl. 23, 10; but, of course, pr m bḫ ḥr ḫwt nt ntr '3 = 'Go out *from before* the face of the altar of the great god!' In § 45 wr nf yrp r mw (pl. 7, 3) is misrendered 'great to *him* wine than water = he has more wine than water'. The reference is to a country, not a person; and the sense is that wine is more abundant there than water. (We may perhaps connect the Eg. prep. r 'to', 'toward', with the Sum. postposition ra, ru, -ir, 'to', which again may be akin to RA, 'to go'.) § 46, speaking of the Numeral Signs, says, 'The phonetic values . . . are partly conjectured only by means of combination'. Does this

mean 'only from compound numerals'? Examples should be given. And surely ḥry-w rnp-t (the five intercalary days) should be translated 'those which are upon (i.e. in addition to) the year', not 'those above (beyond) the year', as our author gives it.

Brevity may be purchased too dearly. § 90 states: 'Both šdm-yn-f and šdm-kꜣf as well as šdm-ḥr-f often express also a command. Example: ḥꜣ-yn ḥm-f, 'his majesty appeared' (30, 9)'. The 'Example', of course, refers to the first part of the paragraph, which states ordinary usage. No instance of a command is given. In § 98 if 'wnm' [wm? wn? Copt. ⲟⲩⲱⲙⲓ *eat*] 'has an active meaning', rꜣ n tm wnm NN. yn ḥꜣꜣw m ḥryt-ntr must be rendered 'Spell for the non-eating of N. (on the part) of the Serpent in Hades', rather than 'Charm for the *not-to-be-eaten* of N., &c.'

§ 64 is content to dub such phrases as n mrw-t and n-ꜣt-n 'Conjunctions', without a word of explanation. They are cited from pl. 10, 3-5, where the king says: 'I did this for my Father Osiris, *for the greatness of my loving Him* to all gods (i.e. because I loved Him far more than all other gods), And for love of the lasting of my name' (i.e. And because I desired that my name might endure).

The account of the Infinitive, pp. 40 ff, is for the most part a model of clear and simple exposition such as one desiderates in some other instances. But § 111 is too compressed. Almost every statement should have had an example to illustrate the meaning. § 105 a 'thy heart will be glad n mꜣꜣ on account of the sight' (56, 4): rather *at seeing* (Infin.), viz. *the rowers row*, as the sentence goes on in the passage cited. In § 108 insert *n* before mꜣꜣ, and in § 114 read dwꜣw-w for dꜣw-w (32. 1). In § 116 the line 21, 8 is šr nb šwꜣ-tyfꜣ ḥr šps pn, 'every officer (not "each living one") who shall pass by this stela'.

In § 126 the periphrastic future yb n ḥmk r ꜣbb, 'thy majesty's heart will be glad' (lit. *is to or about to become cool*), is not made much more perspicuous by calling it 'an unreal nominal sentence'.

We have nowhere observed any reference to the Asyndeton usual in Egyptian in cases like 'nḥ wꜣꜣ, 'life *and* happiness' (5, 8) or ḥmw ḥmwꜣ, *famuli et famulae* (pl. 26, 6); a construction which is also characteristic of Sumerian but not of Semitic.

After all this, it may seem ungracious to add that misprints are unusually numerous. It is needless to register them here. They are mostly such as the intelligent reader may easily correct for himself. They do not greatly diminish the sterling value of a work which every serious student of the language should possess—a work which is a marvel of compression and comprehensiveness, and which enables us to gauge, with some degree of accuracy, the present position of Egyptian grammatical knowledge.

C. J. BALL.

A Handbook of Patrology, by the Rev. J. TIXERONT, D.D.: authorized translation, based upon the fourth French edition. (B. Herder, London, W.C. 1, 1920.)

History of Dogmas, by J. TIXERONT: translated from the fifth French edition by H. L. B.: vol. i, second edition, 1921, vol. ii 1914, vol. iii 1916. (B. Herder.)

WHEN I called attention in the JOURNAL (vol. xxiii p. 109) to M. Tixeront's *Patrologie* I was not aware that it had been translated into English. The scant use made of the work of English scholars is the more noticeable when the whole appears in an English dress. The translator might have added largely to the value of the book for English readers, but it is a very welcome addition to the kind of 'helps' to study of the subject available for English students.

The publisher kindly sends also the English translation of M. Tixeront's *Histoire des Dogmes*. The translator speaks in his preface of 'the imperious need' of such a history in English 'from a Catholic and scientific standpoint'. The fact that the first volume reached a second edition last year justifies his words. M. Tixeront is scientific in his method and Catholic in all his judgements and estimates of the course the great history ran. In his third volume in particular ('The End of the Patristic Age' 430-800) he takes his readers over ground less familiar to most students than it should be, if they are to appreciate properly the results of ancient Christological enquiry, and it is all to the good that those who read only English should have in their hands M. Tixeront's excellent treatment of the period.

J. F. B-B.

RECENT PERIODICALS RELATING TO THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

(1) ENGLISH.

The Church Quarterly Review, April 1922 (Vol. xciv, No. 187 : S.P.C.K.). C. F. D'ARCY Who are members of the Church of England?—R. HANSON Anglicanism and modern problems—F. AVELING The science of psychology—A. A. COCK The problem of prayer—W. J. FERRAR A philosopher to his wife: Porphyry *ad Marcellam*—H. M. RELTON Immortality and Resurrection—E. H. PEARCE Worcester institutions six centuries ago—Mediaeval contributions to modern civilization—Short Notices.

The Hibbert Journal, April 1922 (Vol. xx, No. 3 : Williams & Norgate). M. D. PETRE Still at it—BISHOP OF ONTARIO Modernist Christology and the plain man—S. H. MELLONE Modern Churchmen and Unitarians—C. G. MONTEFIORE The religious teaching of the Synoptics—W. S. HAMILTON India's revolt against Christian civilisation—F. S. MARVIN Is the West Christian?—E. CAMMAERTS Literature and Internationalism—J. S. MACKENZIE The three-fold State—N. KERR Pestered by a 'Poltergeist'—W. R. BOUSFIELD Telepathy—W. J. PERRY The relation of class divisions to social conduct—IKBAL ALI SHAH Sufism—R. DE BARY The relativity of death—B. A. YEAXLEE The Churches and adult education—M. A. STOBART The Church at the cross-roads—Discussions, Survey, and Signed Reviews.

The Expositor, April 1922 (Eighth Series, No. 136 : Hodder & Stoughton). J. STALKER Harnack's *Marcion*—A. E. GARVIE The fact of Christ and faith in God—E. H. ASKWITH Psalms in times of sickness—F. GRANGER Jesus the village Poet—J. H. LECKIE Apocalypse and atonement—G. H. WHITAKER Welcoming 'the continuing and progressing unveiling' of Jesus Christ.

May 1922 (Eighth Series, No. 137). J. B. BAILLIE Thoughts on Religion—R. HARRIS Dilemma and the Gospels—W. J. FERRAR A study of St Paul—W. M. CLOW The preaching of Chrysostom—N. J. D. WHITE The doctrine of Creation according to the Epistle to the Hebrews—J. R. MANTEY New translations for conjunctions in the Greek New Testament—ED. KÖNIG The so-called 'popular religion of Israel'.

June 1922 (Eighth Series, No. 138). ED. KÖNIG The so-called 'popular religion of Israel'—J. A. HUTTON A ruling from 'First Peter'—M. JONES Paul the pagan—R. HARRIS Nazareth—W. S. WOOD St Paul and the resurrection of the body—J. R. MANTEY Perfect tense ignored in Matthew xvi 19, xviii 18, and John xx 23.

(2) AMERICAN.

The Journal of Religion, March 1922 (Vol. ii, No. 2: University of Chicago Press). J. H. TUFTS Religion's place in securing a better world order—G. CROSS The stake of Protestantism in the Christian Union movement—P. HUTCHINSON Christian division: a prior claim—S. W. DYDE Church Union in Canada, from a Presbyterian standpoint—H. R. WILLOUGHBY The next step in New Testament study—A. E. HAYDON The significance of the mystic's experience—G. B. SMITH The reconstruction of religious loyalty—Book Reviews.

May 1922 (Vol. ii, No. 3). A. W. FORTUNE The Kentucky campaign against the teaching of evolution—C. ZOLLMANN The constitutional and legal status of Religion in public education—G. B. SMITH Can Christianity welcome freedom of teaching?—F. C. BURKITT The religion of the Manichees—C. M. CASE The dilemma of social religion—F. L. H. POTT The intellectual and social crisis in China—L. H. SEELYE An experiment in religious association—Book Reviews.

The Princeton Theological Review, April 1922 (Vol. xx, No. 2: Princeton University Press). R. D. WILSON Darius the Mede—B. F. PAIST, JR. Peter Martyr and the colloquy of Poissy—C. E. MACARTNEY Edward Irving—D. S. SCHAFF Dante six hundred years ago and now—F. S. DOWNS Christianity and to-day—J. D. DAVIS Medeba or the waters of Rabbah—Reviews of recent literature.

(3) FRENCH AND BELGIAN.

Revue Bénédictine, April 1922 (Vol. xxxiv, No. 2: Abbaye de Maredsous). B. CAPELLE Un homiliaire de l'évêque arien Maximin—U. BERLIÈRE La sécularisation de l'abbaye de St-Jacques à Liège (1785)—G. MORIN I. L'édition de la règle bénédictine par Benno Linderbauer et son Commentaire philologique: II. Lettre inédite d'A[nselme de Cantorbéry] à G[odefroy de Bouillon]?—DE BRUYNE I. Un système de lectures de la liturgie mozarabe: II. Une messe gallicane inédite *pro defuncto*—A. WILMART Le Samedi-Saint monastique—Comptes rendus.

Revue de l'Orient Chrétien (Vol. xxii, No. 3: A. Picard, 82 Rue Bonaparte, Paris). G. FURLANI Le Livre des Songes, texte syriaque et traduction française—F. TOURNEBIZE Les Frères-Unites ou Domini-

cains arméniens—G. BARDY Thaddée de Péluse *Adversus Iudaeos*, étude sur trois manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris—Catalogue des manuscrits orientaux de la Bibliothèque du R. P. Paul Asbath—M. CHAINE La poésie chez les Éthiopiens (poésie amharique)—K.-J. BASMADJIAN Les Catholicos d'Aghthamar—S. GRÉBAUT Contributions à la philologie éthiopienne—Bibliographie.

Analecta Bollandiana, May 1922 (Vol. xl, Nos. 1 and 2 : A. Picard, Paris). H. DELEHAYE Les persécutions et le culte des martyrs en Égypte : Les listes des martyrs égyptiens : Les passions des martyrs d'Égypte—L. VERVAECK La découverte du tombeau de S. Albert de Louvain—G. SCHURHAMMER Les reliques de S. François Xavier et leur histoire—Bulletin des publications hagiographiques.

Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuses, April 1922 (Vol. viii, No. 2 : E. Nourry, Paris). A. LOISY Rituels accadiens—L. COULANGE Métamorphose du Consubstantiel—A. LOISY L'apocalyptique chrétienne—G. WETTER La danse rituelle dans l'Église ancienne—Chronique bibliographique.

Revue Biblique, April 1922 (Vol. xxxi, No. 2 : V. Lecoffre, Paris). LAGRANGE L'Évangile selon les Hébreux—WILMART Un ancien texte latin de l'Évangile selon saint Jean : xiii 3-17—L. GRY Les chapitres xi et xii de l'Apocalypse—DHORME L'emploi métaphorique des noms de parties du corps en Hébreu et en Akkadien—Mélanges—Chronique—Recensions—Bulletin.

(4) GERMAN.

Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche, April 1922 (Vol. xxi, No. 1 : A. Töpelmann, Giessen). H. LIETZMANN Symbolstudien i-vii—R. REITZENSTEIN Ein Gegenstück zu dem Seelenhymnus der Thomasakten—H. H. WENDT Der 'Anfang' am Beginne des 1 Johannesbriefes—W. SATTLER Das Buch mit sieben Siegeln—M. WUNDT Ein Wendepunkt in Augustins Entwicklung—W. DÜRKS Eine fälschlich dem Irenaeus zugeschriebene Predigt des Bischofs Severian von Gabala—E. v. DOBSCHÜTZ Religionsgeschichtliche Parallelen zum NT—A. SULZBACH Eine neue Talmudübersetzung—Notizen.

